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THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

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In Two Volumes.

Hunc igitur ſpectemus. Hoc propoſitum ſit nobis exemplum. Ille ſe profeciſſe ſciat, cui Cicero *valde placebit.*

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THE

HISTORY of the LIFE

OF

M. TULLIUS CICERO

VOL. II.



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MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

OF

THE HISTORY of the LIFE



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OF

M. TULLIUS CICERO.

SECT. VII.



THIS year opens to us a new scene in CICERO's life, and presents him in a character, which he had never before sustained, *of the Governor of a Province*, and *General of an army*. These preferments were, of all others, the most ardently desired by the great, for the advantages which they afforded both of acquiring power, and amassing wealth: for their command, tho' account-

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

able to the *Roman* people, was abſolute and uncontroulable in the Province; where they kept up the ſtate and pride of ſoverein Princes, and had all the neighbouring Kings paying a court to them, and attending their orders. If their genius was turned to arms, and fond of martial glory, they could never want a pretext for war, ſince it was eaſy to drive the ſubjects into rebellion, or the adjoining nations to acts of hoſtility by their oppreſſions and injuries, till from the deſtruction of a number of innocent people, they had acquired *the Title of Emperor*, and with it the pretenſion to a triumph; without which ſcarce any Proconſul was ever known to return from a remote and frontier Province [*a*]. Their opportunities of raiſing money were as immenſe as their power, and bounded onely by their own appetites: the appointments from the treaſury, for their equipage, plate, and neceſſary furniture, amounted, as it appears from ſome inſtances, to near *a hundred and fifty thouſand pounds* [*b*]: and beſides the revenues of kingdoms, and pay of armies, of which they had the arbitrary management, they could exact what contributions they pleaſed, not onely from the Cities of their own juriſdiction, but from all the ſtates and Princes around them, who were under the protection of Rome. But while their primary

[*a*] While the ancient diſcipline of the Republic ſubſiſted, no General could pretend to a triumph, who had not enlarged the bounds of the Empire by his conqueſts, and killed at leaſt five thouſand enemies in battle, without any conſiderable loſs of his own ſoldiers. This was expreſsly enacted by an old law: in ſupport of which a ſecond was afterwards provided, that made it penal for any of their Triumphant Commanders to give a falſe account of the number of ſlain, either on the enemy's ſide, or their own; and obliged them, upon their entrance into the City, to take an oath before the Quæſtors or public Treaſurers, that the accounts, which they had ſent to the Senate, of each number, were true. [Val. Max. 2. 8.] but theſe laws had long been neglected and treated as obſolete; and the honor of a Triumph uſually granted, by intrigue and faction, to every General of any credit, who had gained ſome little advantage againſt Pirates or fugitives, or repelled the incurſions of the wild barbarians, who bordered upon the diſtant provinces.

[*b*] Nonne HS. centies & octagies—quaſi vaſarii nomine—ex ærario tibi attributum, Romæ in quæſtu reliquiſti? in Piſon. 35.

primary care was to enrich themſelves, they carried out with them always a band of hungry friends and dependents, as *their Lieutenants*, *Tribuns*, *Præfects*, with a crew of freedmen and favorite ſlaves, who were all likewiſe to be enriched by the ſpoils of the Province, and the ſale of their maſter's favors. Hence flowed all thoſe accuſations and trials for the plunder of the ſubjects, of which we read ſo much in the Roman writers: for as few or none of the Proconſuls behaved themſelves with that exact juſtice, as to leave no room for complaint, ſo the factions of the City, and the quarrels of families, ſubſiſting from former impeachments, generally excited ſome or other to revenge the affront in kind, by undertaking the cauſe of an injured Province, and dreſſing up an impeachment againſt their enemy.

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BUT whatever benefit or glory this Government ſeemed to offer, it had no charms for CICERO: the thing itſelf *was diſagreeable to his temper* [c], nor worthy of thoſe talents, which were formed to ſit at the helm, and ſhine in the adminiſtration of the whole Republic: ſo that he conſidered it onely, as an honorable exil, or a burthen impoſed by his country, to which his duty obliged him to ſubmit. His firſt care therefore was to provide, that this command might not be prolonged to him beyond the uſual term of a year; which was frequently done, when the neceſſities of the Province, the character of the man, the intrigues of parties, or the hurry of other buſineſs at home left the Senate neither leiſure nor inclination to think of changing the Governor: and this was the more likely to happen

[c] Totum negotium non eſt dignum viribus noſtris, qui majora onera in Rep. ſuſtinere & poſſim & ſoleam. Ep. fam. 2. xi.

O rem minime aptam meis moribus, &c. ad Att. 5. 10.

Sed eſt incredibile, quam me negotii tœdeat, non habet ſatis magnum campum ille tibi non ignotus curſus animi mei.—ib. 15.

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at preſent, through the ſcarcity of Magiſtrates, who were now left capable by the late law of ſucceding him. Before his departure therefore he ſollicited all his friends, not to ſuffer ſuch a mortification to fall upon him; and after he was gone, ſcarce wrote a ſingle letter to *Rome*, without urging the ſame requeſt in the moſt preſſing terms: in his firſt to ATTICUS, within three days from their parting; *do not imagine*, ſays he, *that I have any other conſolation in this great trouble, than the hopes that it will not be continued beyond the year: many, who judge of me by others, do not take me to be in earneſt, but you, who know me, will uſe all your diligence, eſpecially, when the affair is to come on.* [*d*]

HE left the City about the firſt of *May*, attended by his Brother and their two Sons: for QUINTUS had quitted his commiſſion under CÆSAR, in order to accompany him into *Cilicia*, in the ſame capacity of *his Lieutenant*. ATTICUS had deſired him, before he left *Italy*, to admoniſh his Brother, to ſhew more complaiſance and affection to his wife POMPONIA, who had been complaining to him of her huſband's peeviſhneſs and churliſh carriage; and leſt CICERO ſhould forget it, he put him in mind again by a letter to him on the road, that ſince all the family were to be together in the Country, on this occaſion of his going abroad, he would perſuade QUINTUS to leave his wife at leaſt in good humor at their parting: in relation to which, CICERO ſends him the following account of what paſſed.

" When I arrived at *Arpinum*, and my Brother was
" come to me, our firſt and chief diſcourſe was on you;
" which

[*d*] Noli putare mihi aliam conſolationem eſſe hujus ingentis moleſtiæ, niſi quod ſpero non longiorem annua fore. Hoc me ita velle multi non credunt ex conſuetudine aliorum. Tu, qui ſcis, omnem diligentiam adhibebis; tum ſcilicet, cum id agi debebit. ib. 2.

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" which gave me an opportunity of falling upon the affair
" of your Siſter, which you and I had talked over toge-
" ther at *Tuſculum*: I never ſaw any thing ſo mild and
" moderate as my Brother was, without giving the leaſt
" hint, of his ever having had any real cauſe of offence from
" her. The next morning we left *Arpinum*; and that
" day being a feſtival, QUINTUS was obliged to ſpend it at
" *Arcanum*, where I dined with him, but went on after-
" wards to *Aquinum*: You know this Villa of his: as
" ſoon as we came thither, QUINTUS ſaid to his wife in the
" civilleſt terms; do you, POMPONIA, invite the women,
" and I will ſend to the men: (nothing, as far as I ſaw,
" could be ſaid more obligingly, either in his words or
" manner:) to which ſhe replied, ſo as we all might hear
" it, *I am but a ſtranger here myſelf*: referring, I gueſs,
" to my Brother's having ſent STATIUS before us to order the
" dinner: upon which, ſee, ſays my Brother to me, what
" I am forced to bear every day. This, you will ſay,
" was no great matter. Yes, truly, great enough to give
" me much concern; to ſee her reply ſo abſurdly and
" fiercely both in her words and looks: but I diſſembled
" my uneaſineſs. When we ſat down to dinner, ſhe
" would not ſit down with us: and when QUINTUS ſent
" her ſeveral things from the table, ſhe ſent them all
" back: in ſhort, nothing could be milder than my Bro-
" ther, or ruder than your Siſter: yet I omit many par-
" ticulars, which gave more trouble to me than to QUINTUS
" himſelf. I went away to *Aquinum*; he ſtaid at *Ar-*
" *canum*: but when he came to me early the next morn-
" ing, he told me, that ſhe refuſed to lie with him that
" night; and at their parting continued in the ſame
" humor, in which I had ſeen her. In a word, you may

" let

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

" let her know from me, that, in my opinion, the fault " was all on her ſide that day. I have been longer per- " haps, than was neceſſary, in my narrative, to let you " ſee, that there is occaſion alſo on your part for advice " and admonition." [e]

ONE cannot help obſerving from this little incident, what is confirmed by innumerable inſtances in the Roman ſtory, that *the freedom of a divorce*, which was indulged without reſtraint at *Rome*, to the caprice of either party, gave no advantage of comfort to the matrimonial ſtate; but on the contrary, ſeems to have encouraged rather a mutual perverſeneſs and obſtinacy; ſince upon any little diſguſt, or obſtruction given to their follies, the expedient of a change was ready always to flatter them, with the hopes of better ſucceſs in another trial: for there never was an age or Country, where there was ſo profligate a contempt and violation of the nuptial bond, or ſo much lewdneſs and infidelity in the Great of both ſexes, as at this time in *Rome*.

CICERO ſpent a few days, as he paſſed forward, at his *Cuman Villa*, near *Baiæ*, where there was ſuch a reſort of Company to him, *that he had*, he ſays, *a kind of a little Rome about him*: HORTENSIUS came, among the reſt, tho' much out of health, to pay his compliments, and wiſh him a good voyage, and at taking leave, when he aſked, *what commands he had for him in his abſence*, CICERO begged of him onely, to uſe all his authority, *to hinder his Government from being prolonged to him* [f]. In ſixteen days from *Rome*, he arrived at *Tarentum*, where he

[e] Ad Att. 5. 1.

[f] In Cumano cum eſſem, venit ad me, quod mihi pergratum fuit, noſter Hortenſius: cui, depoſcenti mea mandata, cætera univerſe mandavi; illud proprie, ne pateretur, quantum eſſet in ipſo, prorogari nobis provinciam.—habuimus in Cumano quaſi puſillam Romam: tanta erat in his locis multitudo.—ib. 2.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

he had promiſed to make a viſit to POMPEY, who was taking the benefit of that ſoft air, for the recovery of his health, at one of his Villa's in thoſe parts; and had invited and preſſed CICERO to ſpend ſome days with him upon his journey: they propoſed great ſatisfaction on both ſides from this interview, for the opportunity of conferring together with all freedom, on the preſent ſtate of the Republic, which was to be their ſubject: tho' CICERO expected alſo to get ſome leſſons of the military kind, from this renowned Commander. He promiſed ATTICUS an account of this conference; but the particulars being too delicate to be communicated by Letter, he acquainted him onely in general, *that he found* POMPEY *an excellent Citizen, and provided for all events, which could poſſibly be apprehended* [g].

AFTER *three days ſtay with* POMPEY, he proceeded to *Brundiſium*; where he was detained for *twelve days by a ſlight indiſpoſition*, and the expectation of his principal officers, particularly *of his Lieutenant* PONTINIUS, an experienced Leader, the ſame who had triumphed over *the Allobroges*; and on whoſe ſkill he chiefly depended in his martial affairs. From *Brundiſium*, he ſailed to *Actium, on the fifteenth of June*; whence partly by ſea, and partly by land, he arrived at *Athens on the twenty-ſixth* [h]. Here he lodged in the houſe of ARISTUS, the principal Profeſſor of *the Academy*; and his Brother not far from him, with *Xeno*, another celebrated Philoſopher of *Epicurus*'s School: they ſpent their time here very agreeably; at

[g] Nos Tarenti, quos cum Pompeio διαλόγους de Repub. habuerimus ad te perſcribemus—ib. 5.

Tarentum veni a. d. xv Kal. Jun. quod Pontinium ſtatueram expectare, commodiſſimum duxi dies eos--cum Pompeio conſumere: eoque magis, quod ei gratum eſſe id videbam, qui etiam a me petierit, ut ſecum & apud ſe eſſem quotidie: quod conceſſi libenter, multos enim ejus præclaros de Repub. ſermones accipiam: inſtruar etiam conſiliis idoneis ad hoc noſtrum negotium.—ib. 6.

Ego, cum triduum cum Pompeio & apud Pompeium fuiſſem, proficiſcebar Brundiſium.—Civem illum egregium relinquebam, & ad hæc, quæ timentur, propulſanda paratiſſimum.—ib. 7.

[h] Ad Att. 5. 8, 9.

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at home, in Philoſophical diſquiſitions; abroad, in viewing the buildings and antiquities of the place, with which CICERO was much delighted: there were ſeveral other men of learning, both *Greeks* and *Romans*, of the party; eſpecially *Gallus Caninius*; and *Patro*, an eminent *Epicurean*, and intimate friend of ATTICUS [*i*].

THERE lived at this time in exil at *Athens*, *C. Memmius*, baniſhed upon a conviction of bribery, in his ſuit for the conſulſhip; who, the day before CICERO's arrival, happened to go away to *Mitylene*. The figure, which he had born in *Rome*, gave him great authority in *Athens*; and *the council of* AREOPAGUS had granted him a piece of ground to build upon, where EPICURUS *formerly lived, and where there ſtill remained the old ruins of his walls*. But this grant had given great offence to the whole body of *the Epicureans*, to ſee the remains of their maſter in danger of being deſtroyed. They had written to CICERO at *Rome*, to beg him to intercede with MEMMIUS, to conſent to a revocation of it; and now at *Athens*, XENO and PATRO renewed their inſtances, and prevailed with him to write about it, in the moſt effectual manner; for tho' MEMMIUS had laid aſide his deſign of building, *the Areopagites would not recall their decree, without his leave* [*k*]. CICERO's letter is drawn with much art and accuracy: he laughs at the trifling zeal of theſe Philoſophers, *for the old rubbiſh and paultry ruins of their Founder, yet earneſtly preſſes* MEMMIUS, *to indulge them in a prejudice, contracted through weakneſs, not wickedneſs,*

[*i*] Vaide me Athenæ delectarunt: urbs duntaxat, & urbis ornamentum, & hominum amores in te, & in nos quædam benevolentia; ſed multum & Philoſophia—ſi quid eſt, eſt in Ariſto apud quem eram, nam Xenonem tuum—Quinto conceſſeram—ad Att. 5. x. Ep. fam. 2. 8. 13. 1.

[*k*] Viſum eſt Xenoni, & poſt, ipſi Patroni, me ad Memmium ſcribere, qui pridie quam ego Athenas veni, Mitylenas profectus erat,—non enim dubitabat Xeno, quin ab Areopagitis invito Memmio impetrari non poſſet. Memmius autem ædificandi conſilium abjeciſſet, ſed erat Patroni iratus, itaque ſcripſi ad eum accurate—ad Att. 5. 11.

neſs; and tho' he profeſſes an utter diſlike of their philoſophy, yet he recommends them, *as honeſt, agreeable, friendly men*, for whom he entertained the higheſt eſteem [*d*]. From this letter one may obſerve, that the greateſt difference in Philoſophy made no difference of friendſhip among the great of theſe times. There was not a more declared enemy to EPICURUS's *doctrine*, than CICERO: he thought it deſtructive of morality, and pernicious to Society; but he charged this conſequence to the principles, not the Profeſſors of them; with many of whom he held the ſtricteſt intimacy; and found them to be worthy, virtuous, generous friends, and lovers of their Country: there is a jocoſe Letter to TREBATIUS, when he was with CÆSAR *in Gaul*, upon his turning *Epicurean*, which will help to confirm this reflection.

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CICERO *to* TREBATIUS.

" I was wondering, why you had given over writing " to me; till PANSA informed me, that you were turned " Epicurean. O rare Camp! what would you have done " if I had ſent you to *Tarentum*, inſtead of *Samarobriva*? " I began to think the worſe of you, ever ſince you made " my friend SEIUS, your pattern. But with what face " will you now pretend to practiſe the Law, when you " are to do every thing for your own intereſt, and not for " your Client's? and what will become of that old form, " and teſt of fidelity; *as true men ought to act truly, with one another?* what Law will you alledge for the " diſtribution of common right, when nothing can be " common with thoſe, who meaſure all things by their " pleaſure? with what face can you ſwear by *Jupiter*; " when

[*d*] Ep. fam. 13. 1.

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" when *Jupiter*, you know, can never be angry with " any man? and what will become of your people of " *Ulubræ*; ſince you do not allow a wiſe man to meddle " with politics? wherefore, if you are really gone off " from us, I am ſorry for it; but if it be convenient to " pay this compliment to PANSA, I forgive you; on " condition however, that you write me word, what you " are doing, and what you would have me do for you " here [*m*]." The change of principles in TREBATIUS, tho' equivalent in effect to a change of Religion with us, made no alteration in CICERO's affection for him. This was the dictate of reaſon to the beſt and wiſeſt of the Heathens; and may ſerve to expoſe the raſhneſs of thoſe zealots, who with the light of a moſt divine and benevolent religion, are perpetually inſulting and perſecuting their fellow chriſtians, for differences of opinion, which, for the moſt part, are merely ſpeculative, and without any influence on life, or the good and happineſs of civil Society.

AFTER *ten days* ſpent at *Athens*, where PONTINIUS at laſt joined him, CICERO ſet ſail towards *Aſia*. Upon leaving *Italy*, he had charged his friend CÆLIUS with the taſk of ſending him the news of *Rome*; which CÆLIUS performed very punctually, in a ſeries of Letters, which make a valuable part in the collection of his *familiar Epiſtles*: they are polite and entertaining; full of wit and ſpirit; yet not flowing with that eaſy turn, and elegance of expreſſion, which we always find in CICERO's. The firſt of them, with CICERO's anſwer, will give us a ſpecimen of the reſt.

M. CÆLIUS

[*m*] Ep. Fam. 7. 12.

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M. CÆLIUS *to* M. CICERO.

" According to my promiſe at parting, to ſend you an " account of all the news of the Town, I have provided " one to collect it for you ſo punctually, that I am afraid, " leſt you ſhould think my diligence at laſt too minute: " but I know, how curious you are; and how agreeable " it is to all, who are abroad, to be informed of every " thing, that paſſes at home, tho' ever ſo trifling. I " beg of you however, not to condemn me of arrogance, " for deputing another to this taſk: ſince, as buſy as I " now am, and as lazy, as you know me to be in writ- " ing, it would be the greateſt pleaſure to me, to be " employed in any thing, that revives the remembrance " of you: but the pacquet itſelf, which I have ſent, will, I " imagine, readily excuſe me: for what leiſure would it re- " quire, not only to tranſcribe, but to attend even to the " contents of it? there are all the decrees of the Senate, " Edicts, plays, rumors: if the ſample does not pleaſe " you, pray let me know it, that I may not give you " trouble, at my coſt. If any thing important happens " in the Republic, above the reach of theſe hackney writ- " ers, I will ſend you an account of it myſelf; in what " manner it was tranſacted; what ſpeculations are raiſed " upon it; what effects apprehended: at preſent, there " is no great expectation of any thing: as to thoſe rumors, " which were ſo warm at *Cumæ*, of aſſembling the Co- " lonies beyond the *Po*, when I came to *Rome*, I heard " not a ſyllable about them. MARCELLUS too, becauſe " he has not yet made any motion for a ſucceſſor to the " two *Gauls*, but puts it off, as he told me himſelf, to " the firſt of *June*, has revived the ſame talk concerning

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

" him, which was ſtirring when we were at *Rome* toge-
" ther. If you ſaw POMPEY, as you deſigned to do, pray
" ſend me word, in what temper you found him; what
" converſation he had with you; what inclination he
" ſhewed: for he is apt to think one thing, and ſay an-
" other, yet has not wit enough, to conceal what he
" really means. As for CÆSAR, there are many ugly
" reports about him; but propagated only in whiſpers:
" ſome ſay, that he has loſt all his horſe; which I take
" indeed to be true: others, that the ſeventh Legion has
" been beaten; and that he himſelf is beſieged by the
" *Bellovaci*; and cut off from the reſt of his army.
" There is nothing yet certain; nor are theſe uncertain
" ſtories publicly talked of; but among the few, whom
" you know, told openly, by way of ſecrets: DOMITIUS
" never mentions them, without clapping his hand to his
" mouth. On the twenty-firſt of *May*, the mob under
" the Roſtra, ſent about a report, (may it fall on their
" own heads) which was warmly propagated through the
" Forum and the whole City, that you were killed upon
" the road by Q. POMPEIUS: but I, who knew him to
" be then at *Bauli*, and in ſuch a ſtarving condition,
" that I could not help pitying him, being forced to
" turn Pilot for his bread, was not concerned about it;
" and wiſhed onely, that, if any real dangers threatened
" you, we might be quit for this lie: your friend PLAN-
" CUS BURSA is at *Ravenna*; where he has had a large
" donative from CÆSAR; but is not yet eaſy, nor well
" provided. Your books on government are applauded
" by all people [*n*].

M. T.

[*n*] Epiſt. Fam. 8. 1.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

M. T. CICERO, Proconſul, to M. CÆLIUS.

" How! was it this, think you, that I charged you " with; to ſend me the matches of Gladiators; the ad- " journments of cauſes; and CHRESTUS's news-letter; " and what no body dares mention to me when at *Rome?* " ſee, how much I aſcribe to you in my judgment; " nor indeed without reaſon, for I have never yet met " with a better head for politics; I would not have you " write, what paſſes every day in public, tho' ever ſo " important, unleſs it happen to affect myſelf: others " will write it; many bring accounts of it; and fame " itſelf convey a great part to me: I expect from " you, neither the paſt, nor the preſent; but as from " one, who ſees a great way before him, the future " onely; that when I have before me in your Letters the " plan of the Republic, I may be able to judge, what a " ſort of Edifice it will be. Nor have I hitherto indeed " any cauſe to complain of you: for nothing has yet " happened, which you could foreſee better than any " of us; eſpecially myſelf, who ſpent ſeveral days with " POMPEY, in converſing on nothing elſe, but the Re- " public; which it is neither poſſible, nor proper for me " to explane by Letter: take this onely from me; that " POMPEY is an excellent Citizen, prepared both with " courage, and counſil for all events, which can be fore- " ſeen: wherefore, give yourſelf up to the man; believe " me, he will embrace you; for he now holds the ſame " opinion with us, of good and bad Citizens. After I " had been ten days at *Athens*, where our friend GALLUS " CANINIUS was much with me, I left it on the ſixth of " *July*, when I ſent away this Letter: as I earneſtly

" recom-

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" recommend all my affairs to you, ſo nothing more " particularly, than that the time of my Provincial Com- " mand be not prolonged: this is every thing to me; " which, when and how, and by whom it is to be ma- " naged, you will be the beſt able to contrive. Adieu. [o]

HE landed at *Epheſus* on *the twenty-ſecond of July*, after a ſlow but ſafe paſſage *of fifteen days*; the tediouſneſs of which was agreeably relieved by touching on the way at ſeveral of *the iſlands of the Ægean Sea*, of which he ſends a kind of journal to ATTICUS [p]. Many deputations from the Cities of *Aſia*, and a great concourſe of people came to meet him as far as *Samos*; but a much greater ſtill was expecting his landing at *Epheſus*: the *Greeks* flocked eagerly from all parts, to ſee a man ſo celebrated through the empire, for the fame of his learning and eloquence; ſo *that all his boaſtings*, as he merrily ſays, *of many years paſt, were now brought to the teſt* [q]. After repoſing himſelf for *three days* at *Epheſus*, he marched forward towards his Province; and on the laſt of *July*, arrived *at Laodicea*, one of the Capital Cities of his juriſdiction. From this moment the date of his Government commenced; which he bids ATTICUS take notice of, that he might know how *to compute the preciſe extent of his annual term* [r].

IT was CICERO's reſolution, in this Provincial Command, to practiſe thoſe admirable rules, which he had drawn up formerly for his Brother; and from an employment wholly tedious and diſagreeable to him to derive freſh

[o] Ep. fam. 2. 8.

[p] Epheſum venimus a. d. xi. Kal. Sext.—ad Att. 5. 13. vid. it. ib. 12.

[q] De concurſu legationum, privatorum, & de incredibili multitudine, quæ mihi jam Sami, ſed mirabilem in modum Epheſi præſto fuit, aut te audiſſe puto—ex quo te intelligere certo ſcio multorum annorum oſtentationes meas nunc in diſcrimen eſſe adductas——ib. 13.

[r] Laodiceam veni prid. Kal. Sextiles. ex hoc die clavum anni movebis. Ib. 15.

freſh glory upon his character, by leaving the innocence and integrity of his adminiſtration, as a pattern of governing to all ſucceding Proconſuls. It had always been the cuſtom, when any Governors went abroad to their Provinces, *that the Countries, through which they paſſed, ſhould defray all the charges of their journey:* but CICERO no ſooner ſet his foot on foreign ground, *than he forbad all expence whatſoever, public or private, to be made either upon himſelf, or any of his company*; which raiſed a great admiration of him, *in all the cities of Greece* [s]. In *Aſia*, he did the ſame; not ſuffering his officers to accept, *what was due to them even by law; forage and wood for firing, nor any thing elſe, but mere houſe-room, with four beds*; which he remitted alſo, as oft as it was practicable, and obliged them *to lodge in their tents*; and by his example and conſtant exhortations brought *his Lieutenants, Tribuns, and Præfects, ſo fully into his meaſures, that they all concurred with him*, he ſays, *wonderfully, in a jealous concern for his honor* [t].

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BEING deſirous to put himſelf at the head of his army, before the Seaſon of action was over, he ſpent but little time in viſiting the Cities of his juriſdiction, reſerving *the winter months for ſettling the civil affairs of the Province.*

[s] Ego—quotidie meditor, præcipio meis; faciam denique ut ſumma modeſtia & ſumma abſtinentia munus hoc extraordinarium traducamus.—ib. 9.

Adhuc ſumptus nec in me aut publice aut privatim, nec in quemquam comitum. Nihil accipitur lege Julia, nihil ab hoſpite, perſuaſum eſt omnibus meis ſerviendum eſſe famæ meæ. Belle adhuc. Hoc animadverſum Græcorum laude & multo ſermone celebratur. Ib. 10.

Nos adhuc iter per Græciam ſumma cum admiratione fecimus. Ib. 11.

[t] Levantur miſeræ civitates, quod nullus fit ſumptus in nos, neque in Legatos, neque in Quæſtorem, neque in quemquam. Scito, non modo nos fœnum, aut quod lege Julia dari ſolet, non accipere, ſed ne ligna quidem, nec præter quatuor lectos, & tectum, quemquam accipere quidquam: multis locis ne tectum quidem, & in tabernaculo manere plerumque—ad Att. 5. 16.

Ut nullus teruncius inſumatur in quemquam; id fit etiam & Legatorum & Tribunorum & Præfectorum diligentia. Nam omnes mirifice συμφιλοδοξῶσιν gloriæ meæ—ib. 17.

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vince [*u*]. He went therefore to the Camp, *at Iconium in Lycaonia, about the twenty-fourth of Auguſt*; where he had no ſooner reviewed the troops, than he received an account from *Antiochus, King of Comagene*, which was confirmed from the other Princes of thoſe parts, *that the Parthians had paſſed the Euphrates with a mighty force, in order to invade the Roman territory, under the conduct of Pacorus, the King's ſon.* Upon this news, he marched towards *Cilicia*, to ſecure his Province from the inroads of the enemy, or any commotions within: but as all acceſs to it was difficult, except on the ſide of *Cappadocia*, an open country, and not well provided; he took his route through that Kingdom, and encamped in that part of it, which *bordered upon Cilicia, near to the Town of Cybiſtra, at the foot of mount Taurus.* His army, as it is ſaid above, conſiſted of about *twelve thouſand foot, and two thouſand ſix hundred horſe*, beſides the auxiliary troops of the neighbouring ſtates, and eſpecially of *Deiotarus, King of Galatia*, the moſt faithfull *Ally of Rome*, and CICERO's particular friend; whoſe whole forces he could depend upon at any warning [*x*].

WHILE he lay in this Camp, he had an opportunity of executing a ſpecial commiſſion, with which he was charged by the Senate; *to take* ARIOBARZANES, *King of Cappadocia, under his particular protection*; and provide for the ſecurity of his perſon and government: in honor of whom, the

[*u*] Erat mihi in animo recta proficiſci ad exercitum, æſtivos menſes reliquos rei militari dare, hibernos juriſdictioni—ib. 14.

[*x*] In caſtra veni. a. d. vii Kal. Sept. ad d. iii. exercitum luſtravi. Ex his caſtris cum graves de Parthis nuncii venirent, perrexi in Ciliciam, per Cappadociæ partem eam, quæ Ciliciam attingit—

Regis Antiochi Comageni Legatis primi mihi nunciarunt Parthorum magnas copias Euphratem tranſire cœpiſſe.——Cum exercitum in Ciliciam ducerem—mihi litteræ redditæ ſunt a Tarcondimoto, qui fideliſſimus ſocius trans Taurum Populi Rom. exiſtimatur. Pacorum Orodi Regis Parthorum filium, cum permagno equitatu tranſiſſe Euphratem, &c. Ep. fam. 15. 1.

Eodem die ab Jamblicho, Phylarcho Arabum—litteræ de eiſdem rebus, &c.

the Senate had decreed, what they had never done before to any foreign Prince, that *his ſafety was of great concern to the Senate and people of Rome.* His Father had been killed by the treachery of his ſubjects, and a conſpiracy of the ſame kind was apprehended againſt the ſon: CICERO therefore, in a council of his officers, gave the King an account of *the Decree of the Senate*, and that in conſequence of it he was then ready to aſſiſt him with his troops and authority in any meaſures, that ſhould be concerted for the ſafety and quiet of his Kingdom---The King, after great profeſſions of his thanks and duty to the Senate for the honor of *their decree, and to* CICERO himſelf for his care in the execution of it, ſaid, *that he knew no occaſion for giving him any particular trouble at that time; nor had any ſuſpicion of any deſign againſt his life or Crown:* upon which CICERO, after congratulating him upon the tranquillity of his affairs, adviſed him however, *to remember his Father's fate, and, from the admonition of the Senate, to be particularly vigilant in the care of his perſon*, and ſo they parted. But the next morning, the King returned early to the Camp, attended by his Brother and Counſellors, and with many tears implored the protection of CICERO, *and the benefit of the Senate's decree*; *declaring*, "that he had received undoubted in-
"telligence of a plot, which thoſe, who were privy to
"it, durſt not venture to diſcover till CICERO's arrival
"in the Country, but truſting to his authority, had
"now given full information of it; and that his Bro-
"ther, who was preſent and ready to confirm what he
"ſaid, had been ſollicited to enter into it by the offer of
"the crown: he begged therefore, that ſome of CICERO's
"troops might be left with him for his better guard and

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" defence. CICERO told him, that under the preſent " alarm of the Parthian war, he could not poſſibly lend " him any part of his army; that ſince the conſpiracy " was detected, his own forces would be ſufficient for pre- " venting the effects of it; that he ſhould learn to act " the King, by ſhewing a proper concern for his own " life, and exert his regal power in puniſhing the authors " of the plot, and pardoning all the reſt; that he need " not apprehend any farther danger, when his people " were acquainted with the Senate's decree, and ſaw a " *Roman* army ſo near to them, and ready to put it in " execution:" and having thus encouraged and comforted the King, he marched towards *Cilicia*, and gave an account of this accident, and of the motions of the *Parthians*, in *two public Letters to the Conſuls and the Senate:* he added a private Letter alſo to CATO, who was a particular favorer, and Patron of ARIOBARZANES, in which he informed him, " that he had not only ſecured " the King's perſon from any attempt, but had taken care, " that he ſhould reign for the future with honor and dig- " nity, by reſtoring to his favor and ſervice his old Coun- " ſellors, whom CATO had recommended, and who had " been diſgraced, by the intrigues of his Court; and by " obliging a turbulent young prieſt of *Bellona*, who was " the head of the Malecontents, and the next in power " to the King himſelf, to quit the country [*y*]."

THIS King, ARIOBARZANES, ſeems to have been poor even to a proverb:

Mancipiis locuples, eget æris Cappadocum rex. Hor. Ep. I. 6.

for he had been miſerably ſqueezed and drained by the *Roman*

[*y*] Ep. fam. 15. 2, 3, 4.

3

Roman Generals and Governors; to whom he owed vaſt ſumms, either actually borrowed, or ſtipulated to be paid for particular ſervices. It was a common practice with the Great of *Rome*, *to lend money at an exorbitant intereſt, to the Princes and Cities, dependent on the Empire*; which was thought an uſefull piece of policy to both ſides; to the Princes, for the opportunity of engaging to their intereſts the moſt powerfull men of the Republic, by a kind of honorable penſion; to the *Romans*; for the convenience of placing their money where it was ſure to bring the greateſt return of profit. The ordinary intereſt of theſe Provincial loans was, *one per Cent by the month, with intereſt upon intereſt:* this was the loweſt; but in extraordinary or hazardous caſes, it was frequently four times as much. POMPEY received monthly from this very King, *above ſix thouſand pounds ſterling*; which yet was ſhort of his full intereſt. BRUTUS alſo had lent him a very large ſumm, and earneſtly deſired CICERO to procure the payment of it, with the arrears of intereſt: but POMPEY's agents were ſo preſſing, and the King ſo needy, that tho' CICERO ſollicited BRUTUS's affair very heartily, he had little hopes of getting any thing for him: when ARIOBARZANES came therefore to offer him the ſame preſent of money, which he had uſually made to every other Governor, he generouſly refuſed it, and deſired onely, *that inſtead of giving it to him, it might be paid to* BRUTUS: but the poor Prince was ſo diſtreſſed, that he excuſed himſelf, by the neceſſity, which he was under, of ſatisfying ſome other more preſſing demands; ſo that CICERO gives a ſad account of his negotiation, in a long letter to ATTICUS, who had warmly recommended BRUTUS's intereſts to him.

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" I come now, ſays he, to BRUTUS; whom by your
" authority I embraced with inclination, and began even
" to love: but-----what am I going to ſay? I recall my-
" ſelf, leſt I offend you---do not think, that I ever en-
" tered into any thing more willingly, or took more pains,
" than in what he recommended to me. He gave me
" a memorial of the particulars, which you had talked
" over with me before: I purſued your inſtructions ex-
" actly: in the firſt place, I preſſed ARIOBARZANES, to
" give that money to BRUTUS, which he promiſed to me:
" as long as the King continued with me, all things
" looked well; but he was afterwards teized by ſix hun-
" dred of POMPEY's agents; and POMPEY, for other rea-
" ſons, can do more with him than all the world beſides;
" but eſpecially, when it is imagined, that he is to be
" ſent to the *Parthian* war: they now pay POMPEY thirty-
" three *Attic* talents per month, out of the taxes; tho'
" this falls ſhort of a month's intereſt: but our friend
" CNÆUS takes it calmly; and is content to abate ſome-
" what of the intereſt, without preſſing for the principal.
" As for others, he neither does, nor can pay any man:
" for he has no treaſury, no revenues: he raiſes taxes by
" APPIUS's method of capitation: but theſe are ſcarce
" ſufficient for POMPEY's monthly pay: two or three of
" the King's friends are very rich; but they hold their
" own as cloſely, as either you or I----I do not forbear
" however to aſk, urge and chide him by Letters: King
" DEIOTARUS alſo told me, that he had ſent people to
" him on purpoſe, to ſollicit for BRUTUS; but they
" brought him word back, that he had really no money:
" which I take indeed to be the caſe; that nothing is

" more

" more drained than his kingdom; nothing poorer than " the King [z]." A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

BUT BRUTUS had recommended another affair of the ſame nature to CICERO, which gave him much more trouble. The city of *Salamis* in *Cyprus* owed to two of his friends, as he pretended, SCAPTIUS and MATINIUS, above *twenty thouſand pounds ſterling* upon bond, at a moſt extravagant intereſt; and he begged of CICERO to take their perſons and concerns under his ſpecial protection. APPIUS, who was BRUTUS's *father-in-law*, had granted every thing which was aſked to SCAPTIUS; *a Præfecture in Cyprus, with ſome troops of horſe*, with which he miſerably haraſſed the poor *Salaminians*, in order to force them to comply with his unreaſonable demands: for *he ſhut up their whole ſenate in the council-room, till five of them were ſtarved to death with hunger* [a]. BRUTUS labored to place him in the ſame degree of favor with CICERO: but CICERO being informed of this violence at *Epheſus, by a deputation from Salamis*, made it the firſt act of his government to recall the troops from *Cyprus*, and put an end to SCAPTIUS's *Præfecture*, having laid it down for a rule, to grant no command to any man, *who was concerned in trade, or negotiating money* in the Province: to give ſatisfaction however to BRUTUS, he injoined *the Salaminians to pay off* SCAPTIUS's *bond*, which they were ready to do according to the tenor of his edict, by which he had ordered, *that no bonds in his province ſhould carry above one per Cent by the month.* SCAPTIUS refuſed to take the money on thoſe terms, inſiſting *on four per Cent*, as the condition of his bond expreſſed; which by computation

[z] Ad Att. 6. 1.

[a] Fuerat enim Præfectus Appio, & quidem habuerat turmas Equitum, quibus incluſum in curia ſenatum Salamine obſederat, ut fame ſenatores quinque morerentur.—ibid.

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computation almoſt doubled the principal ſumm; while the *Salaminians*, as they proteſted to CICERO, *could not have paid the original debt, if they had not been inabled to do it by his help, and out of his own dues, that he had remitted to them; which amounted to ſomewhat more than* SCAPTIUS's *legal demand* [*b*].

THIS extortion raiſed CICERO's indignation; and notwithſtanding the repeated inſtances of BRUTUS and ATTICUS, he was determined to over-rule it; though BRUTUS, in order to move him the more effectually, thought proper to confeſs, *what he had all along diſſembled, that the debt was really his own, and* SCAPTIUS *onely his agent in it* [*c*]. This ſurprized CICERO ſtill more, and though he had a warm inclination to oblige BRUTUS, yet he could not conſent to ſo flagrant an injuſtice, but makes frequent and heavy complaints of it in his letters to ATTICUS——"You "have now, ſays he, in one of them, the ground of "my conduct; if BRUTUS does not approve it, I ſee no "reaſon why we ſhould love him; but I am ſure, it will "be approved by his uncle, CATO [*d*]. In another; if "BRUTUS thinks, that I ought to allow him four per "Cent, when by edict I have decreed but one through "all the province, and that, to the ſatisfaction of the "keeneſt uſurers; if he complains, that I denied a Præ-"fecture to one, concerned in trade, which I denied, for "that reaſon, to your friend LENIUS, and to SEX. STA-

"TIUS,

[*b*] Itaque ego, quo die tetigi provinciam, cum mihi Cyprii Legati Epheſum obviam veniſſent, litteras miſi, ut equites ex inſula ſtatim decederént—ad Att. 6. 1. confeceram, ut ſolverent centeſimis—at Scaptius quaternas poſtulabat—ib. homines non modo non recuſare, ſed etiam dicere, ſe a me ſolvere. Quod enim Prætori dare conſueſſent, quoniam ego non acceperam, ſe a me quodam modo dare; atque etiam minus eſſe aliquanto in Scaptii nomine, quam in vectigali prætorio—ib. 5. 21.

[*c*] Atque hoc tempore ipſo impingit mihi epiſtolam Scaptius Bruti, rem illam ſuo periculo eſſe: quod nec mihi unquam Brutus dixerat nec tibi—ib. nunquam ex illo audivi illam pecuniam eſſe ſuam—ib.

[*d*] Habes meam cauſam: quæ ſi Bruto non probatur, neſcio cur illum amemus: ſed avunculo ejus certe probabitur.—ib. 5. 21.

" TIUS, though TORQUATUS ſollicited for the one, and " POMPEY himſelf for the other, yet without diſguſting " either of them; if he takes it ill, that I recalled the " troops of horſe out of *Cyprus*; I ſhall be ſorry indeed, " that he has any occaſion to be angry with me; but " much more, not to find him the man, that I took him " to be-----I would have you to know however, that I " have not forgot what you intimated to me in ſeveral of " your Letters, that if I brought back nothing elſe from " the Province, but BRUTUS's friendſhip, that would be " enough: let it be ſo, ſince you will have it ſo; yet it " muſt always be with this exception; as far as it can be " done, without my committing any wrong---[*e*]. In " a third; how, my dear ATTICUS! you, who applaud " my integrity and good conduct, and are vexed ſome- " times, you ſay, that you are not with me; how can " ſuch a thing, as ENNIUS ſays, come out of your mouth, " to deſire me to grant troops to SCAPTIUS, for the ſake " of extorting money? could you, if you were with me, " ſuffer me to do it, if I would?----if I really had done " ſuch a thing, with what face could I ever read again, " or touch thoſe books of mine, with which you are ſo " much pleaſed"? [*f*] He tells him likewiſe in con- fidence, that all BRUTUS's Letters to him, even when he was

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[*e*] Si Brutus putabit me quaternas centeſimas oportuiſſe decernere, qui in tota provincia ſingulas obſervarem, itaque edixiſſem, idque etiam acerbiſſimis fœneratoribus probaretur; ſi præfecturam negotiatori denegatam queretur, quod ego Torquato noſtro in tuo Lenio, Pompeio ipſi in S. Statio negavi, & iis probavi; ſi equites deductos moleſte feret; accipiam equidem dolorem, mihi illum iraſci, ſed multo majorem, non eſſe eum talem, qualem putaſſem——Sed plane te intelligere volui, mihi non excidiſſe illud, quod tu ad me quibuſdam litteris ſcripſiſſes, ſi nihil aliud de hac Provincia niſi illius benevolentiam deportaſſem, mihi id ſatis eſſe. Sit ſane, quoniam ita tu vis ſed tamen cum eo credo, quod ſine peccato meo fiat——ibid.

[*f*] Ain' tandem Attice, laudator integritatis & elegantiæ noſtræ? auſus es hoc ex ore tuo, inquit Ennius, ut equites Scaptio ad pecuniam cogendam darem, me rogare? an tu, ſi mecum eſſes, qui ſcribis morderi te interdum quod non ſimul ſis, paterere me id facere, ſi vellem?——& ego audebo legere unquam, aut attingere eos libros, quos tu dilaudas? ſi tale quid fecero?—ad Att. 6. 2.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

was aſking favors, *were unmannerly, churliſh, and arrogant; without regarding either what, or to whom he was writing; and if he continued in that humor; you may love him alone,* ſays he, *if you pleaſe, you ſhall have no rival of me; but he will come, I believe, to a better mind* [g]. But to ſhew after all what a real inclination he had to oblige him, he never left urging *King* ARIOBARZANES, *till he had ſqueezed from him a hundred talents, in part of* BRUTUS's *debt, or about twenty thouſand pounds*; the ſame ſumm probably, which had been deſtined to CICERO himſelf [*h*].

WHILE he lay encamped in *Cappadocia*, expecting what way the *Parthians* would move, he received an account, that they had taken a different route, and were advanced to *Antioch* in *Syria*, where they held *C. Caſſius* blocked up; and that a detachment of them had actually penetrated into *Cilicia*, *but were rōuted, and cut off by thoſe troops, which were left to guard the Country.* Upon this he preſently decamped, and by *great journies over mount Taurus*, marched in all haſte to poſſeſs himſelf *of the paſſes of Amanus*; a great and ſtrong mountain, lying between *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and the common boundary of them both. By this march, and the approach of his army to the neighbourhood of *Syria*, the *Parthians* being diſcouraged, retired from *Antioch*; which gave CASSIUS an opportunity *of falling upon them in their retreat, and gaining a conſiderable advantage, in which one of their principal commanders,* OSACES, *was mortally wounded* [*i*].

IN

[g] Ad me etiam, cum rogat aliquid, contumaciter, arroganter, ἀκοινωνήτως ſolet ſcribere——ib. 6. 1.

Omnino (ſoli enim ſumus) nullus unquam ad me literas miſit Brutus—in quibus non eſſet arrogans, ἀκοινωνήτον aliquid—in quo tamen ille mihi riſum magis quam ſtomachum movere ſolet. Sed plane parum cogitat, quid ſcribat, aut ad quem—ib. 6. 3.

[*h*] Bruti tui cauſa, ut ſæpe ad te ſcripſi, feci omnia——Ariobarzanes non in Pompeium prolixior per ipſum, quam per me in Brutum—pro ratione pecuniæ liberius eſt Brutus tractatus, quam Pompeius. Bruto curata hoc anno talenta circiter c. Pompeio in ſex menſibus promiſſa cc.——ibid.—

[*i*] Itaque confeſtim iter in Ciliciam feci per Tauri pylas. Tarſum veni a. d. III. Non. Oct.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

IN the ſuſpenſe of the *Parthian* war, which the late diſgrace of CRASSUS had made terrible at *Rome*, CICERO's friends, who had no great opinion of his military talents, were in ſome pain for his ſafety and ſucceſs: but now that he found himſelf engaged, and puſhed to the neceſſity of acting the General, he ſeems to have wanted neither the courage nor conduct of an experienced Leader. In a Letter to ATTICUS, dated from his Camp; "We are in "great ſpirits, ſays he, and as our counſils are good, "have no diſtruſt of an engagement: we are ſecurely "encamped, with plenty of proviſions, and in ſight "almoſt of *Cilicia*; with a ſmall army indeed, but, as "I have reaſon to believe, intirely well affected to me; "which I ſhall double by the acceſſion of DEIOTARUS, "who is upon the road to join me: I have the allies "more firmly attached to me, than any Governor ever "had: they are wonderfully taken with my eaſineſs and "abſtinence: we are making new levies of Citizens, and "eſtabliſhing magazines: if there be occaſion for fight-"ing, we ſhall not decline it; if not, ſhall defend our-"ſelves by the ſtrength of our poſts: wherefore be of "good heart, for I ſee, as much as if you were with "me, the ſympathy of your love for me [*k*]."

BUT the danger of the *Parthians* being over for this ſeaſon, CICERO reſolved, that his labor ſhould not be loſt, and his army diſmiſſed, without attempting ſomething of moment. The inhabitants of the mountains, cloſe to which he now lay, were a fierce, untamed race of *Banditti* or *Freebooters*, who had never ſubmitted to the

Oct. inde ad Amanum contendi, qui Syriam a Cilicia in aquarum divortio dividit—rumore adventus noſtri, & CASSIO, qui Antiochia tenebatur, animus acceſſit, & Parthis timor injectus eſt. Itaque eos cedentes ab oppido CASSIUS inſecutus rem bene geſſit. Qua in fuga magna auctoritate OSACES, dux Parthorum, vulnus accepit, eoque interiit paucis poſt diebus. Ad Att. 5. 20.

[*k*] Ib. 5. 18.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Roman power, but lived in perpetual defiance of it, truſting to their forts and caſtles, which were ſuppoſed to be impregnable from the ſtrength of their ſituation. He thought it therefore of no ſmall importance to the Empire, to reduce them to a ſtate of ſubjection; and in order to conceal his deſign, and take them unprovided, he drew off his forces on pretence of marching to the diſtant parts of *Cilicia*; but after a day's journey ſtopt ſhort, and having refreſhed his army and left his baggage behind, turned back again in the night with the utmoſt celerity, and reached AMANUS *before day, on the thirteenth of October*. He divided his troops among his four Lieutenants, and himſelf, accompanied by his Brother, led up one part of them, and ſo coming upon the natives by ſurprize, they eaſily killed or made them all priſoners: they took *ſix ſtrong forts, and burned many more*; but the Capital of the mountain, *Erana*, made a brave reſiſtance, *and held out from break of day, to four in the Afternoon*. Upon this ſucceſs, CICERO *was ſaluted Emperor*, and ſat down again at the foot of the hills, where he ſpent *five days*, in demoliſhing the other ſtrong-holds, and waſting the lands of theſe Mountaineers. In this place his troops were lodged in the *ſame Camp, which* ALEXANDER *the Great had formerly uſed, when he beat* DARIUS *at* Iſſus; *and where there remained three Altars, as the monument of his victory, which bore his name to that day*: a circumſtance, which furniſhed matter for ſome pleaſantry, in his Letters to his friends at *Rome* [*l*].

FROM

[*l*] Qui mons erat hoſtium plenus ſempiternorum. Hic a. d. III. idus Octob. magnum numerum hoſtium occidimus. Caſtella munitiſſima, nocturno Pontinii adventu, noſtro matutino cepimus, incendimus. Imperatores appellati ſumus. Caſtra paucos dies habuimus, ea ipſa, quæ contra Darium habuerat apud Iſſum Alexander, Imperator haud paullo melior, quam aut tu aut ego. Ibi dies quinque morati, direpto & vaſtato Amano, inde diſceſſimus.—Ad Att. 5. 20.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

FROM *Amanus*, he led his army to another part of the High-lands, the moſt diſaffected to the *Roman* name, poſſeſſed by a ſtout and free people, who had never been ſubject even *to the Kings of that Country*. Their chief Town was called *Pindeniſſum*, ſituated on a ſteep and craggy hill, ſtrongly fortified by nature and art, and provided with every thing neceſſary for defence: it was the conſtant refuge of all deſerters, and the harbour of foreign enemies, and at that very time was expecting, and prepared to receive the *Parthians*: CICERO, reſolving therefore to chaſtiſe their inſolence, and bring them under the *Roman* yoke, laid ſiege to it in form; and though he puſhed it on with all imaginable vigor, and a continual battery of his Engines, yet it coſt him *above ſix weeks*, to reduce it to the neceſſity *of ſurrendering at diſcretion*. The Inhabitants were *ſold for ſlaves*, and when CICERO was writing the account from his Tribunal, he had already raiſed about *a hundred thouſand pounds by that ſale: all the other plunder, excepting the horſes, was given to the ſoldiers*. In his letter upon it to ATTICUS, *the Pindeniſſians*, ſays he, *ſurrendered to me on the Saturnalia, after a ſiege of ſeven-and-forty days: but what, the plague, you will ſay, are theſe Pindeniſſians! I never heard of their name before.*——*How can I help that? could I turn* Cilicia *into* Ætolia *or* Macedonia? *take this however for certain, that no man could do more, than I have done, with*

Expedito exercitu ita noctu iter feci, ut ad III. Id. Octob, cum luciſceret, in Amanum aſcenderem, diſtributiſque cohortibus & auxiliis, cum aliis Quintus frater Legatus, mecum ſimul, aliis C. Pontinius Legatus, reliquis M. Anneius, & M. Tullius Legati præeſſent: pleroſque nec opinantes oppreſſimus—Eranam autem, quæ fuit non vici inſtar, ſed urbis, quod erat Amani caput——acriter & diu repugnantibus, Pontinio illam partem Amani tenente, ex antelucano tempore uſque ad horam diei decimam, magna multitudine hoſtium occiſa, cepimus, caſtellaque ſex capta; complura incendimus. His rebus ita geſtis, caſtra in radicibus Amani habuimus apud aras Alexandri quatriduum: & in reliquiis Amani delendis, agriſque vaſtandis—id tempus omne conſumſimus—Ep. fam. 15. 4. vid. ibid. 2. 10.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

with ſuch an army, &c. [*m*] After this action, another neighbouring nation, *of the ſame ſpirit and fierceneſs, called* Tiburani, *terrified by the fate of* Pindeniſſum, *voluntarily ſubmitted, and gave hoſtages*; ſo that CICERO ſent his army into winter quarters under the *command of his Brother, into thoſe parts of the province, which were thought the moſt turbulent* [*n*].

WHILE he was engaged in this expedition, PAPIRIUS PÆTUS, an eminent wit and Epicurean, with whom he had a particular intimacy and correſpondence of facetious Letters, ſent him ſome military inſtructions in the way of raillery; to which CICERO anſwered in the ſame jocoſe manner: "Your Letter, ſays he, has made me a com-
"plete commander: I was wholly ignorant before of
"your great ſkill in the art of war; but perceive, that
"you have read *Pyrrhus* and *Cineas*. Wherefore I in-
"tend to follow your precepts, and withal, to have
"ſome ſhips in readineſs on the coaſt; for they deny,
"that there can be any better defence againſt the *Par-*
"*thian* horſe. But raillery apart: you little think, what
"a General you have to deal with: for in this govern-
"ment, I have reduced to practice, what I had worn out
"before with reading, the whole inſtitution of *Cyrus*, &c. [*o*]" Theſe martial exploits ſpread CICERO's fame into *Syria*,

[*m*] Confectis his rebus ad Oppidum Eleutherocilicum, *Pindeniſſum*, exercitum adduxi: quod cum eſſet altiſſimo & munitiſſimo loco, ab iiſque incoleretur, qui ne Regibus quidem unquam paruiſſent: cum & fugitivos reciperent, & Parthorum adventum acerrime expectarent: ad exiſtimationem imperii pertinere arbitratus ſum comprimere eorum audaciam—vallo & foſſa circumdedi, ſex caſtellis, caſtriſque maximis ſepſi, aggere, vineis, turribus oppugnavi, uſuſque tormentis multis, multis ſagittariis, magno labore meo—ſeptimo quadrageſimo die rem conſeci—Ep. fam. 15. 4.

Qui (malum) iſti Pindeniſſæ? qui ſunt? inquies: nomen audivi nunquam. Quid ego faciam? potui Ciliciam, Ætoliam, aut Macedoniam reddere? hoc jam ſic habeto, nec hoc exercitu hic tanta negotia geri potuiſſe.—&c.—ad Att. 5. 20.

Mancipia vænibant Saturnalibus tertiis, cum hæc ſcribebam in tribunali, res erat ad H. S. cxx. Ib.—

[*n*] His erant finitimi pari ſcelere & audacia *Tiburani*: ab his, *Pindeniſſo* capto, obſides accepi, exercitum in hiberna dimiſi. Q. Fratrem negotio præpoſui, ut in vicis aut captis aut malo pacatis exercitus collocaretur. Ep. fam. 15. 4.

[*o*] Ep. fam. 9. 25.

Syria, where BIBULUS was juſt arrived to take upon him the Command; but kept himſelf cloſe within the gates of *Antioch, till the Country was cleared of all the* Parthians: his envy of CICERO's ſucceſs, and title of *Emperor*, made him impatient to purchaſe the ſame honor by the ſame ſervice, *on the* Syrian *ſide of the mountain* Amanus: but he had the misfortune to be repulſed in his attempt, with the intire loſs of *the firſt Cohort, and ſeveral officers of diſtinction*, which CICERO *calls an ugly blow both for the time and the effect of it* [*p*]. A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

THOUGH CICERO had obtained what he calls *a juſt victory at* Amanus, and in conſequence of it, *the appellation of Emperor*, which he aſſumed from this time; *yet he ſent no public account of it to* Rome, *till after the affair of* Pindeniſſum, an exploit of more eclat and importance; for which he expected *the honor of a Thankſgiving*, and began to entertain hopes even of a *Triumph*. His public Letter is loſt, but that loſs is ſupplied by a particular narrative of the whole action in a private Letter to CATO: the deſign of paying this compliment to CATO, was to engage his vote and concurrence to the *decree of the Supplication*; and by the pains, which he takes to obtain it, where he was ſure of gaining his point without it, ſhews the high opinion, which he had of CATO's authority, and how deſirous he was to have the teſtimony of it on his ſide. But CATO was not to be moved from his purpoſe by compliments, or motives of friendſhip: he was an enemy by principle to all decrees of this kind, and thought them beſtowed too cheaply, and proſtituted to

[*p*] Erat in Syria noſtrum nomen in gratia. Venit interim Bibulus. Credo voluit appellatione hac inani nobis eſſe par. In eodem Amano cœpit laureolam in muſtaceo quærere. At ille cohortem primam totam perdidit —— ſane plagam odioſam acceperat tum re tum tempore.——ad Att. 5. 20.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 59. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

to occaſions unworthy of them: ſo that when CICERO's Letters came under deliberation, though he ſpoke with all imaginable honor and reſpect of CICERO, and highly extolled both his *civil and military adminiſtration, yet he voted againſt the ſupplication*; which was decreed however without any other diſſenting voice, except that of FAVONIUS, who loved always to mimic CATO, and of HIRRUS, who had a perſonal quarrel with CICERO: yet when the vote was over, CATO *himſelf aſſiſted in drawing up the decree, and had his name inſerted in it*; which was the uſual mark of a particular approbation of the thing, and friendſhip to the perſon in whoſe favor it paſſed [q]. But CATO's anſwer to CICERO's Letter will ſhew the temper of the man, and the grounds on which he acted on this occaſion.

M. CATO to M. T. CICERO, Emperor.

" In compliance with what both the Republic and our
" private friendſhip require of me, I rejoice, that your
" virtue, innocence, diligence, approved in the greateſt
" affairs, exerts itſelf every where with equal vigor; at
" home in the gown, abroad in arms. I did all there-
" fore, that I could do, agreeably to my own judgment,
" when in my vote and ſpeech, I aſcribed to your inno-
" cence and good conduct the defence of your province;
" the ſafety of the kingdom and perſon of ARIOBAR-
" ZANES; the recovery of the allies to their duty and af-
" fection

[q] Nunc publicè litteras Romam mittere parabam. Uberiores erunt, quam ſi ex Amano miſiſſem. Ibid.

Deinde de Triumpho, quem video, niſi Reipub. tempora impedient, ἀπορίστον—ad Att. 7. 1.

Ei porro aſſenſus eſt unus, familiaris meus Favonius; alter iratus Hirrus. Cato autem & ſcribendo affuit——ib.

Res ipſa declarat, tibi illum honorem ſupplicationis jucundum fuiſſe, quod ſcribendo affuiſti. Hæc enim Senatus conſulta non ignoro ab amiciſſimis ejus, cujus de honore agitur, ſcribi ſolere. Ep. fam. 15. 6.

" fection to our Empire. I am glad, however, that a
" Supplication is decreed; if, where chance had no part,
" but the whole was owing to your conſummate prudence
" and moderation, you are better pleaſed, that we ſhould
" hold ourſelves indebted to the Gods, than to you. But
" if you think, that a Supplication will pave the way to
" a Triumph, and for that reaſon chuſe, that fortune
" ſhould have the praiſe, rather than yourſelf; yet a
" Triumph does not always follow a Supplication, and
" it is much more honorable than any Triumph, for
" the Senate to decree, that a Province is preſerved to the
" Empire by the mildneſs and innocence of the General,
" rather than by the force of arms, and the favor of the
" Gods. This was the purpoſe of my vote; and I have
" now employed more words, than it is my cuſtom to do,
" that you might perceive, what I chiefly wiſh to teſtify,
" how deſirous I am to convince you, that in regard to
" your glory, I had a mind to do what I took to be
" the moſt honorable for you; yet rejoice to ſee that
" done, which you are the moſt pleaſed with. Adieu,
" and ſtill love me; and agreeably to the courſe, which
" you have begun, continue your integrity and diligence
" to the allies, and the Republic [*r*]".

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

CÆSAR was delighted to hear of CATO's ſtiffneſs, in hopes that it would create a coldneſs between him and CICERO; and in *a congratulatory Letter to* CICERO, upon the ſucceſs of his arms, and *the Supplication* decreed to him, took care to aggravate *the rudeneſs and ingratitude of* CATO [*s*]. CICERO himſelf was highly diſguſted at it; eſpecially when CATO ſoon afterwards *voted a ſupplication*

[*r*] Ep. fam. 15. 5.

[*s*] Itaque Cæſar iis litteris, quibus mihi gratulatur, & omnia pollicetur, quo modo exultat Catonis in me ingratiſſimi injuria; ad Att. 7. 2.

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ſupplication to his Son-in-law, BIBULUS, *who had done much leſs to deſerve it.* CATO, ſays he, *was ſhamefully malicious; he gave me what I did not aſk, a character of integrity, juſtice, clemency; but denied me what I did—— yet this ſame man voted a Supplication of twenty days to* BIBULUS: *pardon me, if I cannot bear this uſage*——[*t*] yet as he had a good opinion of CATO in the main, and a farther ſuit to make to the Senate, in the demand of a *Triumph*, he choſe to diſſemble his reſentment, and returned him a civil anſwer, to ſignify his ſatisfaction and thanks for what he had thought fit to do [*u*].

CICERO's campaign ended juſt ſo, as CÆLIUS had wiſhed in one of his Letters to him; *with fighting enough, to give a claim to the laurel; yet without the riſk of a battel with the Parthians* [*x*]. During theſe months of action, he ſent away *the two young* CICERO's, the ſon and nephew, to King DEIOTARUS's *court, under the conduct of the King's ſon, who came on purpoſe to invite them:* they were kept ſtrictly to their books and exerciſes, and made great proficiency in both; *though the one of them,* as CICERO ſays, *wanted the bit, the other the ſpur: their Tutor* DIONYSIUS attended them, *a man of great learning and probity,* but as his young pupils complained, *horribly paſſionate* [*y*]. DEIOTARUS himſelf was ſetting forward to join CICERO with all his forces, upon the firſt news of the *Parthian irruption:*

[*t*] Aveo ſcire—Cato quid agat: qui quidem in me turpiter fuit malevolus. Dedit integritatis, juſtitiæ, clementiæ, fidei teſtimonium, quod non quærebam, quod poſtulabam, negavit——at hic idem Bibulo dierum viginti. Ignoſce mihi, non poſſum hæc ferre——ibid.—

[*u*] Ep. fam. 15. 6.

[*x*] Ut optaſti, ita eſt; velles enim, ais, tantummodo ut haberem negotii quod eſſet ad laureolam ſatis. Parthos times, quia diffidis copiis noſtris. Ep. fam. 2. 10. 8. 5.

[*y*] Cicerones noſtros Deiotarus filius, qui Rex a Senatu appellatus eſt, ſecum in regnum. Dum in æſtivis nos eſſemus, illum pueris locum eſſe belliſſimum duximus. Ad Att. 5. 17.

Cicerones pueri amant inter ſe, diſcunt, exercentur: ſed alter—frænis eget, alter calcaribus—Dionyſius mihi quidem in amoribus eſt. Pueri autem aiunt eum furenter iraſci. Sed homo nec doctior, nec ſanctior fieri poteſt. Ib. 6. 1.

tion: he had with him *thirty cohorts, of four hundred men each, armed and diſciplined after the* Roman *manner, with two thouſand horſe*: but *the Parthian alarm* being over, CICERO ſent Couriers to meet him on the road, in order to *prevent his marching to no purpoſe, ſo far from his own dominion* [z]: the old King however ſeems to have brought the children back again in perſon, for the opportunity of paying his compliments, and ſpending ſome time with his friend; for by what CICERO intimates, they appear to have had an interview [a].

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

THE remaining part of CICERO's Government was employed in the civil affairs of the Province: where his whole care was, to eaſe the ſeveral cities and diſtricts of that exceſſive load of debts, in which the avarice and rapaciouſneſs of former Governors had involved them. He laid it down for the fixt rule of his adminiſtration, not to ſuffer *any money to be expended either upon himſelf or his officers*: and when one of his Lieutenants, L. TULLIUS, in paſſing through the country, *exacted onely the forage and firing, which was due by law; and that but once a day, and not, as all others had done before, from every Town and Village, through which they paſſed,* he was much out of humor, and could not help complaining of it, *as a ſtain upon his Government, ſince none of his people beſides had taken even a ſingle farthing.* All the wealthier Cities of the Province, uſed to pay to all their Proconſuls large contributions *for being exempted from furniſhing winter-quarters to the army*: CYPRUS alone paid yearly on this

[z] Mihi tamen cum Deiotaro convenit, ut ille in meis caſtris eſſet cum omnibus ſuis copiis, habet autem cohortes quadringenarias noſtra armatura triginta; equitum duo millia—ib.

Deiotarum confeſtim jam ad me venientem cum magno & firmo equitatu & peditatu & cum omnibus ſuis copiis, certiorem feci, non videri eſſe cauſam cur abeſſet a regno——Ep. fam. 15. 4.

[a] Deiotarus mihi narravit, &c. ad Att. 6. 1. 5. 21.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

ſingle account *two hundred talents, or about forty thouſand pounds*: but CICERO remitted this whole tax to them, which alone made a vaſt revenue; and applied all the cuſtomary perquiſites of his office to the relief of the oppreſſed Province: yet for all his ſervices and generoſity, which amazed the poor people, he would accept no honors, but what were merely verbal; prohibiting all expenſive monuments, *as Statues, Temples, brazen horſes*, &c. which, by the flattery of *Aſia*, uſed to be erected of courſe to all Governors, though ever ſo corrupt and oppreſſive. While he was upon his viſitation of *the Aſiatic Diſtricts*, there happened to be a kind of famine in the country; yet where-ever he came, he not onely provided for his family at his own expence, but prevailed with the Merchants and Dealers, who had any quantity of corn in their ſtore-houſes, *to ſupply the people with it on eaſy terms* [*b*]; living himſelf, all the while, *ſplendidly and hoſpitably, and keeping an open table, not onely for all the* Roman *officers, but the Gentry of the Province* [*c*]. In the following Letter to ATTICUS, he gives him a ſummary view of his manner of governing.

" I ſee, ſays he, that you are much pleaſed with my " moderation and abſtinence; but you would be much " more ſo, if you were with me; eſpecially at *Laodicea*; " where

[*b*] Cave putes quicquam homines magis unquam eſſe miratos, quam nullum teruntium, me obtinente provinciam, ſumtus factum eſſe, nec in Remp. nec in quemquam meorum, præterquam in L. Tullium, Legatum. Is cæteroqui abſtinens (ſed Julia lege tranſitans, ſemel tamen in diem, non ut alii ſolebant omnibus vicis) facit ut mihi excipiendus ſit, cum teruntium nego ſumtus factum. Præter eum accepit nemo. Has ſordes a noſtro Q. Titinnio accepimus—ad Att. 5. 21.

Civitates locupletes, ne in hiberna milites reciperent, magnas pecunias dabant. Cyprii talenta Attica cc. Qua ex inſula (non ὑπερβολικῶς ſed veriſſime loquor) nummus nullus me obtinente erogabitur. Ob hæc beneficia, quibus obſtupeſcunt, nullos honores mihi, niſi verborum, decerni ſino. Statuas, fana, τεθρίππα, prohibeo—ib.

Fames, quæ erat in hac mea Aſia, mihi optanda fuerit. Quacunque iter feci, nulla vi,—auctoritate & cohortatione perfeci, ut & Græci & Cives Romani, qui frumentum compreſſerant, magnum numerum populis pollicerentur—ib.

[*c*] Ita vivam, ut maximos ſumptus facio. Mirifice delector hoc inſtituto. Ad Att. 5. 15.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

" where I did wonders at the ſeſſions, which I have juſt
" held, for the affairs of the Dioceſes, from the thirteenth
" of February to the firſt of May. Many cities are
" wholly freed from all their debts; many greatly eaſed;
" and all, by being allowed to govern themſelves by their
" own laws, have recovered new life. There are two
" ways, by which I have put them into a capacity of
" freeing, or of eaſing themſelves at leaſt of their debts;
" the one is by ſuffering no expence at all to be made on
" the account of my government. When I ſay none at
" all, I ſpeak not hyperbolically; there is not ſo much
" as a farthing: it is incredible to think, what relief they
" have found from this ſingle article. The other is this;
" their own Greek Magiſtrates had ſtrangely abuſed and
" plundered them. I examined every one of them, who
" had born any office for ten years paſt: they all plainly
" confeſſed; and, without the ignominy of a public con-
" viction, made reſtitution of the money, which they had
" pillaged: ſo that the people, who had paid nothing to
" our farmers for the preſent Luſtrum, have now paid the
" arrears of the laſt, even without murmuring. This has
" placed me in high favor with the Publicans: a grateful
" ſet of men, you'll ſay: I have really found them ſuch---
" the reſt of my juriſdiction ſhall be managed with the
" ſame addreſs; and create the ſame admiration of my
" clemency and eaſineſs. There is no difficulty of acceſs
" to me, as there is to all other Provincial Governors; no
" introduction by my Chamberlain: I am always up be-
" fore day, and walking in my Hall, with my doors
" open, as I uſed to do, when a Candidate at *Rome*:
" this is great and gracious here; though not at all trou-

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

"bleſom to me, from my old habit and diſcipline—— "&c." [*d*]

THIS method of governing gave no ſmall umbrage to APPIUS; who conſidered it as a reproach upon himſelf, and ſent ſeveral querulous Letters to CICERO, becauſe he had reverſed ſome of his conſtitutions: "And no wonder, "ſays CICERO, that he is diſpleaſed with my manner, "for what can be more unlike, than his adminiſtration "and mine? under him the Province was drained by ex- "pences and exactions; under me, not a penny levied "for public or private uſe: what ſhall I ſay of his Præ- "fects, attendants, Lieutenants? of their plunders, ra- "pines, injuries? whereas now, there is not a ſingle "family governed with ſuch order, diſcipline, and mo- "deſty, as my Province. This ſome of APPIUS's friends "interpret ridiculouſly; as if I was taking pains to exalt "my own character, in order to depreſs his; and doing "all this, not for the ſake of my own credit, but of his "diſgrace." [*e*]. But the truth was, that, from the time of his reconciliation with APPIUS, he had a ſincere deſire to live on good terms with him; as well out of regard to the ſplendor of his birth, and fortunes, as to his great alliances; for one of his daughters was married to POMPEY's ſon, and another to BRUTUS: [*f*] ſo that, though their principles and maxims were totally different, yet he took care to do every thing with the greateſt profeſſions of honor and reſpect towards APPIUS, even when he found it

[*d*] Ib. 6. 2.

[*e*] Quid enim poteſt eſſe tam diſſimile, quam illo imperante, exhauſtam eſſe ſumptibus & jacturis provinciam, nobis eam obtinentibus, nummum nullum eſſe erogatum nec privatim nec publicè, &c.—ib. 6. 1.

[*f*] Ego Appium, ut tecum ſæpe locutus ſum, valde diligo. Meque ab eo diligi ſtatim cœptum eſſe, ut ſimultatem depoſuimus, ſenſi— jam me Pompeii totum eſſe ſcis: Brutum a me amari intelligis. Quid eſt cauſæ, cur mihi non in optatis eſt complecti hominem, florentem ætate, opibus, honoribus, ingenio liberis, propinquis, affinibus, amicis.——Ep. fam. 2. 13.

it neceſſary to reſcind his decrees; conſidering himſelf onely, he ſays, *as a ſecond Phyſician called in to a caſe of ſickneſs, where he found it neceſſary to change the method of cure, and when the Patient had been brought low by evacuations, and blood-letting, to apply all kinds of lenitive and reſtoring medicines* [g]. A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

As ſoon as the Government of *Cilicia* was allotted to him, he acquainted APPIUS with it by Letter, begging of him, *that, as no man could ſuccede to it with a more friendly diſpoſition than himſelf, ſo* APPIUS *would deliver up the Province to him, in ſuch a condition, as one friend would expect to receive it from another:* [h] in anſwer to which, APPIUS, having intimated ſome deſire of an interview, CICERO took occaſion to preſs it with much earneſtneſs, as a thing of great ſervice to them both; and that it might not be defeated, gave him an account of all his ſtages and motions, and offered to regulate them in ſuch a manner, *as to make the place of their meeting the moſt agreeable to* APPIUS's *convenience:* but APPIUS being diſguſted by the firſt edicts, which CICERO publiſhed, reſolved for that reaſon to diſappoint him; and *as* CICERO *advanced into the Province, retired ſtill to the remoter parts of it,* and contrived to come upon him at laſt ſo ſuddenly, that CICERO had not warning enough given *to go out and meet him*; which APPIUS laid hold of, as a freſh ground of complaint againſt CICERO's pride, for refuſing that common piece of reſpect to him [i]. THIS

[g] Ut ſi Medicus, cum ægrotus alii medico traditus ſit, iraſci velit ei medico, qui ſibi ſucceſſerit, ſi quæ ipſe in curando conſtituerit mutet ille. Sic *Appius*, cum ἐξ ἀφαιρεσίως provinciam curarit, ſanguinem miſerit, &c. ad Att. 6. 1.

[h] Cum contra voluntatem meam—acciderat, ut mihi cum imperio in Provinciam ire neceſſe eſſet——hæc una conſolatio occurrebat, quod neque tibi amicior, quam ego ſum, quiſquam poſſet ſuccedere, neque ego ab ullo provinciam accipere, qui mallet eam mihi quam maxime aptam explicatamque tradere, &c. Ep. fam. 3. 2.

[i] —me libenter ad eam partem provinciæ primum eſſe venturum, quo te maxime velle arbitrarer, &c.—ib. 5.

Appius noſter, cum me adventare videt, profectus eſt Tarſum uſque Laodiceâ—ad Att. 5. 17.

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THIS provoked CICERO to expoſtulate with him, with great ſpirit——" I was informed, ſays he, by one of my " Apparitors, that you complained of me for not coming " out to meet you: I deſpiſed you, it ſeems, ſo as no- " thing could be prouder——when your ſervant came to " me near midnight, and told me, that you would be " with me at *Iconium* before day, but could not ſay, by " which road, when there were two; I ſent out your " friend VARRO by the one, and Q. LEPTA, the Com- " mander of my Artillery, by the other, with inſtructi- " ons to each of them, to bring me timely notice of your " approach, that I might come out in perſon to meet " you. LEPTA came running back preſently in all haſt " to acquaint me, that you had already paſſed by the " Camp; upon which I went directly to *Iconium*, where " you know the reſt. Did I then refuſe to come out to " you? to APPIUS CLAUDIUS; to an Emperor; then, " according to ancient cuſtom; and above all, to my " friend? I, who of all men am apt to do more in that " way than becomes my dignity? but enough of this. " The ſame man told me likewiſe, that you ſaid, What! " APPIUS went out to meet LENTULUS; LENTULUS to " APPIUS; but CICERO would not come out to APPIUS. " Can you then be guilty of ſuch impertinence? a man, " in my judgment, of the greateſt prudence, learning, " experience; and I may add politeneſs too, which the " *Stoics* rightly judge to be a virtue? do you imagine, " that your APPIUS's and LENTULUS's are of more weight " with me than the ornaments of virtue? before I had " obtained thoſe honors, which, in the opinion of the " world, are thought to be the greateſt, I never fondly " admired thoſe names of yours: I looked indeed upon

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

" thoſe, who had left them to you, as great men; but
" after I had acquired, and born the higheſt Commands,
" ſo as to have nothing more to deſire, either of honor
" or glory, I never indeed conſidered myſelf as your
" ſuperior, but hoped, that I was become your equal:
" nor did POMPEY, whom I prefer to all men, who ever
" lived, nor LENTULUS, whom I prefer to myſelf, think
" otherwiſe: if you however are of a different opinion,
" it will do you no harm to read with ſome attention
" what ATHENODORUS ſays on this ſubject, that you may
" learn wherein true nobility conſiſts. But to return to
" the point: I deſire you to look upon me, not onely as
" your friend, but a moſt affectionate one: it ſhall be
" my care by all poſſible ſervices to convince you, that I
" am truly ſo: but if you have a mind to let people ſee,
" that you are leſs concerned for my intereſts, in my ab-
" ſence, than my pains for yours deſerved, I free you
" from that trouble;

" *For I have friends enough to ſerve and love*
" *Both me and mine, and above all Great Jove.* Ib. 1. 174.

" but if you are naturally querulous, you ſhall not ſtill
" hinder my good offices and wiſhes for you: all that
" you will do, is to make me leſs ſollicitous how you take
" them. I have written this with more than my uſual
" freedom, from the conſciouſneſs of my duty and affec-
" tion, which being contracted by choice and judgment,
" it will be in your power to preſerve, as long as you think
" proper. Adieu." [*k*]

CICERO'S

[*k*] Ep. fam. 3. 7.

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CICERO's Letters to APPIUS make one book of *his familiar Epiſtles*, the greateſt part of which are of the expoſtulatory kind, on the Subject of their mutual jealouſies and complaints: in this ſlippery ſtate of their friendſhip, an accident happened at *Rome*, which had like to have put an end to it. His daughter TULLIA, after parting from her ſecond huſband CRASSIPES, as it is probably thought, *by divorce* [*l*], was married in her father's abſence to a third, P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA: ſeveral parties had been offered to her, and among them TI. CLAUDIUS NERO, who afterwards married LIVIA, whom AUGUSTUS took away from him: NERO *made his propoſals to* CICERO *in* Cilicia, who referred him to the women, to whom he had left the management of that affair; but before thoſe overtures reached them, they had made up the match with DOLABELLA, *being mightily taken with his complaiſant and obſequious addreſs*. [*m*] He was a nobleman of *Patrician deſcent, and of great parts and politeneſs*; but of a violent, daring, ambitious temper, warmly attached to CÆSAR; and by a life of pleaſure and expence, which the prudence of TULLIA, it was hoped, would correct, greatly diſtreſſed in his fortunes; which made CICERO very uneaſy, when he came afterwards to know it. [*n*] DOLABELLA, at the time of this marriage, for which he made way alſo *by the divorce*

[*l*] What confirms this notion is, that CRASSIPES appears to have been alive at this time, and under CICERO's diſpleaſure: who mentions him as the onely Senator, beſides HIRRUS, to whom he did not think fit to write about the affair of his *Supplication*. Ad Att. 7. 1.

[*m*] Ego dum in provincia omnibus rebus Appium orno, ſubito ſum factus accuſatoris ejus ſocer——ſed crede mihi nihil minus putaram ego, qui de Ti. Nerone, qui mecum egerat, certos homines ad mulieres miſeram, qui Romam venerunt factis ſponſalibus. Sed hoc ſpero melius. Mulieres quidem valde intelligo delectari obſequio & comitate adoleſcentis.—— ad Att. 6. 6.

[*n*] Gener eſt ſuavis—quantumvis vel ingenii, vel humanitatis; ſatis. Reliqua quæ noſti ferenda. Ad Att. 7. 3.

Dolabellam a te gaudeo primum laudari, deinde etiam amari. Nam ea quæ ſperas Tulliæ meæ prudentia poſſe temperari, ſcio cui tuæ epiſtolæ reſpondeant. Ep. fam. 2. 15. it. 8. 13.

Hac oblectabar ſpecula, Dolabellam meum fore ab iis moleſtiis, quas libertate ſua contraxerat, liberum——ib. 16.

vorce of his firſt wife, [*o*] gave a proof of his enterpriſing genius, by impeaching APPIUS CLAUDIUS, *of practices againſt the ſtate, in his government of* Cilicia, *and of bribery and corruption in his ſuit for the Conſulſhip.* This put a great difficulty upon CICERO, and made it natural to ſuſpect, that he privately favored the impeachment, where *the Accuſer was his ſon-in-law*: but in clearing himſelf of it to APPIUS, though he diſſembled a little perhaps in diſclaming any part or knowledge of that match, yet he was very ſincere, in profeſſing himſelf an utter ſtranger to the impeachment, and was in truth greatly diſturbed at it. But as from the circumſtance of his ſucceeding to APPIUS in his Government, he was of all men the moſt capable of ſerving or hurting him at the trial, ſo POMPEY, who took great pains to ſkreen APPIUS, was extremely deſirous to engage him on their ſide, *and had thoughts of ſending one of his ſons to him for that purpoſe*: but CICERO ſaved them that trouble, by declaring early and openly for APPIUS, and promiſing every thing from the Province that could poſſibly be of ſervice to him; which he thought himſelf obliged to do the more forwardly, *to prevent any ſuſpicion of treachery to his friend, on the account of his new alliance* [*p*]: ſo that APPIUS, inſtead of declining a trial, contrived to bring it on as ſoon as he could; and with that view, having dropt his pretenſions to a *Triumph*, entered the City, and offered himſelf to his Judges, before his Accuſer was prepared for him, and

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[*o*] Illud mihi occurrit, quod inter poſtulationem, & nominis delationem uxor a Dolabella diſceſſit——ib. 8. 6.

[*p*] Pompeius dicitur valde pro Appio laborare, ut etiam putent alterutrum de filiis ad te miſſurum. Ibid.—

Poſt hoc negotium autem & temeritatem noſtri Dolabellæ deprecatorem me pro illius periculo præbeo—ib. 2. 13.

Tamen hac mihi affinitate nuntiata, non majore equidem ſtudio, ſed acrius, apertius, ſignificantius dignitatem tuam defendiſſem—nam ut vetus noſtra ſimultas antea ſtimulabat me, ut caverem ne cui ſuſpicionem ficte reconciliatæ gratiæ darem: ſic affinitas novam curam affert cavendi. Ib. 3. 12.

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was acquitted without any difficulty of both the Indictments.

IN a little time after his trial he was choſen *Cenſor*, together with PISO, CÆSAR's *father in law*, the laſt who bore that office during the freedom of the Republic. CLODIUS's *law*, mentioned above, which had greatly reſtrained the power of theſe Magiſtrates, was repealed the laſt year by SCIPIO, the Conſul, and their ancient authority reſtored to them, [*q*], which was now exerciſed with great rigor by APPIUS: who, though really a libertin, and remarkable for indulging himſelf in all the luxury of life, yet by an affectation of ſeverity, hoped to retrieve his character, and paſs for an admirer of that ancient diſcipline, for which many of his anceſtors had been celebrated. COELIUS gives a pleaſant account of him to CICERO; "Do you know, ſays he, that the Cenſor APPIUS is doing wonders amongſt us, about ſtatues and "pictures, the number of our acres, and the payment of "debts? he takes the Cenſorſhip for ſoap or nitre, and "thinks to ſcour himſelf clean with it; but he is miſtaken; for while he is laboring to waſh out his ſtains, he "opens his very veins and bowels, and lets us ſee him the "more intimately: run away to us by all the Gods, to "laugh at theſe things: DRUSUS ſits Judge upon Adultery, by the Scantinian law: APPIUS on ſtatues and "pictures." [*r*] But this vain and unſeaſonable attempt of reformation, inſtead of doing any good, ſerved only *to alienate people from* POMPEY's *cauſe*, with whom APPIUS was ſtrictly allied: whilſt his collegue PISO, who foreſaw that

[*q*] Dio, p. 147.

[*r*] Scis Appium Cenſorem hic oſtenta facere? de ſignis & tabulis, de agri modo, & ære alieno acerrime agere? perſuaſum eſt ei, Cenſuram lomentum aut nitrum eſſe. Errare mihi videtur. Nam ſordes eluere vult, venas ſibi omnes & viſcera aperit. Curre per Deos, & quam primum hæc riſum veni. Legis Scantiniæ judicium apud Druſum fieri. Appium de tabulis & ſignis agere.——Ep. fam. 8. 14.

that effect, chose to sit still, and suffer him to *disgrace the Knights and Senators at pleasure*, which he did with great freedom, and among others, turned SALLUST, *the Historian, out of the Senate*, and was hardly restrained from putting the same affront upon CURIO, which added still more friends and strength to CÆSAR [*s*]. A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

As to the public news of the year, the grand affair, that engaged all people's thoughts, was the expectation of a breach between CÆSAR and POMPEY, which seemed now unavoidable, and in which all men were beginning to take part, and ranging themselves on the one side or the other. On POMPEY's, there was *a great majority of the Senate and the Magistrates, with the better sort of all ranks: on* CÆSAR's, *all the criminal and obnoxious, all who had suffered punishment, or deserved it; the greatest part of the youth, and the City mob; some of the popular Tribuns, and all who were oppressed with debts; who had a Leader fit for their purpose, daring, and well provided, and wanting nothing but a cause.* This is CICERO's account; and COELIUS's is much the same: *I see*, says he, *that* POMPEY *will have the Senate, and all who judge of things;* CÆSAR, *all who live in fear and uneasiness; but there is no comparison between their armies* [*t*]. CÆSAR had put an end to the *Gallic war*, and reduced the whole Province to the *Roman* yoke: but though his commission was near expiring, he seemed to have no thoughts of giving it up, and returning to the condition

[*s*] Dio, l. 40. p. 150.

[*t*] Hoc video, cum homine audacissimo, paratissimoque negotium esse: omnes damnatos, omnes ignominia affectos, omnes damnatione ignominiaque dignos illac facere. Omnem fere juventutem, omnem illam urbanam ac perditam plebem; Tribunos valentes—omnes, qui ære alieno premantur—causam solam illa causa non habet, cæteris rebus abundat——ad Att. 7. 3.

In hac discordia video, Cn. Pompeium senatum, quique res judicant, secum habiturum: ad Cæsarem omnes, qui cum timore aut mala spe vivant ad Cæsarem accessuros. Exercitum conferendum non esse. Ep. fam. 8. 14.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

of a private ſubject: he pretended, *that he could not poſſibly be ſafe, if he parted with his army*, eſpecially, while POMPEY *held the Province of* Spain, *prolonged to him for five years* [u]. The Senate, in the mean while, in order to make him eaſy, had conſented *to let him take the Conſulſhip, without coming to ſue for it in perſon*: but when that did not ſatisfy him, the Conſul, M. MARCELLUS, one of his fierceſt enemies, moved them *to abrogate his Command directly, and appoint him a ſucceſſor; and ſince the war was at an end, to oblige him to diſband his troops, and to come likewiſe in perſon to ſue for the Conſulſhip, nor to allow the freedom of the City to his Colonies beyond the* Po: this related particularly to *a favorite Colony, which* CÆSAR, when Conſul, had ſettled *at* Comum, *at the foot of the* Alps, *with the freedom of the City granted to it by the Vatinian law* [x]. All the other Colonies on that ſide of the *Po* had before obtained from POMPEY's father *the rights of* Latium, that is, the freedom of *Rome* to thoſe, who had born *an annual Magiſtracy* in them: but M. MARCELLUS, out of a ſingular enmity to CÆSAR, would allow no ſuch right to *his Colony of* Comum; and having caught *a certain Comenſian Magiſtrate*, who was acting *the Citizen at* Rome, he ordered him to be ſeized, and *publicly whipt*; an indignity, from which all Citizens were exempted by law; *bidding the man go and ſhew thoſe marks of his Citizenſhip to* CÆSAR [y]. CICERO condemns this act as violent and unjuſt; MARCELLUS, ſays he, *behaved ſhamefully in the caſe of the Comenſian: for if the man had never been a Magiſtrate, he was yet of a Colony beyond*

[u] Cæſari autem perſuaſum eſt, ſe ſalvum eſſe non poſſe, ſi ab exercitu receſſerit. Fert illam tamen conditionem, ut ambo exercitus tradant. Ibid.

[x] Sueton. J. Cæſ. c. 28. Strabo, l. 5. 326.

[y] Appian. 2. 443.

beyond the Po, *ſo that* POMPEY *will not be leſs ſhocked at it than* CÆSAR *himſelf* [z].

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

THE other Conſul, SERV. SULPICIUS, was of a more candid and moderate temper; and being unwilling to give ſuch a handle for a civil war, oppoſed and over-ruled the motions of his Collegue, by the help of ſome of the Tribuns: nor was POMPEY himſelf diſpoſed to procede ſo violently, or to break with CÆSAR on that foot; but thought it more plauſible to let his term run out, and his Command expire of itſelf, and ſo throw upon him the odium of turning his arms againſt his Country, if he ſhould reſolve to act againſt the Senate and the laws. This counſil prevailed after many warm conteſtations, in which the Summer was chiefly ſpent, and a decree was offered on the laſt of September, *That the Conſuls elect*, L. PAULLUS *and* C. MARCELLUS *ſhould move the Senate on the firſt of March, to ſettle the Conſular Provinces; and if any Magiſtrate ſhould interpoſe, to hinder the effect of their decrees, that he ſhould be deemed an enemy to the Republic; and if any one actually interpoſed, that this vote and reſolution ſhould be entered into the Journals, to be conſidered ſome other time by the ſenate, and laid alſo before the people.* But four of the Tribuns gave their joint negative to this decree, C. COELIUS, L. VINICIUS, P. CORNELIUS, and C. VIBIUS PANSA. In the courſe of theſe debates, POMPEY, who affected great moderation in whatever he ſaid of CÆSAR, was teized and urged on all ſides to make an explicit declaration of his ſentiments. When he called it unjuſt to determine any thing about CÆSAR's Government, *before the firſt of March*, the term preſcribed to it

[z] Marcellus fœde de Comenſi: etſi ille Magiſtratum non geſſerit, erat tamen tranſpadanus. Ita mihi videtur non minus ſtomachi noſtro, ac Cæſari moviſſe. Ad Att. 5. 11.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

it by law, being aſked, *What, if any one ſhould then put a negative upon them*, he ſaid, *there was no difference whether* CÆSAR *refuſed to obey the decrees of the Senate, or provided men to obſtruct them: What*, ſays another, *if he ſhould inſiſt on being Conſul, and holding his Province too? What*, replied POMPEY, *if my ſon ſhould take a ſtick and cudgel me?* intimating the one to be as incredible, and as impious alſo as the other [*a*].

CICERO's friend COELIUS obtained *the Ædileſhip* this Summer from his Competitor HIRRUS, the ſame who had oppoſed CICERO in the Augurate, and whoſe diſappointment gave occaſion to many jokes between them in their Letters [*b*]. In this Magiſtracy, it being cuſtomary to procure wild beaſts of all kinds from different parts of the Empire for the entertainment of the City, COELIUS *begged of* CICERO *to ſupply him with Panthers from* Cilicia, *and to employ the Cybarites*, a people of his Province famed for hunting, *to catch them: for it would be a reflection upon you*, ſays he, *when* CURIO *had ten Panthers from that Country, not to let me have many more.* He recommends to him at the ſame time M. FERIDIUS, *a Roman Knight*, who had an Eſtate in *Cilicia*, charged with ſome ſervices or quit-rent to the neighbouring Cities, which he begs of him *to get diſcharged, ſo as to make the lands free* [*c*]: he ſeems alſo to have deſired CICERO's conſent to his levying certain contributions upon the Cities of his Province,

[*a*] Cum interrogaretur, ſi qui tum intercederent: dixit hoc nihil intereſſe, utrum C. Cæſar Senatui dicto audiens futurus non eſſet, an pararet, qui Senatum decernere non pateretur. Quid ſi, inquit alius, & Conſul eſſe & exercitum habere volet? at ille quam clementer. Quid ſi filius meus fuſtem mihi impingere volet? Ep. fam. 8. 8.

[*b*] Ep. fam. 2, 9, 10. it. 8, 2, 3, 9.

[*c*] Fere litteris omnibus tibi de Pantheris ſcripſi. Turpe tibi erit, Patiſchum Curioni decem Pantheras miſiſſe, te non multis partibus plures, &c. Ep. fam. 8, 9.

M. Feridium——tibi commendo. Agros, quos fructuarios habent civitates, vult tuo beneficio, quod tibi facile & honeſtum factu eſt, immunes eſſe—ib.

vince, *towards defraying the expence of his ſhews at* Rome; a prerogative, which the *Ædiles* always clamed, and ſometimes practiſed; though it was denied to them by ſome Governors, and particularly by QUINTUS CICERO in *Aſia*, upon the advice of his Brother [*d*]: in anſwer to all which, CICERO replied, "that he was ſorry to find that "his actions were ſo much in the dark, that it was not "yet known at *Rome* that not a farthing had been exacted "in his Province, except for the payment of juſt debts: "that it was neither fit for him to extort money, nor "for COELIUS to take it, if it were deſigned for himſelf; "and admoniſhed him, who had undertaken the part of "accuſing others, to live himſelf with more caution---- "and as to Panthers, that it was not conſiſtent with his "character to impoſe the charge of hunting them upon "the poor people [*e*]." But though he would not break his rules for the ſake of his friend, yet he took care to provide *Panthers* for him at his own expence, and ſays pleaſantly upon it, *that the Beaſts made a ſad complaint againſt him, and reſolved to quit the country, ſince no ſnares were laid in his Province for any other Creature but themſelves* [*f*].

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

CURIO likewiſe obtained the *Tribunate* this Summer, which he ſought with no other deſign, as many imagined, than for the opportunity of mortifying CÆSAR, againſt whom he had hitherto acted with great fierceneſs [*g*]. But CICERO, who knew from the temper and views of them

[*d*] Ad Quint. Frat 1. 1. §. 9.

[*e*] Reſcripſi, me moleſte ferre, ſi ego in tenebris laterem, nec audiretur Romæ, nullum in mea provincia nummum niſi in æs alienum erogari; docuique nec mihi conciliare pecuniam licere, nec illi capere: monuique eum, &c. ad Att. 6. 1.

[*f*] De Pantheris, per eos, qui venari ſolent, agitur mandato meo diligenter: ſed mira paucitas eſt: & eas, quæ ſunt, valde aiunt queri, quod nihil cuiquam inſidiarum in mea provincia niſi ſibi fiat.——Ep. fam. 2. 11.

[*g*] Sed ut ſpero & volo, & ut ſe fert ipſe Curio, bonos & ſenatum malet. Totus ut nunc eſt, hoc ſcaturit.—ib. 8. 4.

them both, how eaſy it would be to make up matters between them, took occaſion to write a congratulatory Letter to him upon this advancement, in which he exhorts him with great gravity, "to conſider into what a dangerous "criſis his Tribunate had fallen, not by chance, but his "own choice; what violence of the times, what variety "of dangers hung over the Republic, how uncertain the "events of things were, how changeable mens minds, "how much treachery and falſhood in human life---he "begs of him therefore to beware of entering into any "new counſils, but to purſue and defend, what he himſelf thought right, and not ſuffer himſelf to be drawn "away by the advice of others"---referring without doubt to M. ANTONY, the chief companion and corrupter of his youth: in the concluſion, he conjures him, to "employ his preſent power to hinder his Provincial trouble "from being prolonged by any new act of the Senate"--[*b*] CICERO's ſuſpicions were ſoon confirmed by Letters from *Rome*; whence COELIUS ſent him word of CURIO's *changing ſides, and declaring himſelf for* CÆSAR: in anſwer to which, CICERO ſays, *the laſt page of your Letter in your own hand really touched me. What do you ſay? is* CURIO *turned advocate for* CÆSAR? *who would have thought it beſides myſelf? for let me die, if I did not expect it? Good Gods, how much do I long to be laughing with you at* Rome [*i*]?

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS, C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

THE new Conſuls being CICERO's particular friends, he wrote congratulatory Letters to them both upon their election, in which he begged *the concurrence of their authority to the decree of his ſupplication*; and what he had more

[*b*] Ep. fam. 7. 7.

[*i*] Extrema pagella pupugit me tuo chirographo. Quid ais? Cæſarem nunc defendit Curio? quis hoc putaret præter me? nam ita vivam, putavi—ib. 13.

more at heart, *that they would not ſuffer any prolongation of his annual term*; in which they readily obliged him, and received his thanks alſo by letter for that favor [*k*]. It was expected, that ſomething deciſive would now be done in relation to *the Two Gauls*, and the appointment *of a ſucceſſor to* CÆSAR, ſince both the Conſuls were ſuppoſed to be his enemies: but all attempts of that kind were ſtill fruſtrated by the intrigues of CÆSAR; for when C. MARCELLUS began to renew the ſame motion, which his kinſman had made the year before, he was obſtructed by *his Collegue* PAULLUS, *and the Tribun* CURIO, whom CÆSAR *had privately gained by immenſe bribes, to ſuffer nothing prejudicial to his intereſt to paſs during their Magiſtracy* [*l*]. He is ſaid to have given PAULLUS *about three hundred thouſand pounds, and to* CURIO *much more* [*m*]. The firſt wanted it to defray the charges of *thoſe ſplendid buildings*, which he had undertaken to raiſe at his own coſt; the ſecond, to clear himſelf *of the load of his debts, which amounted to about half a million* [*n*]: for he had waſted his great fortunes ſo effectually in a few years, *that he had no other revenue left*, as PLINY ſays, *but in the hopes of a civil war* [*o*]. Theſe facts are mentioned by all the *Roman* writers;

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Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,
Gallorum captus ſpoliis & Cæſaris auro--Lucan. 4. 819.
Caught by the ſpoils of Gaul, *and* CÆSAR's *gold,*
CURIO *turn'd traitor, and his country ſold.*

and SERVIUS applies that paſſage of VIRGIL, *Vendidit hic auro patriam*, to the caſe of CURIO's *ſelling* Rome *to* CÆSAR.

[*k*] Ep. fam. 15. 7, 10, 11, 12, 13.
[*l*] Sueton. J. Cæſ. 29.
[*m*] Appian. l. ii. p. 443.
[*n*] Sexcenties Seſtertium æris alieni. Val. Max. 9. 1.
[*o*] Qui nihil in cenſu habuerit, præter diſcordiam principum. Plin. Hiſt. l. 36. 15.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. Æmilius Paullus, C. Claudius Marcellus.

Cicero in the mean time was expecting with impatience the expiration of his annual term, but before he could quit the Province, he was obliged to ſee the account of all the money, which had paſſed through his own or his officer's hands, ſtated and balanced; *and three fair copies provided, two to be depoſited in two of the principal Cities of his Juriſdiction, and a third in the Treaſury at* Rome. That his whole adminiſtration therefore might be of a piece, he was very exact and punctual in acquitting himſelf of this duty, and would not indulge *his officers in the uſe of any public money* beyond the legal time, or above the ſumm preſcribed by law, as appears from his Letters to ſome of them who deſired it [*p*]. Out of the annual revenue, which was decreed to him for the uſe of the Province, *he remitted to the Treaſury all that he had not expended to the amount of above eight hundred thouſand pounds.* "This, "ſays he, makes my whole company groan; they ima- "gined, that it ſhould have been divided among them- "ſelves, as if I ought to have been a better manager for "the treaſuries of *Phrygia* and *Cilicia*, than for our own. "But they did not move me; for my own honor weighed "with me the moſt: yet I have not been wanting to do "every thing in my power that is honorable and gene- "rous to them all [*q*]."

His laſt concern was, to what hands he ſhould commit the Government of his Province upon his leaving it, ſince

[*p*] Laodiceæ me prædes accepturum arbitror omnis publicæ pecuniæ—nihil eſt, quod in iſto genere cuiquam poſſim commodare, &c. Ep. fam. 2. 17.

Illud quidem certe factum eſt, quod lex jubebat, ut apud duas civitates, Laodicenſem, & Apameenſem, quæ nobis maximæ videbantur—rationes confectas & conſolidatas deponeremus, &c. ib. 5. 20.

[*q*] Cum enim rectum & glorioſum putarem ex annuo ſumptu, qui mihi decretus eſſet. Me C. Cœlio Quæſtori relinquere annuum, referre in ærarium ad H.S. CIↃ. ingemuit noſtra cohors, omne illud putans diſtribui ſibi oportere; ut ego amicior invenirer Phrygum aut Cilicum ærariis, quam noſtro. Sed me non moverunt; nam mea laus apud me plurimum valuit. Nec tamen quicquam honorifice in quemquam fieri potuit, quod prætermiſerim—ad Att. 7. 1.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. Æmilius Paullus, C. Claudius Marcellus.

ſince there was no ſucceſſor appointed by the Senate on account of the heats among them about the caſe of Cæsar, which diſturbed all their debates, and interrupted all other buſineſs. He had no opinion of his Quæſtor, C. Coelius, a young man of noble birth, but of no great virtue or prudence; and was afraid, after his glorious adminiſtration, that by placing ſo great a truſt in one of his character, he ſhould expoſe himſelf to ſome cenſure. But he had no body about him *of ſuperior rank*, who was willing to accept it, and did not care to force it upon his Brother, leſt that might give a handle *to ſuſpect him of ſome intereſt or partiality in the choice* [r]. He dropt the Province therefore, after ſome deliberation, into Coelius's hands, and ſet forward immediately upon his journey towards *Italy*.

But before he quitted *Aſia*, he begged of Atticus by Letter to ſend him a particular detail of all the news of the City—"There are odious reports, ſays he, about "Curio and Paullus; not that I ſee any danger, while "Pompey ſtands, or I may ſay indeed, while he ſits, if "he has but his health; but in truth, I am ſorry for my "friends Curio and Paullus. If you are now therefore "at *Rome*, or as ſoon as you come thither, I would have "you ſend me a plan of the whole Republic, which may "meet me on the road, that I may form myſelf upon "it, and reſolve what temper to aſſume on my coming "to the City: for it is ſome advantage not to come thi-"ther a mere ſtranger [s]." We ſee what a confidence he

[r] Ego de provincia decedens Quæſtorem Cœlium præpoſui provinciæ. Puerum? inquies. At Quæſtorem; at nobilem adoleſcentem; at omnium fere exemplo. Neque erat ſuperiore honore uſus, quem præficerem. Pontinius multo ante diſceſſerat. A Quinto fratre impetrari non poterat: quem tamen ſi reliquiſſem, dicerent iniqui, non me plane poſt annum, ut Senatus voluiſſet, de provincia deceſſiſſe, quoniam alteram me reliquiſſem. Ep. fam. 2. 15. vid. it. ad Att. 6, 5, 6.

[s] Huc odioſa afferebantur de Curione, de Paullo: non quo ullum periculum videam ſtante Pompeio, vel etiam ſedente, valeat modo. Sed mehercule

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. Æmilius Paullus, C. Claudius Marcellus.

placed in Pompey, on whom indeed their whole proſpect either of peace with Cæsar, or of ſucceſs againſt him, depended: as to the intimation about his health, it is expreſſed more ſtrongly in another Letter; *All our hopes*, ſays he, *hang upon the life of one man, who is attacked every year by a dangerous fit of ſickneſs* [t]. His conſtitution ſeems to have been peculiarly ſubject to fevers; the frequent returns of which, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, gave great apprehenſion to all his party: in one of thoſe fevers, which threatened his life for many days ſucceſſively, *all the Towns of* Italy *put up public prayers for his ſafety*; an honor, which had never been paid before to any man, while *Rome* was free [u].

Upon taking leave of *Cilicia*, Cicero paid a viſit to *Rhodes*, *for the ſake*, he ſays, *of the children* [x]. His deſign was to give them a view of that floriſhing Iſle, and a little exerciſe perhaps in that celebrated School of eloquence, where he himſelf had ſtudied with ſo much ſucceſs under Molo. Here he received *the news of* Hortensius's *death* [y], which greatly affected him, by recalling to his mind the many glorious ſtruggles, that they had ſuſtained together at the Bar, in their competition for the prize of eloquence. Hortensius reigned abſolute in the Forum, when Cicero firſt entered it; and as his ſuperior fame was the chief ſpur to Cicero's induſtry, ſo the ſhining ſpecimen, which Cicero ſoon gave of himſelf,

mehercule Curionis & Paulli meorum familiarium vicem doleo. Formam igitur mihi totius Reip. ſi jam es Romæ, aut cum eris, velim mittas, quæ mihi obviam veniat. Ex qua me fingere poſſum, &c. ad Att. 6. 3.

[t] In unius hominis, quotannis periculoſe ægrotantis, anima, poſitas omnes noſtras ſpes habemus——ibid. 8. 2.

[u] Quo quidem tempore univerſa Italia vota pro ſalute ejus, primo omnium civium, ſuſcepit——Vell. Pat. 2. 48. Dio, p. 155.

[x] Rhodum volo puerorum cauſa. Ad Att. 6. 7.

[y] Cum e Cilicia decedens Rhodum veniſſem, & eo mihi de Q. Hortenſii morte eſſet allatum; opinione omnium majorem animo cepi dolorem——Brut. init.

A. Urb. 703, Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS, C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

ſelf, made HORTENSIUS likewiſe the brighter for it, by obliging him to exert all the force of his genius to maintain his ground againſt his young Rival. They paſſed a great part of their lives in a kind of equal conteſt and emulation of each other's merit: but HORTENSIUS, by the ſuperiority of his years, having firſt paſſed through the uſual gradation of public honors, and ſatisfied his ambition by obtaining the higheſt, *began to relax ſomewhat of his old contention, and give way to the charms of eaſe and luxury*, to which his nature ſtrongly inclined him [*z*], till he was forced at laſt by the general voice of the City to yield the poſt of honor to CICERO; who never loſt ſight of the true point of glory, nor was ever diverted by any temptation of pleaſure from his ſteady courſe and laborious purſuit of virtue. HORTENSIUS publiſhed ſeveral orations, which were extant long after his death; and it were much to be wiſhed, that they had remained to this day, to enable us to form a judgment of the different talents of theſe two great men: but they are ſaid to have owed a great part of their credit to the advantage of his action, which yet was thought *to have more of art than was neceſſary to an Orator*, ſo that his compoſitions *were not admired ſo much by the Reader, as they had been by the Hearer* [*a*]; while CICERO's more valued productions made all others of that kind leſs ſought for, and conſequently the leſs carefully preſerved. HORTENSIUS however was generally allowed by the Ancients, and by CICERO himſelf, to have poſſeſſed every accompliſh-

[*z*] Nam is poſt Conſulatum—ſummum illud ſuum ſtudium remiſit, quo a puero fuerat incenſus; atque in omnium rerum abundantia voluit beatius, ut ipſe putabat, remiſſius certe vivere. Brut. p. 443.

[*a*] Motus & geſtus etiam plus artis habebat, quam erat Oratori ſatis. Brut. 425. dicebat melius quam ſcripſit Hortenſius. Orator. p. 261.

Ejus ſcripta tantum intra famam ſunt, qui diu princeps Oratorum—exiſtimatus eſt, noviſſime quoad vixit, ſecundus; ut appareat placuiſſe aliquid eo dicente, quod legentes non invenimus——Quint. xi. 3.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. Æmilius Paullus, C. Claudius Marcellus.

accompliſhment, which could adorn an Orator; *elegance of ſtile*; *art of compoſition*; *fertility of invention*; *ſweetneſs of elocution*; *gracefulneſs of action* [*b*]. Theſe two Rivals lived however always with great civility and reſpect towards each other, and were uſually in the ſame way of thinking and acting in the affairs of the Republic; till Cicero, in the caſe of his exil, diſcovered the plain marks of a lurking envy and infidelity in Hortensius: yet his reſentment carried him no farther than to ſome free complaints of it to their common friend Atticus, who made it his buſineſs to mitigate this diſguſt, and hinder it from proceding to an open breach; ſo that Cicero, being naturally placable, lived again with him after his return on the ſame eaſy terms as before, and lamented his death at this time with great tenderneſs, not only as the private loſs of a friend, but a public misfortune to his Country, in being deprived of the ſervice and authority of *ſo experienced a ſtateſman* at ſo critical a conjuncture [*c*].

From *Rhodes* he paſſed on to *Epheſus*, whence he ſet ſail, on the firſt of *October*, and after a tedious paſſage landed at *Athens* on the fourteenth [*d*]. Here he lodged again in his old quarters, at the houſe of his friend Aristus. His Predeceſſor, Appius, who paſſed alſo through *Athens* on his return, had ordered a *new Portico or Veſtibule to be built at his coſt to the Temple of the* Eleuſinian Ceres; which ſuggeſted a thought likewiſe to Cicero of adding ſome ornament of the ſame kind *to the Academy*, as

[*b*] Erat in verborum ſplendore elegans, compoſitione aptus, facultate copioſus:—nec prætermittebat fere quicquam, quod erat in cauſa—vox canora & ſuavis—Brut. 425.

[*c*] Nam & amico amiſſo cum conſuetudine jucunda, tum multorum officiorum conjunctione me privatum videbam—augebat etiam moleſtiam, quod magna ſapientium civium bonorumque penuria, vir egregius, conjunctiſſimuſque mecum conſiliorum omnium ſocietate alieniſſimo Reipub. tempore extinctus—Brut. init.

[*d*] Prid. Id. Octob. Athenas venimus, cum ſane adverſis ventis uſi eſſemus—Ep. fam. 14. 5.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS, C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

as a public monument of his name, as well as of his affection for the place: *for he hated*, he ſays, *thoſe falſe inſcriptions of other people's ſtatues* [*e*], with which the *Greeks* uſed to flatter their new Maſters, by effacing the old titles, and inſcribing them anew to the great men of *Rome*. He acquainted ATTICUS with his deſign, and deſired his opinion upon it: but in all probability, it was never executed, ſince his ſtay at *Athens* was now very ſhort, and his thoughts wholly bent on *Italy*: for as all his Letters confirmed to him *the certainty of a war*, in which he muſt neceſſarily bear a part, ſo he was impatient to be at home, that he might have the clearer view of the ſtate of affairs, and take his meaſures with the greater deliberation [*f*]. Yet he was not ſtill without hopes of peace, and that he ſhould be able to make up the quarrel between the chiefs; for he was, of all men, the beſt qualified to effect it, on account not only of his authority, but of his intimate friendſhip with them both; who ſeverally *paid great court to him at this time, and reckoned upon him as their own, and wrote to him with a confidence of his being a determined friend* [*g*].

IN his voyage from *Athens* towards *Italy*, TIRO, one of his ſlaves, whom he ſoon after made free, happened to fall ſick, and was left behind at *Patræ* to the care of friends

[*e*] Audio Appium προπύλαιον, Eleuſine facere. Num inepti fuerimus, ſi nos quoque Academiæ fecerimus?——equidem valde ipſas Athenas amo. Volo eſſe aliquod monumentum. Odi falſas inſcriptiones alienarum Statuarum. Sed ut tibi placebit.—Ad Att. 6. 1.

[*f*] Cognovi ex multorum amicorum litteris—ad arma rem ſpectare. Ut mihi cum venero, diſſimulare non liceat, quid ſentiam. Sed quum ſubeunda fortuna eſt, eo citius dabimus operam ut veniamus, quo facilius de tota re deliberemus.——Ep. fam. 14. 5.

Sive enim ad concordiam res adduci poteſt, ſive ad bonorum victoriam, utriuſve rei me aut adjutorem eſſe velim, aut certe non expertem.—Ad Att. 7. 3.

[*g*] Ipſum tamen Pompeium ſeparatim ad concordiam hortabor. Ib.

Me autem uterque numerat ſuum. Niſi forte ſimulat alter. Nam Pompeius non dubitat (vere enim judicat) ea, quæ de Repub. nunc ſentiat, mihi valde probari. Utriuſque autem accepi litteras ejuſmodi—ut neuter quemquam omnium pluris facere quam me videretur. Ib. 7. 1.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. Æmilius Paullus, C. Claudius Marcellus.

friends and a Phyſician. The mention of ſuch an accident will ſeem trifling to thoſe, who are not acquainted with the character and excellent qualities of Tiro, and how much we are indebted to him for preſerving and tranſmitting to poſterity the precious collection of Cicero's Letters, of which a great part ſtill remain, and one intire book of them written to Tiro himſelf; ſeveral of which relate to the ſubject of *this very illneſs*. Tiro was trained up in Cicero's family, among the reſt of his young ſlaves, in every kind of uſefull and polite learning, and being a youth of ſingular parts and induſtry, ſoon became an eminent Scholar, and extremely ſerviceable to his maſter in all his affairs both civil and domeſtic. "As for Tiro, "ſays he to Atticus, I ſee you have a concern for him: "though he is wonderfully uſefull to me, when he is "well, in every kind both of my buſineſs and ſtudies, "yet I wiſh his health more, for his own humanity and "modeſty, than for any ſervice which I reap from "him [*b*]." But his Letter to Tiro himſelf will beſt ſhew what an affectionate maſter he was: for from the time of leaving him, he never failed writing to him by every meſſenger or ſhip which paſſed that way, though it were twice or thrice a day, and often ſent one of his ſervants expreſs to bring an account of his health: the firſt of theſe Letters will give us a notion of the reſt.

M. T. Cicero to Tiro.

"I thought that I ſhould have been able to bear the "want of you more eaſily; but in truth I cannot bear "it: and though it is of great importance to my expected "honor,

[*b*] De Tirone video tibi curæ eſſe. Quem quidem ego, & ſi mirabiles utilitates mihi præbet, cum valet, in omni genere vel negotiorum vel ſtudiorum meorum, tamen propter humanitatem & modeſtiam malo ſalvum, quam propter uſum meum. Ad Att. 7. 5.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. Æmilius Paullus, C. Claudius Marcellus.

" honor, to be at *Rome* as ſoon as poſſible, yet I ſeem
" to have committed a ſin when I left you. But ſince
" you were utterly againſt proceding in the voyage till
" your health was confirmed, I approved your reſolution;
" nor do I now think otherwiſe, if you continue in the
" ſame mind. But after you have begun to take meat
" again, if you think that you ſhall be able to overtake
" me, that is left to your conſideration. I have ſent
" Mario to you with inſtructions, either to come with
" you to me as ſoon as you can, or if you ſhould ſtay
" longer, to return inſtantly without you. Aſſure yourſelf
" however of this, that, as far as it can be convenient to
" your health, I wiſh nothing more than to have you
" with me; but if it be neceſſary for the perfecting your
" recovery, to ſtay awhile longer at *Patræ*; that I wiſh
" nothing more than to have you well. If you ſail im-
" mediately, you will overtake me at *Leucas*: but if
" you ſtay to eſtabliſh your health, take care to have
" good company, good weather, and a good veſſel.
" Obſerve this one thing, my Tiro, if you love me, that
" neither Mario's coming, nor this Letter hurry you.
" By doing what is moſt conducive to your health, you
" will do what is moſt agreeable to me: weigh all theſe
" things by your own diſcretion. I want you; yet ſo
" as to love you; my love makes me wiſh to ſee you
" well; my want of you, to ſee you as ſoon as poſſible:
" the firſt is the better; take care therefore, above all
" things, to get well again: of all your innumerable ſer-
" vices to me, that will be the moſt acceptable-----the
" third of *November* [*i*]."

[*i*] Ep. fam. 16. 1.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. Æmilius Paullus, C. Claudius Marcellus.

By the honor, that he mentions in the Letter, he means *the honor of a Triumph*, which his friends encouraged him to demand for his ſucceſs at *Amanus* and *Pindeniſſum*: in writing upon it to Atticus, he ſays, "conſider what you would adviſe me with regard to a Triumph to which my friends invite me: for my part, if, Bibulus, who, while there was a *Parthian* in *Syria*, never ſet a foot out of the gates of *Antioch*, any more than he did upon a certain occaſion out of his own houſe, had not ſollicited a Triumph, I ſhould have been quiet; but now it is a ſhame to ſit ſtill [*k*]." Again, "as to a Triumph, I had no thoughts of it before Bibulus's moſt impudent Letters, by which he obtained an honorable ſupplication. If he had really done all that he has written, I ſhould rejoice at it, and wiſh well to his ſuit; but for him, who never ſtirred beyond the walls, while there was an enemy on this ſide the *Euphrates*, to have ſuch an honor decreed; and for me, whoſe army inſpired all their hopes and ſpirits into his, not to obtain the ſame, will be a diſgrace to us; I ſay to us; joining you to myſelf: wherefore I am determined to puſh at all, and hope to obtain all [*l*]."

After the contemptible account, which Cicero gives of Bibulus's conduct in *Syria*, it muſt appear ſtrange to ſee him honored with a ſupplication, and aſpiring even to a Triumph: but this was not for any thing that he himſelf had done, but for what his Lieutenant Caſſius had performed

[*k*] Ad Att. 6. 8.

[*l*] De triumpho, nulla me cupiditas unquam tenuit ante Bibuli impudentiſſimas litteras, quas ampliſſima ſupplicatio conſecuta eſt. A quo ſi ea geſta ſunt, quæ ſcripſit, gauderem & honori faverem. Nunc illum, qui pedem porta, quoad hoſtis cis Euphratem fuit, non extulerit, honore augeri, me, in cujus exercitu ſpem illius exercitus habuit, idem non aſſequi, dedecus eſt noſtrum; noſtrum, inquam, te conjungens. Itaque omnia experiar, &, ut ſpero, aſſequar.——Ad Att. 7. 2.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS, C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

performed in his abſence againſt the *Parthians*; the ſucceſs of the Lieutenants being aſcribed always to the auſpices of the General, who reaped the reward and glory of it: and as the *Parthians* were the moſt dangerous enemies of the Republic, and the more particularly dreaded at this time for their late defeat of CRASSUS, ſo any advantage gained againſt them was ſure to be well received at *Rome*, and repaid with all the honors that could reaſonably be demanded.

WHENEVER any Proconſul returned from his Province with pretenſions *to a Triumph, his Faſces, or Enſigns of Magiſtracy, were wreathed with laurel*: with this equipage CICERO landed at *Brundiſium on the twenty-fifth of* November, where his wife TERENTIA arrived at the ſame moment to meet him, ſo *that their firſt ſalutation was in the great ſquare of the City*. From *Brundiſium* he marched forward by ſlow ſtages towards *Rome*, making it his buſineſs on the road to confer with all his friends of both parties, who came out to ſalute him; and to learn their ſentiments on the preſent ſtate of affairs; from which he ſoon perceived, what of all things he moſt dreaded, an univerſal diſpoſition to war. But as he foreſaw the conſequences of it more coolly and clearly than any of them, ſo his firſt reſolution was to apply all his endeavours and authority to the mediation of a peace. He had not yet declared for either ſide, not that he was irreſolute which of them to chuſe, *for he was determined within himſelf to follow* POMPEY; but the difficulty was, how to act in the mean time towards CÆSAR, ſo as to avoid taking part in the previous decrees, which were prepared againſt him, *for abrogating his command, and obliging him to diſband his forces on pain of being declared an enemy*:

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. Æmilius Paullus, C. Claudius Marcellus.

here he wiſhed to ſtand neuter awhile, that he might act the mediator with the better grace and effect [*m*].

In this diſpoſition he had an interview with Pompey on *the tenth of* December, of which he gives the following account: "We were together, ſays he, about two "hours. He ſeemed to be extremely pleaſed at my "return; exhorted me to demand a Triumph; promiſed "to do his part in it; adviſed me not to appear in the "Senate, before I had obtained it, leſt I ſhould diſguſt "any of the Tribuns by declaring my mind: in a word, "nothing could be more obliging than his whole diſ-"courſe on this ſubject. But as to public affairs, he "talked in ſuch a ſtrain, as if a war was inevitable, with-"out giving the leaſt hopes of an accommodation. He "ſaid, that he had long perceived Cæsar to be aliena-"nated from him, but had received a very late inſtance "of it; for that Hirtius came from Cæsar a few days "before, and did not come to ſee him; and when Bal-"bus promiſed to bring Scipio an account of his buſi-"neſs the next morning before day, Hirtius was gone "back again to Cæsar in the night: this he takes for a "clear proof of Cæsar's reſolution to break with him. "In ſhort, I have no other comfort but in imagining, "that he, to whom even his enemies have voted a ſecond "Conſulſhip, and fortune given the greateſt power, will "not be ſo mad as to put all this to hazard: yet if he "begins to ruſh on, I ſee many more things to be appre-"hended than I dare venture to commit to writing: "at

[*m*] Brundiſium venimus vii Kal. Decemb.—Terentia vero, quæ quidem eodem tempore ad portam Brundiſinam venit, quo ego in portum, mihique obvia in Foro fuit. Ibid.——

Mihi σκάφος unum erit, quod a Pompeio gubernabitur——dic M. Tulli σύνθημα. Cn. Pompeio aſſentio——ib. 3.

Nunc incido in diſcrimen ipſum,—dabunt operam, ut eliciant ſententiam meam——tu autem de noſtro ſtatu cogitabis: primum quo artificio tueamur benevolentiam Cæſaris——ib. 1.

" at preſent I propoſe to be at *Rome* on the third of " *January* [*n*]." A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS, C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

THERE is one little circumſtance frequently touched in CICERO's Letters, which gave him a particular uneaſineſs in his preſent ſituation, viz. *his owing a ſumm of money to* CÆSAR, which he imagined might draw ſome reproach upon him, ſince he thought it *diſhonorable and indecent*, he ſays, *to be a debtor to one, againſt whom we were acting in public affairs: yet to pay it at that time would deprive him of a part of the money, which he had reſerved for his Triumph* [*o*]. He deſires ATTICUS however very earneſtly to ſee it paid, which was done without doubt accordingly, ſince we meet with no farther mention of it: it does not appear, nor is it eaſy to gueſs for what occaſion this debt was contracted, unleſs it was to ſupply the extraordinary expence of his buildings after his return from exil, when he complained of being in a particular want of money from that general diſſipation of his fortunes.

POMPEY, finding CICERO wholly bent on peace, contrived to have a ſecond conference with him before he reached the City, in hopes to allay his fears, and beat him off from that vain project of an accommodation, which might help to cool the zeal of his friends in the ſenate: he overtook him therefore at *Lavernium*, and came on with him to *Formiæ*, where they ſpent a whole afternoon in a cloſe converſation. POMPEY ſtrongly diſcouraged all thoughts of a pacification, declaring, " that there could " be none but what was treacherous and dangerous; and " that if CÆSAR ſhould diſband his army, and take the " Conſulſhip,

[*n*] Ad Att. 7. 4.

[*o*] Illud tamen non definam, dum adeſſe te putabo, de Cæſaris nomine rogare, ut confectum relinquas. Ib. 5. 6.

Mihi autem moleſtiſſimum eſt, quod ſolvendi ſunt nummi Cæſari, & inſtrumentum triumphi eo conferendum. Eſt enim ἄμοιφον, ἀνλιπολλευομένῳ χρεοφειλέτην eſſe.—— ib. 7, 8.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. Æmilius Paullus, C. Claudius Marcellus.

" Conſulſhip, he would throw the Republic into con-
" fuſion: but he was opinion, that when he underſtood
" their preparations againſt him, he would drop the
" Conſulſhip, and hold faſt his army: but if he was mad
" enough to come forward and act offenſively, he held
" him in utter contempt from a confidence in his own
" troops, and thoſe of the Republic. They had got
" with them the copy of a ſpeech, which ANTONY, one
" of the new Tribuns, made to the people four days before:
" it was a perpetual invective on POMPEY's conduct from
" his firſt appearance in public, with great complaints
" againſt the violent and arbitrary condemnation of Citi-
" zens, and the terror of his arms. After reading it over
" together, what think you, ſays POMPEY, would CÆSAR
" himſelf do, if in poſſeſſion of the Republic, when this
" paultry, beggarly fellow, his Quæſtor, dares to talk at
" this rate? on the whole, POMPEY ſeemed not onely
" not to deſire, but even to dread a peace [p]."

CICERO however would not ſtill be driven from the hopes and purſuit of an accommodation; the more he obſerved the diſpoſition of both parties, the more he perceived the neceſſity of it: the honeſt, as they were called, were diſunited among themſelves; many of them diſſatisfied with POMPEY; all fierce and violent; and denouncing nothing but ruin to their adverſaries; he clearly foreſaw, what he declared without ſcruple to his friends, *that which ſide ſoever got the better, the war muſt neceſſarily end in a Tyranny; the onely difference was, that if their enemies conquered, they ſhould be proſcribed, if their friends, be ſlaves.* Though he had an abhorrence therefore of CÆSAR's cauſe, yet his advice was, to grant him his own terms, rather than try the experiment of arms, *and*

[p] Ib. 7, 8.

and prefer the moſt unjuſt conditions to the juſteſt war: ſince after they had been arming him againſt themſelves for ten years paſt, it was too late to think of fighting, when they had made him too ſtrong for them [q].

THIS was the ſumm of his thoughts and counſils, when he arrived at *Rome on the fourth of* January; where he found the two new Conſuls intirely devoted to POMPEY's intereſts. On his approach towards the City great multitudes came out to meet him with all poſſible demonſtrations of honor: *his laſt ſtage was from* POMPEY's *villa near* Alba, *becauſe his own at* Tuſculum *lay out of the great road, and was not commodious for a public entry: on his arrival,* as he ſays, *he fell into the very flame of civil diſcord,* and found the war in effect proclamed [r]: for the Senate, at SCIPIO's motion, had juſt voted a decree, *that* CÆSAR *ſhould diſmiſs his army by a certain day, or be declared an enemy; and when* M. ANTONY *and* Q. CASSIUS, *two of the Tribuns, oppoſed their negative to it,* as they had done to every decree propoſed againſt CÆSAR, and could not be perſuaded by the intreaties of their friends, to give way to the authority of the Senate, they proceded to that vote, which was the laſt reſort in caſes of extremity, *that the Conſuls, Prætors, Tribuns, and all who were about the city with Proconſular power, ſhould take care that the Republic received no detriment.* As this

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

[q] De Repub. quotidie magis timeo. Non enim boni, ut putant, conſentiunt. Quos ego Equites Romanos, quos Senatores vidi, qui acerrime tum cætera, tum hoc iter Pompeii vituperarent. Pace opus eſt, ex victoria cum multa mala, tum certe Tyrannus exiſtet.—— ib. 7. 5.

Ut ſi victus eris, proſcribare; ſi viceris, tamen ſervias. Ib. 7. 7.

Ad pacem hortari non deſino, quæ vel injuſta utilior eſt, quam juſtiſſimum bellum.—— ib. 7. 14.

Mallem tantas ei vires non dediſſet, quam nunc tam valenti reſiſteret. ib. 7. 3.

Niſi forte hæc illi tum arma dedimus, ut nunc cum bene parato pugnaremus. Ib. 7. 6.

[r] Ego ad urbem acceſſi prid. non. Jan. obviam mihi ſic eſt proditum, ut nihil poſſit fieri ornatius. Sed incidi in ipſam flammam civilis diſcordiæ vel potius belli——Ep. fam. 16. 11.

Ego in Tuſculanum nihil hoc tempore. Devium eſt τοῖς ἀπαυλῶσι, &c. ad Att. 7. 5.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

this was ſuppoſed to arm the Magiſtrates with an abſolute power, to treat all men as they pleaſed, whom they judged to be enemies, ſo the *Two Tribuns*, together with CURIO, immediately *withdrew themſelves upon it, and fled in diſguiſe to* CÆSAR*'s camp, on pretence of danger and violence to their perſons, though none was yet offered or deſigned to them* [s].

M. ANTONY, who now began to make a figure in the affairs of *Rome*, was of an ancient and noble extraction; the Grandſon of that celebrated ſtateſman and orator, who loſt his life in the maſſacres of MARIUS and CINNA: his Father, as it is already related, had been honored with one of the moſt important Commiſſions of the Republic; but after an inglorious diſcharge of it, died with the character of a corrupt, oppreſſive and rapacious Commander. The Son, trained in the diſcipline of ſuch a Parent, whom he loſt when he was very young, launched out at once into all the exceſs of riot and debauchery, and *waſted his whole patrimony before he had put on the manly gown*; ſhewing himſelf to be the genuin Son of that Father, who was born, as SALLUST ſays, *to ſquander money, without ever employing a thought on buſineſs, till a preſent neceſſity urged him.* His comely perſon, lively wit, inſinuating addreſs, made young CURIO infinitely fond of him; ſo that, in ſpight of the Commands of a ſevere Father, who had often turned ANTONY out of doors and forbidden him his houſe, he could not be prevailed with to forſake his company; but ſupplied him with money for his frolics and amours, till he had involved himſelf on his account in

[s] Antonius quidem noſter & Q. Caſſius, nulla vi expulſi, ad Cæſarem cum Curione profecti erant; poſtea quam ſenatus Conſulibus, Prætoribus, Tribunis plebis & nobis, qui Proconſules ſumus, negotium dederat, ut curaremus, ne quid Reſp. detrimenti caperet—Ep. fam. 16, 11.

in a debt *of fifty thouſand pounds.* This greatly afflicted *old* CURIO; *and* CICERO *was called in to heal the diſtreſs of the family*, whom the Son entreated, with tears in his eyes, to intercede for ANTONY, as well as for himſelf, and not ſuffer them to be parted: but CICERO having prevailed with the Father to make his ſon eaſy, by diſcharging his debts, adviſed him to inſiſt upon it as a condition, and to enforce it by his paternal power, that he ſhould have no farther commerce with ANTONY [*t*]. This laid the foundation of an early averſion in ANTONY to CICERO, encreaſed ſtill by the perpetual courſe of ANTONY's life, which fortune happened to throw among CICERO's inveterate enemies: for, by the ſecond marriage of his mother, he became *ſon in law to that* LENTULUS, who was put to death for conſpiring with CATILINE, by whom he was initiated into all the cabals of a traiterous faction, and infected with principles pernicious to the liberty of *Rome.* To revenge the death of this father, he attached himſelf to CLODIUS, and during his *Tribunate*, was one of the miniſters of all his violences; yet was detected at the ſame time in ſome *criminal intrigue* in his family, injurious *to the honor of his Patron* [*u*]. From this education in the City, he went abroad to learn the art of war under GABINIUS, the moſt profligate of all Generals; who gave him *the command of his horſe in* Syria, where he ſignalized his

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

[*t*] Teneſne memoria Prætextatum te decoxiſſe?——nemo unquam puer emptus libidinis cauſa tam fuit in domini poteſtate, quam tu in Curionis. Quoties te pater ejus domo ſuo ejecit?——ſciſne me de rebus mihi notiſſimis dicere? recordare tempus illud, cum Pater Curio mœrens jacebat in lecto; filius ſe ad pedes meos proſternens, lacrymans te mihi commendabat, orabat, ut te contra patrem ſuum, ſi H.S. ſexagies peteret defenderem: tantum enim ſe pro te interceſſiſſe: ipſe autem amore ardens confirmabat, quod deſiderium tui diſcidii ferre non poſſet—quo ego tempore tanta mala florentiſſimæ familiæ ſedavi vel potius ſuſtuli: patri perſuaſi, ut æs alienum filii diſſolveret, &c.——[Philip. 2. 18.—] M. Antonius, perdundæ pecuniæ genitus, vacuuſque curis, niſi inſtantibus. Salluſt. Hiſtor. Fragm. l. iii.

[*u*] Te domi P. Lentuli educatum—[Phil. 2. 7.] Intimus erat in Tribunatu Clodio—ejus omnium incendiorum fax—cujus etiam domi quiddam jam tum molitus eſt, &c. ib. 19.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. Claudius Marcellus, L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus.

his courage in *the reſtoration of King* Ptolemy, and acquired the firſt taſt of martial glory, in an expedition undertaken againſt *the laws and religion of his Country* [x]. From *Egypt, inſtead of coming home*, where his debts would not ſuffer him to be eaſy, *he went to* Cæsar *into* Gaul, the ſure refuge of all the needy, the deſperate, and the audacious: and after ſome ſtay in that Province, being furniſhed with money and credit by Cæsar, he returned to *Rome* to ſue for the *Quæſtorſhip* [y]. Cæsar recommended him in a preſſing manner to Cicero, *entreating him to accept* Antony's *ſubmiſſion, and pardon him for what was paſt, and to aſſiſt him in his preſent ſuit: with which* Cicero *readily complied*, and obliged Antony ſo highly by it, that he declared war preſently againſt Clodius, *whom he attacked with great fierceneſs in the Forum, and would certainly have killed, if he had not found means to hide himſelf under ſome ſtairs.* Antony openly gave out, *that he owed all this to* Cicero's *generoſity, to whom he could never make amends for former injuries, but by the deſtruction of his enemy* Clodius [z]. Being choſen *Quæſtor*, he went back immediately to Cæsar, without expecting *his lot, or a decree of the Senate*, to appoint him his Province: where, tho' he had all imaginable opportunities of acquiring money, yet by ſquandering, as faſt as he got it, he came a ſecond time *empty and beggarly to* Rome, *to put in for the Tribunate*; in which office, after the example of *his friend* Curio,

[x] Inde iter Alexandriam, contra ſenatus auctoritatem, contra Rempub. & religiones: ſed habebat ducem Gabinium, &c. ib.

[y] Prius in ultimam Galliam ex Ægypto quam domum—veniſti e Gallia ad Quæſturam petendam.—ibid.—vid. Plutar. in Anton.

[z] Acceperam jam ante Cæſaris litteras, ut mihi ſatisfieri paterer a te—poſtea cuſtoditus ſum a te, tu a me obſervatus in petitione Quæſturæ. quo quidem tempore P. Clodium—in foro es conatus occidere—ita prædicabas, te non exiſtimare, niſi illum interfeciſſes, unquam mihi pro tuis in me injuriis ſatis eſſe facturum—ib. 20.

Cum ſe ille fugiens in ſcalarum tenebras abdidiſſet, &c. pro Mil. 25.

CURIO, having ſold himſelf to CÆSAR, he was, as CICERO ſays, *as much the cauſe of the enſuing war, as* HELEN *was of that of* Troy [*a*].

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

IT is certain at leaſt, *that* ANTONY*'s flight gave the immediate pretext to it*, as CICERO had foretold: "CÆSAR, "ſays he, will betake himſelf to arms, either for our "want of preparation, or if no regard be had to him at "the election of Conſuls; but eſpecially, if any Tribun, "obſtructing the deliberations of the Senate, or exciting "the people to ſedition, ſhould happen to be cenſured "or over-ruled, or taken off, or expelled, or pretending "to be expelled, run away to him——" [*b*] in the ſame Letter, he gives a ſhort, but true ſtate of the merit of his cauſe: "What, ſays he, can be more impudent? You "have held your government ten years, not granted to "you by the Senate, but extorted by violence and faction: "the full term is expired, not of the law, but of your "licentious will: but allow it to be a law; it is now "decreed, that you muſt have a ſucceſſor: you refuſe, "and ſay, have ſome regard to me: do you firſt ſhew "your regard to us: will you pretend to keep an army "longer than the people ordered, and contrary to the "will of the Senate [*c*]?" but CÆSAR*'s ſtrength lay not in the goodneſs of his cauſe, but of his troops* [*d*]; a conſiderable part of which he was now drawing together towards the confines of *Italy*, to be ready to enter into

[*a*] Deinde ſine ſenatus conſulto, ſine ſorte, ſine lege ad Cæſarem cucurriſti. Id enim unum in terris egeſtatis, æris alieni, nequitiæ, perditis vitæ rationibus perfugium eſſe ducebas—advolaſti egens ad Tribunatum, ut in eo Magiſtratu, ſi poſſes, viri tui ſimilis eſſes——ut Helena Trojanis, ſic iſte huic Reipub. cauſa belli, &c.——Phil. 2. 21, 22.

[*b*] Aut addita cauſa, ſi forte Tribunus pleb. ſenatum impediens, aut populum incitans, notatus, aut ſenatus conſulto circumſcriptus, aut ſublatus aut expulſus ſit, dicensve ſe expulſum ad ſe confugerit———ad Att. 7. 9.

[*c*] ibid. it. Ep. fam. 16. 11.

[*d*] Alterius ducis cauſa melior videbatur, alterius erat firmior. Hic omnia ſpecioſa, illic valentia. Pompeium ſenatus auctoritas, Cæſarem militum armavit fiducia. Vell. Pat. 2. 49.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

action at any warning: *the flight of the Tribuns* gave him a plauſible handle to begin, and ſeemed to ſanctify his attempt; but *his real motive*, ſays PLUTARCH, *was the ſame that animated* CYRUS *and* ALEXANDER *before him to diſturb the peace of mankind; the unquenchable thirſt of Empire, and the wild ambition of being the greateſt man in the world, which was not poſſible, till* POMPEY *was firſt deſtroyed* [e]. Laying hold therefore of the occaſion, he preſently paſſed the *Rubicon*, which was *the boundary of his Province* on that ſide of *Italy*, and marching forward in an hoſtile manner, poſſeſſed himſelf without reſiſtance of the next great Towns in his way, *Ariminum*, *Piſaurum*, *Ancona*, *Aretium*, &c. [f].

IN this confuſed and diſordered ſtate of the City, CICERO's friends were ſolliciting *the decree of his Triumph*, to which the whole Senate ſignified their ready conſent: but *the Conſul* LENTULUS, *to make the favor more particularly his own, deſired that it might be defered for a while, till the public affairs were better ſettled, giving his word, that he would then be the mover of it himſelf* [g]. But CÆSAR's ſudden march towards *Rome* put an end to all farther thoughts of it, and ſtruck the Senate with ſuch a panic, that, as if he had been already at the gates, they reſolved preſently to quit the City, and retreat towards the ſouthern parts of *Italy*. All the principal Senators had particular diſtricts aſſigned to their care, to be provided with troops and all materials of defence againſt CÆSAR:

[e] Plutar. in Anton.

[f] An ille id faciat, quod paullo ante decretum eſt, ut exercitum citra Rubiconem, qui finis eſt Galliæ, educeret?—Philip. 6. 3.

Itaque cum Cæſar amentia quadam raperetur, &—Ariminum, Piſaurum, Anconam, Arretium occupaviſſet, Urbem reliquimus—Ep. fam. 16. 12.

[g] Nobis tamen inter has turbas Senatus frequens flagitavit Triumphum: ſed LENTULUS Conſul, quo majus ſuum beneficium faceret, ſimul atque expediſſet quæ eſſent neceſſaria de Repub. dixit ſe relaturum. Ep. fam. 16. 11.

CÆSAR. CICERO *had* Capua, *with the inſpection of the Sea coaſt from* Formiæ: *he would not accept any greater charge for the ſake of preſerving his authority in the taſk of mediating a peace* [*h*]; and for the ſame reaſon, when he perceived his new Province wholly unprovided againſt an enemy, *and that it was impoſſible to hold* Capua *without a ſtrong Garriſon, he reſigned his Employment, and choſe not to act at all* [*i*].

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

CAPUA had always been the common ſeminary or place of educating *Gladiators* for the great men of *Rome*; where CÆSAR had a famous ſchool of them at this time, which he had long maintained under the beſt maſters for the occaſions of his public ſhews in the City; and as they were very numerous and well furniſhed with arms, there was reaſon to apprehend that they would break out, and make ſome attempt in favor of their maſter, which might have been of dangerous conſequence in the preſent circumſtances of the Republic; ſo that POMPEY thought it neceſſary to take them out of their ſchool, and diſtribute them among the principal Inhabitants of the place, *aſſigning two to each maſter of a family*, by which he ſecured them from doing any miſchief [*k*].

WHILE

[*h*] Ego negotio præſum non turbulento; vult enim me Pompeius eſſe, quem tota hæc Campana & maritima ora habeat ἐπίσκοπον, ad quem delectus & ſumma negotii referatur. Ad Att. 7. 11.

Ego adhuc oræ maritimæ præſum a Formiis. Nullum majus negotium ſuſcipere volui, quo plus apud illum meæ litteræ cohortationeſque ad pacem valerent. Ep. fam. 16. 12.

[*i*] Nam certe neque tum peccavi, cum imparatam jam Capuam, non ſolum ignaviæ delectus, ſed etiam perfidiæ ſuſpicionem fugiens, accipere nolui—ad Att. 8. 12.

Quod tibi oſtenderam, cum a me Capuam rejiciebam: quod feci non vitandi oneris cauſa, ſed quod videbam teneri illam urbem ſinee xercitu non poſſe—Ep. Cic. ad Pomp. Ad Att. 8. 11.

As CICERO, when Proconſul of *Cilicia*, often mentions the *Dioceſes* that were annexed to his government, [Ep. Fam. 13. 67.] ſo in this Command of *Capua* he calls himſelf the *Epiſcopus* of the Campanian coaſt: which ſhews, that theſe names, which were appropriated afterwards in the Chriſtian Church to characters and powers Eccleſiaſtical, carried with them in their original uſe the notion of a real authority and juriſdiction.

[*k*] Gladiatores Cæſaris, qui Capuæ ſunt—ſane commode Pompeius diſtribuit, binos ſingulis patribus familiarum. Scutorum in ludo 100 fuerunt eruptionem facturi fuiſſe dicebantur—ſane multum in eo Reip. proviſum eſt. Ad Att. 7. 14.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. Claudius Marcellus, L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus.

While the *Pompeian* party was under no ſmall dejection on account of Pompey's quitting the City, and retreating from the approach of Cæsar, T. Labienus, one of the chief Commanders on the other ſide, *deſerted* Cæsar, and came over to them, which added ſome new life to their cauſe, and raiſed an expectation, that many more would follow his example. Labienus had eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the *Gallic* war, where next to Cæsar himſelf, he had born the principal part; and by Cæsar's favor, had raiſed an immenſe fortune: ſo that he was much careſſed, and carried about every-where by Pompey, who promiſed himſelf great ſervice from his fame and experience, and eſpecially from his credit in Cæsar's army, and the knowledge of all his counſils: but his account of things, like that of all deſertors, was accommodated rather to pleaſe, than to ſerve his new friends; repreſenting *the weakneſs of* Cæsar's *troops, their averſion to his preſent deſigns, the diſaffection of the two* Gauls, *and diſpoſition to revolt*; the contrary of all which was found to be true in the experiment: and as he came to them ſingle, without bringing with him any of thoſe troops with which he had acquired his reputation, ſo his deſertion had no other effect, than to ruin his own fortunes, without doing any ſervice to Pompey [*l*].

But what gave a much better proſpect to all honeſt men was the propoſal of an accommodation, which came about this time from Cæsar; who while he was puſhing on

[*l*] Maximam autem plagam accepit, quod is, qui ſummam auctoritatem in illius exercitu habebat, T. Labienus ſocius ſceleris eſſe noluit: reliquit illum, & nobiſcum eſt: multique idem facturi dicuntur. Ep. fam. 16. 12.

Aliquantum animi videtur attuliſſe nobis Labienus—ad Att. 7. 13.

Labienum ſecum habet (Pompeius) non dubitantem de imbecillitate Cæſaris copiarum: cujus adventu Cnœus noſter multo animi plus habet. Ib. 7. 16.

Nam in Labieno parum eſt dignitatis. Ib. 8. 2.

fortis in armis
Cæſaris Labienus erat: nunc tranſfuga vilis—
Lucan. 5. 345.

on the war with incredible vigor, talked of nothing but peace, and endeavoured particularly to perſuade CICERO, *that he had no other view than to ſecure himſelf from the inſults of his enemies, and yield the firſt rank in the ſtate to* POMPEY [*m*]. The conditions were, that POMPEY *ſhould go to his Government of* Spain, *that his new levies ſhould be diſmiſſed, and his garriſons withdrawn, and that* CÆSAR *ſhould deliver up his Provinces, the farther* Gaul *to* DOMITIUS, *the hither to* CONSIDIUS, *and ſue for the Conſulſhip in perſon, without requiring the privilege of abſence.* Theſe terms were readily embraced in a grand council of the Chiefs at *Capua*, and young L. CÆSAR, who brought them, was ſent back with letters from POMPEY, and the addition onely of one preliminary article, *that* CÆSAR *in the mean while ſhould recall his troops from the Towns, which he had ſeized beyond his own Juriſdiction, ſo that the Senate might return to* Rome, *and ſettle the whole affair with honor and freedom* [*n*]. CICERO was preſent at this council, of which he gave an account to ATTICUS; "I came to *Capua*, ſays he, yeſterday, the "twenty-ſixth of *January*, where I met the Conſuls, and "many of our order: they all wiſhed that CÆSAR would "ſtand to his conditions, and withdraw his troops: FA-"VONIUS alone was againſt all conditions impoſed by "CÆSAR, but was little regarded by the Council: for "CATO himſelf would now rather live a ſlave, than fight; "and declares, that if CÆSAR recall his garriſons, he will "attend

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[*m*] Balbus major ad me ſcribit, nihil malle Cæſarem, quam, principe Pompeio, ſine metu vivere. Tu, puto, hæc credis. Ad Att. 8, 9.

[*n*] Feruntur omnino conditiones ab illo, ut Pompeius eat in Hiſpaniam; dilectus, qui ſunt habiti, & præſidia noſtra dimittantur: ſe ulteriorem Galliam Domitio, citeriorem Conſidio Noniano—traditurum. Ad Conſulatus petitionem ſe venturum; neque ſe jam velle, abſente ſe, rationem ſui haberi. Ep. fam. 16, 12. ad Att. 7. 14.

Accepimus conditiones; ſed ita, ut removeat præſidia ex iis locis, quæ occupavit, ut ſine metu de iis ipſis conditionibus Romæ Senatus haberi poſſit. Ibid.

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" attend the Senate, when the conditions come to be ſet-
" tled, and not go to *Sicily*, where his ſervice is more
" neceſſary, which I am afraid will be of ill conſe-
" quence——there is a ſtrange variety in our Senti-
" ments; the greateſt part are of opinion, that CÆSAR
" will not ſtand to his terms, and that theſe offers are
" made onely to hinder our preparations: but I am apt
" to think that he will withdraw his troops: for he gets
" the better of us by being made Conſul, and with leſs
" iniquity, than in the way which he is now purſuing;
" and we cannot poſſibly come off without ſome loſs;
" for we are ſcandalouſly unprovided both with ſoldiers,
" and with money, ſince all that which was either private
" in the City, or public in the treaſury, is left a prey to
" him [*o*]."

DURING the ſuſpenſe of this treaty, and the expectation of CÆSAR's anſwer, CICERO began to conceive ſome hopes that both ſides were relenting, and diſpoſed to make up the quarrel; CÆSAR, from a reflection on his raſhneſs, and the Senate on their want of preparation: but he ſtill ſuſpected CÆSAR, and the ſending a meſſage ſo important by a perſon ſo inſignificant, as *young* LUCIUS CÆSAR *looked*, he ſays, *as if he had done it by way of contempt, or with a view to diſclame it*, eſpecially when after offering conditions, which were likely to be accepted, he would not ſit ſtill to wait an anſwer, *but continued his march with the ſame diligence, and in the ſame hoſtile manner, as before* [*p*]. His ſuſpicions proved true; for by letters,

[*o*] Ad Att. 7. 15.

[*p*] Spero in præſentia pacem nos habere. Nam & illum furoris, & hunc noſtrum copiarum ſuppœnitet. Ibid.

Tamen vereor ut his ipſis (Cæſar) contentus ſit. Nam cum iſta mandata dediſſet L. Cæſari, debuit eſſe paullo quietior, dum reſponſa referrentur. Ib. 7. 17.

Cæſarem quidem, L. Cæſare cum mandatis de pace miſſo, tamen aiunt acerrime loca occupare——ib. 18.

L. Cæſarem vidi——ut id ipſum mihi ille videatur irridendi cauſa feciſſe, qui tantis de rebus huic mandata dederit, niſi forte non dedit, & hic ſermone aliquo arrepto pro mandatis abuſus eſt—ib. 13.

letters, which came ſoon after from FURNIUS and CURIO, he perceived, *that they made a mere jeſt of the Embaſſy* [*q*]. A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

IT ſeems very evident, that CÆSAR had no real thoughts of peace, by his paying no regard to POMPEY's anſwer, and the trifling reaſons which he gave for ſlighting it [*r*]; but he had a double view in offering thoſe conditions; for by POMPEY's rejecting them, as there was reaſon to expect from his known averſion to any treaty, he hoped to load him with the odium of the war; or by his embracing them, to ſlacken his preparations, and retard his deſign of leaving *Italy*; whilſt he himſelf, in the mean time, by following him with a celerity that amazed every body [*s*], might chance to come up with him before he could embark, and give a deciſive blow to the war; from which he had nothing to apprehend, but it's being drawn into length. "I now plainly ſee, ſays CICERO, though "later indeed than I could have wiſhed on account of "the aſſurances given me by BALBUS, that he aims at "nothing elſe, nor has ever aimed at any thing from "the beginning, but POMPEY's life [*t*]."

IF we conſider this famous *paſſage of the Rubicon*, abſtractedly from the event, it ſeems to have been ſo hazardous and deſperate, that POMPEY might reaſonably contemn the thought of it, as of an attempt too raſh for any prudent man to venture upon. If CÆSAR's view indeed had been to poſſeſs himſelf only of *Italy*, there could have been

[*q*] Accepi litteras tuas, Philotimi, Furnii, Curionis ad Furnium, quibus irridet L. Cæſaris legationem.——ib. 19.

[*r*] Cæſ. Comment. de Bell. civ. l. 1.

[*s*] O celeritatem incredibilem!—ad Att. 7. 22. CICERO calls him a monſter of vigilance and celerity——[ib. 8. 9.] for from his paſſage of the Rubicon, though he was forced to take in all the great Towns on his road, and ſpent ſeven days before *Corfinium*, yet in leſs than two months he marched through the whole length of *Italy*, and came before the gates of *Brundiſium* before POMPEY could embark on the 9th of *March*. Ad Att. 9. 13.

[*t*] Intelligo ſerius equidem quam vellem, propter epiſtolas ſermoneſque Balbi, ſed video plane nihil aliud agi, nihil actum ab initio, quam ut hunc occideret. Ad Att. 9. 5.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

no difficulty in it: his army was undoubtedly the beſt which was then in the world; fluſhed with victory, animated with zeal for the perſon of their General, and an over-match for any which could be brought againſt it into the field: but this ſingle army was all that he had to truſt to; he had no reſource: the loſs of one battle was certain ruin to him; and yet he muſt neceſſarily run the riſk of many before he could gain his end: for the whole Empire was armed againſt him; every Province offered a freſh enemy, and a freſh field of action, where he was like to be expoſed to the ſame danger as on the plains of *Pharſalia*. But above all, his enemies were maſters of the ſea, ſo that he could not tranſport his forces abroad without the hazard of their being deſtroyed by a ſuperior fleet, or of being ſtarved at land by the difficulty of conveying ſupplies and proviſions to them: POMPEY relied chiefly on this ſingle circumſtance, and was perſuaded, *that it muſt neceſſarily determine the war in his favor* [*u*]: ſo that it ſeems ſurprizing, how ſuch a ſuperiority of advantage, in the hands of ſo great a Commander, could poſſibly fail of ſucceſs; and we muſt admire rather the fortune, than the conduct of CÆSAR, for carrying him ſafe through all theſe difficulties to the poſſeſſion of the Empire.

CICERO ſeldom ſpeaks of his attempt, but *as a kind of madneſs* [*x*], and ſeemed to retain ſome hopes to the laſt, that he would not perſiſt in it: the ſame imagination made POMPEY and the Senate ſo reſolute to defy, when they were in no condition to oppoſe him. CÆSAR on the other hand might probably imagine, that their ſtiffneſs proceded from a vain conceit of their ſtrength, which

[*u*] Exiſtimat, (Pompeius) qui mare teneat, eum neceſſe rerum potiri—itaque navalis apparatus ei ſemper antiquiſſima cura fuit. Ib. 10. 8.

[*x*] Cum Cæſar amentia quadam raperetur— Ep. fam. 16. 12.

which would induce them to venture a battle with him in *Italy*; in which caſe he was ſure enough to beat them: ſo that both ſides were drawn farther perhaps than they intended, by miſtaking each other's views. CÆSAR, I ſay, might well apprehend, that they deſigned to try their ſtrength with him in *Italy*: for that was the conſtant perſuaſion of the whole party, who thought it the beſt ſcheme which could be purſued: POMPEY humored them in it, and always talked big to keep up their ſpirits; and though he ſaw from the firſt *the neceſſity of quitting* Italy, yet he kept the ſecret to himſelf, and wrote word at the ſame time to CICERO, *that he ſhould have a firm army in a few days, with which he would march againſt* CÆSAR *into* Picenum, *ſo as to give them an opportunity of returning to the City* [*y*]. The plan of the war, as it was commonly underſtood, was to poſſeſs themſelves of the principal poſts of *Italy*, and act chiefly on the defenſive, in order to diſtreſs CÆSAR by their different armies, cut off his opportunities of forage, hinder his acceſs to *Rome*, and hold him continually employed, till the veteran army from *Spain*, under POMPEY's Lieutenants, AFRANIUS, PETREIUS, and VARRO, could come up to finiſh his overthrow [*z*]. This was the notion which the Senate entertained of the war; they never conceived it poſſible that POMPEY ſhould ſubmit to the diſgrace of flying before

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

[*y*] Omnes nos ἀπροσφωνήτους, expertes ſui tanti & tam inuſitati conſilii relinquebat. Ad Att. 8. 8.

Pompeius—ad me ſcribit, paucis diebus ſe firmum exercitum habiturum, ſpemque affert, ſi in Picenum agrum ipſe venerit, nos Romam redituros eſſe. Ib. 7. 16.

[*z*] Suſcepto autem bello, aut tenenda ſit urbs, aut ea relicta, ille commeatu & reliquis copiis intercludendus——ad Att. 7. 9.

Sin autem ille ſuis conditionibus ſtare noluerit, bellum paratum eſt:——tantummodo ut eum intercludamus, ne ad urbem poſſit accedere: quod ſperabamus fieri poſſe: dilectus enim magnos habebamus——ex Hiſpaniaque ſex legiones & magna auxilia, Afranio & Petreio ducibus, habet a tergo. Videtur, ſi inſaniet, poſſe opprimi, modo ut urbe ſalva—— Ep. fam. 16. 12.

Summa autem ſpes Afranium cum magnis copiis adventare——ad Att. 8. 3.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

CÆSAR, and giving up *Italy* a prey to his enemy: in this confidence DOMITIUS, with a very conſiderable force, and ſome of the principal Senators, threw himſelf into *Corfinium*, a ſtrong town at the foot of the *Apennine*, *on the Adriatic ſide*, where he propoſed to make a ſtand againſt CÆSAR, and ſtop the progreſs of his march; but he loſt all his troops in the attempt, to the number of *three Legions*, for want of knowing POMPEY's ſecret. POMPEY indeed, when he ſaw what DOMITIUS intended, preſſed him earneſtly, by ſeveral Letters, to come away and join with him, telling him, "that it was impoſſible "to make any oppoſition to CÆSAR, till their whole "forces were united; and that as to himſelf, he had with "him onely the two Legions, which were recalled from "CÆSAR, and were not to be truſted againſt him; and "if DOMITIUS ſhould entangle himſelf in *Corfinium*, ſo "as to be precluded by CÆSAR from a retreat, that he "could not come to his relief with ſo weak an army, "and bad him therefore not to be ſurprized to hear of "his retiring, if CÆSAR ſhould perſiſt to march towards "him [*a*]:" yet DOMITIUS, prepoſſeſſed with the opinion, that *Italy* was to be *the ſeat of the war*, and that POMPEY would never ſuffer ſo good a body of troops, and ſo many of his beſt friends to be loſt, would not quit the advantageous poſt of *Corfinium*, but depended ſtill on being relieved; and when he was actually beſieged, ſent POMPEY word, *how eaſily* CÆSAR *might be intercepted between their two armies* [*b*].

CICERO

[*a*] Nos disjecta manu pares adverſariis eſſe non poſſumus.——

Quamobrem nolito commoveri, ſi audieris me regredi, ſi forte Cæſar ad me veniet.—— etiam atque etiam te hortor, ut cum omni copia quam primum ad me venias.——vid. Epiſt. Pomp. ad Domit. ad Att. 8. 12.

[*b*] Domitius ad Pompeium—mittit, qui petant atque orent, ut ſibi ſubveniat: Cæſarem duobus exercitibus, & locorum auguſtiis intercludi poſſe, frumentoque prohiberi, &c.

Cæſ. Comment. de Bell. civ. l. i.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

CICERO was as much diſappointed as any of the reſt; he had never dreamt of their being obliged to quit *Italy*, till by POMPEY's motions he perceived at laſt his intentions; of which he ſpeaks, with great ſeverity, in ſeveral of his Letters, and begs ATTICUS's advice upon that new face of their affairs; and to enable ATTICUS to give it the more clearly, he explanes to him in ſhort what occurred to his own mind on the one ſide and the other. "The "great obligations, ſays he, which I am under to POM-"PEY, and my particular friendſhip with him, as well "as the cauſe of the Republic itſelf, ſeem to perſuade me, "that I ought to join my counſils and fortunes with his. "Beſides, if I ſtay behind, and deſert that band of the "beſt and moſt eminent Citizens, I muſt fall under the "power of a ſingle perſon, who gives me many proofs "indeed of being my friend, and whom, as you know, "I had long ago taken care to make ſuch from a ſuſpi-"cion of this very ſtorm, which now hangs over us; "yet it ſhould be well conſidered, both how far I may "venture to truſt him, and ſuppoſing it clear, that I may "truſt him, whether it be conſiſtent with the character "of a firm and honeſt Citizen to continue in that City, "in which he has born the greateſt honors, and performed "the greateſt acts, and where he is now inveſted with the "moſt honorable Prieſthood, when it is to be attended "with ſome danger, and perhaps with ſome diſgrace, if "POMPEY ſhould ever reſtore the Republic. Theſe are "the difficulties on the one ſide; let us ſee what there "are on the other: nothing has hitherto been done by "our POMPEY, either with prudence or courage; I may "add alſo nothing but what was contrary to my advice "and authority: I will omit thoſe old ſtories; how he

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

" firſt nurſed, raiſed and armed this man againſt the Republic; how he ſupported him in carrying his laws by violence, and without regard to the Auſpices; how he added the farther *Gaul* to his Government, made himſelf his ſon in law, aſſiſted as Augur in the Adoption of CLODIUS, was more zealous to reſtore me, than to prevent my being expelled, enlarged the term of CÆSAR's command, ſerved him in all his affairs in his abſence, nay, in his third Conſulſhip, after he began to eſpouſe the intereſts of the Republic, how he inſiſted, that the ten Tribuns ſhould jointly propoſe a law to diſpenſe with his abſence in ſuing for the Conſulſhip, which he confirmed afterwards by a law of his own, and oppoſed the Conſul MARCELLUS, when he moved to put an end to his government on the firſt of *March*: but to omit, I ſay, all this, what can be more diſhonorable, or ſhew a greater want of conduct than this retreat, or rather ſhamefull flight from the City? what conditions were not preferable to the neceſſity of abandoning our country? the conditions, I confeſs, were bad; yet what can be worſe than this? but POMPEY, you'll ſay, will recover the Republic: when? or what preparation is there for it? is not all *Picenum* loſt? is not the way left open to the City? is not all our treaſure both public and private given up to the enemy? in a word, there is no party, no forces, no place of rendezvous for the friends of the Republic to reſort to; APULIA is choſen for our retreat; the weakeſt and remoteſt part of *Italy*, which implies nothing but deſpair, and a deſign of flying by the opportunity of the ſea, &c. [c] In another Letter, there is but one thing

[c] Ad Att. 8. 3.

" thing wanting, says he, to complete our friend's dis- A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.
" grace; his failing to succour DOMITIUS: no body
" doubts but that he will come to his relief; yet I am
" not of that mind. Will he then desert such a Citizen,
" and the rest, whom you know to be with him? espe-
" cially when he has thirty cohorts in the Town: yes,
" unless all things deceive me, he will desert him: he is
" strangely frightened; means nothing but to fly; yet
" you, for I perceive what your opinion is, think, that
" I ought to follow this man. For my part, I easily
" know, whom I ought to fly, not whom I ought to
" follow. As to that saying of mine, which you ex-
" toll, and think worthy to be celebrated, *that I had*
" *rather be conquered with* POMPEY, *than conquer with*
" CÆSAR; 'tis true, I still say so; but with such a POM-
" PEY as he then was, or as I took him to be: but as for
" this man, who runs away, before he knows from whom,
" or whither; who has betrayed us and ours, given up
" his country, and is now leaving *Italy*; if I had rather
" be conquered with him, the thing is over, I am con-
" quered, *&c.* [*d*]"

THERE was a notion in the mean while, that universally prevailed through *Italy*, of CÆSAR's *cruel and revengefull temper*, from which horrible effects were apprehended: CICERO himself was strongly possessed with it, as appears from many of his Letters, where he seems to take it for granted, that he would be *a second* PHALARIS, *not a* PISISTRATUS; *a bloody, not a gentle Tyrant.* This he inferred from the *violence of his past life*; *the nature of his present enterprize*; *and above all, from the character of his friends and followers*; who were, generally speaking, a needy, profligate,

[*d*] Ad Att. 8. 7.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. Claudius Marcellus, L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus.

profligate, audacious crew; prepared for every thing that was deſperate [*e*]. It was affirmed likewiſe with great confidence, that he had openly declared, *that he was now coming to revenge the deaths of* Cn. Carbo, M. Brutus, *and all the other Marian Chiefs*, whom Pompey, when acting under Sylla, had cruelly put to death for their oppoſition to the *Syllan* cauſe [*f*]. But there was no real ground for any of theſe ſuſpicions: for Cæsar, who thought Tyranny, as Cicero ſays, *the greateſt of Goddeſſes*, and whoſe ſole view it had been through life to bring his affairs to this criſis, and to make a bold puſh for Empire, had, *from the obſervation of paſt times, and the fate of former Tyrants*, laid it down for a maxim, *that clemency in victory was the beſt means of ſecuring the ſtability of it* [*g*]. Upon the ſurrender therefore of *Corfinium*, where he had the firſt opportunity of giving a public ſpecimen of himſelf, he ſhewed a noble example of moderation, by the generous diſmiſſion of Domitius, *and all the other Senators who fell into his hands*; among whom was Lentulus Spinther, Cicero's particular friend [*h*]. This made a great turn in his favor, by eaſing people of the terrors, which they had before conceived of him, and ſeemed to confirm what he affected every where to give out, *that he ſought nothing by the war but the ſecurity of his perſon and dignity*. Pompey on the other hand appeared

[*e*] Iſtum cujus φαλαρισμὸν times, omnia teterrime facturum puto. Ad Att. 7. 12.

Incertum eſt Phalarimne an Piſiſtratum ſit imitaturus—ib. 20.

Nam cædem video ſi vicerit——& regnum non modo Romano homini ſed ne Perſæ quidem tolerabile—ib. 10. 8.

Quî hic poteſt ſe gerere non perdite? vita, mores, ante facta, ratio ſuſcepti negotii, ſocii—ib. 9. 2. it. 9. 19.

[*f*] Atque eum loqui quidam ἀυθεντικῶς narrabant; Cn. Carbonis, M. Bruti ſe pœnas perſequi, &c. Ad Att. 9. 14.

[*g*] τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὡς ἔχειν τυραννίδα.—Ad Att. 7. 11.

Tentemus hoc modo, ſi poſſumus, omnium voluntates recuperare, & diuturna victoria uti: quoniam reliqui crudelitate odium effugere non potuerunt, neque victoriam diutius tenere, præter unum L. Syllam, quem imitaturus non ſum. Hæc nova ſit ratio vincendi; ut miſericordia & liberalitate nos muniamus.—Ep. Cæſaris ad Opp. Att. 9. 7.

[*h*] Cæſ. Comment l. i. Plutar. in Cæſ.—

peared every day more and more deſpicable, by flying before an enemy, whom his pride and perverſeneſs was ſaid to have driven to the neceſſity of taking arms------ " tell me, I beg of you, ſays CICERO, what can be more " wretched, than for the one to be gathering applauſe " from the worſt of cauſes, the other giving offence in " the beſt? the one to be reckoned the preſerver of his " enemies, the other the deſertor of his friends? and in " truth, though I have all the affection which I ought " to have for our friend CNÆUS, yet I cannot excuſe his " not coming to the relief of ſuch men: for if he was " afraid to do it, what can be more paultry? or if, as " ſome think, he thought to make his cauſe the more " popular, by their deſtruction, what can be more un- " juſt? &c." [i] from this firſt experiment of CÆSAR's clemency, CICERO took occaſion to ſend him a Letter of compliment, and to thank him particularly for his generous treatment of LENTULUS, who when Conſul, had been the chief author of his reſtoration; to which CÆSAR returned the following anſwer.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 54. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

CÆSAR Emperor to CICERO Emperor.

" You judge rightly of me, for I am thoroughly known " to you, that nothing is farther removed from me than " cruelty; and as I have a great pleaſure from the thing " itſelf, ſo I rejoice and triumph to find my act approved " by you: nor does it at all move me, that thoſe, who " were diſmiſſed by me, are ſaid to be gone away to

[i] Sed obſecro te, quid hoc miſerius, quam alterum plauſus in fœdiſſima cauſa quærere; alterum offenſiones in optima? alterum exiſtimari conſervatorem inimicorum, alterum deſertorem amicorum? & mehercule quamvis amemus Cnæum noſtrum, ut & facimus & debemus, tamen hoc, quod talibus viris non ſubvenit, laudare non poſſum. Nam ſive timuit quid ignavius? ſive, ut quidam putant, meliorem ſuam cauſam illorum cæde fore putavit, quid injuſtius?—ad Att. 8. 9.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. Claudius Marcellus, L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus.

" renew the war againſt me: for I deſire nothing more,
" than that I may always act like myſelf; they like them-
" ſelves. I wiſh that you would meet me at the City,
" that I may uſe your counſil and aſſiſtance as I have
" hitherto done in all things. Nothing, I aſſure you, is
" dearer to me than Dolabella; I will owe this favor
" therefore to him: nor is it poſſible for him indeed to
" behave otherwiſe, ſuch is his humanity, his good ſenſe,
" and his affection to me. Adieu [*k*]."

When Pompey, after the unhappy affair of *Corfinium*, found himſelf obliged to retire to *Brundiſium*, and to declare, what he had never before directly owned, *his deſign of quitting* Italy, *and carrying the war abroad* [*l*]; he was very deſirous to draw Cicero along with him, and wrote two Letters to him at *Formiæ*, to preſs him to come away directly; but Cicero, already much out of humor with him, was diſguſted ſtill the more by his ſhort and negligent manner of writing, upon an occaſion ſo important [*m*]: the ſecond of Pompey's Letters, with Cicero's anſwer, will explane the preſent ſtate of their affairs, and Cicero's ſentiments upon them.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus Proconſul to M. Cicero Emperor.

" If you are in good health, I rejoice: I read your
" Letter with pleaſure: for I perceived in it your ancient
" virtue by your concern for the common ſafety. The
" Conſuls are come to the army, which I had in *Apulia*:
" I earneſtly exhort you, by your ſingular and perpetual
" affection to the Republic to come alſo to us, that by
" our

[*k*] Ad Att. 9. 16.

[*l*] Qui amiſſo Corfinio denique me certiorem conſilii ſui fecit.—ib. 9. 2.

[*m*] Epiſtolarum Pompeii duarum, quas ad me miſit, negligentiam, meamque in ſcribendo diligentiam volui tibi notam eſſe: earum exempla ad te miſi. Ib. 8. 11.

" our joint advice we may give help and relief to the
" afflicted ſtate. I would have you make the *Appian*
" way your road, and come in all haſt to *Brundiſium*.
" Take care of your health."

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

M. CICERO Emperor to CN. MAGNUS Proconſul.

" When I ſent that Letter, which was delivered to you
" at *Canuſium*, I had no ſuſpicion of your croſſing the
" ſea for the ſervice of the Republic, and was in great
" hopes, that we ſhould be able, either to bring about an
" accommodation, which to me ſeemed the moſt uſeful,
" or to defend the Republic with the greateſt dignity in
" *Italy*. In the mean time, before my Letter reached
" you, being informed of your reſolution, by the inſtruc-
" tions which you ſent to the Conſuls, I did not wait till
" I could have a Letter from you, but ſet out immediately
" towards you with my Brother and our children for
" *Apulia*. When we were come to *Theanum*, your
" friend C. MESSIUS, and many others told us, that
" CÆSAR was on the road to *Capua*, and would lodge
" that very night at *Æſernia*: I was much diſturbed at
" it, becauſe, if it was true, I not onely took my journey
" to be precluded, but myſelf alſo to be certainly a pri-
" ſoner. I went on therefore to *Cales* with intent to ſtay
" there, till I could learn from *Æſernia* the certainty of
" my intelligence: at *Cales* there was brought to me a
" copy of the Letter, which you wrote to the Conſul
" LENTULUS, with which you ſent the copy alſo of one
" that you had received from DOMITIUS, dated the eigh-
" teenth of *February*, and ſignified, that it was of great
" importance to the Republic, that all the Troops ſhould
" be drawn together, as ſoon as poſſible, to one place;

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. Claudius Marcellus, L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus.

" yet ſo as to leave a ſufficient Garriſon in *Capua*. Upon
" reading theſe Letters, I was of the ſame opinion with
" all the reſt, that you were reſolved to march to *Corfi-*
" *nium* with all your forces, whither, when Cæsar lay
" before the Town, I thought it impoſſible for me to come.
" While this affair was in the utmoſt expectation, we
" were informed at one and the ſame time both of what
" had happened at *Corfinium*, and that you were actually
" marching towards *Brundiſium*: and when I and my
" Brother reſolved without heſitation to follow you thi-
" ther, we were advertiſed by many, who came from
" *Samnium*, and *Apulia*, to take care that we did not
" fall into Cæsar's hands, for that he was upon his march
" to the ſame places where our road lay, and would reach
" them ſooner than we could poſſibly do. This being
" the caſe, it did not ſeem adviſeable to me, or my Bro-
" ther, or any of our friends, to run the riſk of hurting,
" not only ourſelves, but the Republic, by our raſhneſs:
" eſpecially when we could not doubt, but that, if the
" journey had been ſafe to us, we ſhould not then be
" able to overtake you. In the mean while I received
" your Letter dated from *Canuſium* the twenty-firſt of
" *February*, in which you exhort me to come in all haſt
" to *Brundiſium*: but as I did not receive it till the twenty-
" ninth, I made no queſtion but that you were already
" arrived at *Brundiſium*, and all that road ſeemed wholly
" ſhut up to us, and we ourſelves as ſurely intercepted as
" thoſe who were taken at *Corfinium*: for we did not
" reckon them onely to be priſoners, who were actually
" fallen into the enemy's hands, but thoſe too not leſs
" ſo, who happen to be encloſed within the quarters and
" garriſons of their adverſaries. Since this is our caſe, I
" heartily

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

" heartily wiſh in the firſt place, that I had always been
" with you, as I then told you when I relinquiſhed the
" Command of *Capua*, which I did not do for the ſake
" of avoiding trouble, but becauſe I ſaw that the Town
" could not be held without an army, and was unwilling
" that the ſame accident ſhould happen to me, which to
" my ſorrow has happened to ſome of our braveſt Citi-
" zens at *Corfinium*: but ſince it has not been my lot to
" be with you, I wiſh that I had been made privy to your
" counſils: for I could not poſſibly ſuſpect, and ſhould
" ſooner have believed any thing, than that for the good
" of the Republic, under ſuch a Leader as you, we ſhould
" not be able to ſtand our ground in *Italy*: nor do I now
" blame your conduct, but lament the fate of the Repub-
" lic; and though I cannot comprehend what it is which
" you have followed, yet I am not the leſs perſwaded,
" that you have done nothing, but with the greateſt
" reaſon. You remember, I believe, what my opinion
" always was; firſt, to preſerve peace even on bad con-
" ditions; then about leaving the City; for as to *Italy*,
" you never intimated a tittle to me about it: but I do
" not take upon myſelf to think, that my advice ought
" to have been followed: I followed yours; nor that for
" the ſake of the Republic, of which I deſpaired, and
" which is now overturned, ſo as not to be raiſed up again
" without a civil and moſt pernicious war: I ſought you;
" deſired to be with you; nor will I omit the firſt oppor-
" tunity which offers of effecting it. I eaſily perceived,
" through all this affair, that I did not ſatisfy thoſe who
" are fond of fighting: for I made no ſcruple to own,
" that I wiſhed for nothing ſo much as peace; not but that
" I had the ſame apprehenſions from it as they; but I

" thought

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

" thought them more tolerable than a civil war: then,
" after the war was begun, when I ſaw that conditions
" of peace were offered to you, and a full and honorable
" anſwer given to them, I began to weigh and deliberate
" well upon my own conduct, which, conſidering your
" kindneſs to me, I fancied that I ſhould eaſily explane
" to your ſatisfaction: I recollected that I was the onely
" man, who, for the greateſt ſervices to the public, had
" ſuffered a moſt wretched and cruel puniſhment: that
" I was the onely one, who, if I offended him, to whom
" at the very time when we were in arms againſt him,
" a ſecond Conſulſhip and moſt ſplendid Triumph was
" offered, ſhould be involved again in all the ſame
" ſtruggles; ſo that my perſon ſeemed to ſtand always
" expoſed as a public mark to the inſults of profligate
" Citizens: nor did I ſuſpect any of theſe things till I
" was openly threatened with them: nor was I ſo much
" afraid of them, if they were really to befall me, as I
" judged it prudent to decline them, if they could ho-
" neſtly be avoided. You ſee in ſhort the ſtate of my
" conduct while we had any hopes of peace; what has
" ſince happened deprived me of all power to do any
" thing: but to thoſe whom I do not pleaſe I can eaſily
" anſwer, that I never was more a friend to C. CÆSAR
" than they, nor they ever better friends to the Republic
" than myſelf: the onely difference between me and
" them is, that as they are excellent Citizens, and I not
" far removed from that character, it was my advice to
" procede by way of treaty, which I underſtood to be
" approved alſo by you; theirs by way of arms; and
" ſince this method has prevailed, it ſhall be my care to
" behave myſelf ſo, that the Republic may not want in

" me

" me the ſpirit of a true Citizen, nor you of a friend. " Adieu [*n*]."

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

THE diſguſt, which POMPEY's management had given him, and which he gently intimates in this Letter, was the true reaſon why he did not join him at this time: he had a mind to deliberate a while longer, before he took a ſtep ſo deciſive: this he owns to ATTICUS, where, after recounting all the particulars of his own conduct, which were the moſt liable to exception, he adds, *I have neither done nor omitted to do any thing, which has not both a probable and prudent excuſe-----and in truth was willing to conſider a little longer what was right and fit for me to do* [*o*]. The chief ground of his deliberation was, that he ſtill thought a peace poſſible, in which caſe POMPEY and CÆSAR would be one again, and he had no mind to give CÆSAR *any cauſe to be an enemy to him, when he was become a friend to* POMPEY.

WHILE things were in this ſituation, CÆSAR ſent young BALBUS after the Conſul LENTULUS, to endeavour to perſwade him *to ſtay in* Italy, *and return to the City*, by the offer of every thing that could tempt him: he called upon CICERO on his way, who gives the following account of it to ATTICUS: " Young BALBUS came to me on the " twenty fourth in the evening, running in all haſt by " private roads after LENTULUS with Letters and inſtruc- " tions from CÆSAR, and the offer of any Government, " if he will return to *Rome*: but it will have no effect " unleſs they happen to meet: he told me that CÆSAR " deſired nothing ſo much as to overtake POMPEY; which " I believe; and to be friends with him again; which I " do

[*n*] Ad Att. 8. 11.

[*o*] Nihil prætermiſſum eſt, quod non habeat ſapientem excuſationem——& plane quid rectum, & quid faciendum mihi eſſet, diutius cogitare malui—ib. 8. 12.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

" do not believe; and begin to fear, that all his clemency " means nothing elſe at laſt but to give that one cruel " blow. The elder BALBUS writes me word, that CÆSAR " wiſhes nothing more than to live in ſafety, and yield " the firſt rank to POMPEY. You take him I ſuppoſe to " be in earneſt [p]."

CICERO ſeems to think, *that* LENTULUS *might have been perſwaded to ſtay if* BALBUS *and he had met together*; for he had no opinion of the firmneſs of theſe Conſuls, but ſays of them both on another occaſion, *that they were more eaſily moved by every wind, than a feather or a leaf.* He received another Letter ſoon after from BALBUS, of which he ſent a copy to ATTICUS, *that he might pity him*, he ſays, *to ſee what a dupe they thought to make of him* [q].

BALBUS to CICERO Emperor.

" I conjure you, CICERO, to think of ſome method of " making CÆSAR and POMPEY friends again, who by the " perfidy of certain perſons are now divided: it is a work " highly worthy of your virtue: take my word for it, " CÆSAR will not only be in your power, but think him- " ſelf infinitely obliged to you if you would charge your- " ſelf with this affair. I ſhould be glad if POMPEY would " do ſo too; but in the preſent circumſtances, it is what " I wiſh rather than hope, that he may be brought to " any terms: but whenever he gives over flying and fear- " ing CÆSAR, I ſhall not deſpair, that your authority " may have its weight with him. CÆSAR takes it kindly, " that you were for LENTULUS's ſtaying in *Italy*, and " it was the greateſt obligation which you could confer " upon

[p] Ad Att. 8. 9.

[q] Nec me Conſules movent, qui ipſi pluma aut folio facilius moventur——ut vicem meam doleres, cum me derideri videres. Ib. 8. 15.

" upon me: for I love him as much as I do CÆSAR him- A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.
" ſelf: if he had ſuffered me to talk to him as freely as
" we uſed to do, and not ſo often ſhunned the opportu-
" nities which I ſought of conferring with him, I ſhould
" have been leſs unhappy than I now am: for aſſure your-
" ſelf that no man can be more afflicted than I, to ſee one,
" who is dearer to me than myſelf, acting his part ſo ill
" in his Conſulſhip, that he ſeems to be any thing rather
" than a Conſul: but ſhould he be diſpoſed to follow
" your advice, and take your word for CÆSAR's good
" intentions, and paſs the reſt of his Conſulſhip at *Rome*,
" I ſhould begin to hope, that, by your authority and at
" his motion, POMPEY and CÆSAR may be made one
" again with the approbation even of the Senate. When-
" ever this can be brought about, I ſhall think that I
" have lived long enough: you will intirely approve, I
" am ſure, what CÆSAR did at *Corfinium*: in an affair
" of that ſort, nothing could fall out better, than that it
" ſhould be tranſacted without blood. I am extremely
" glad, that my Nephew's viſit was agreeable to you: as
" to what he ſaid on CÆSAR's part, and what CÆSAR
" himſelf wrote to you, I know CÆSAR to be very ſin-
" cere in it, whatever turn his affairs may take [*r*]."

CÆSAR at the ſame time was extremely ſollicitous, not ſo much to gain CICERO, for that was not to be expected, as to prevail with him *to ſtand neuter*. He wrote to him ſeveral times to that effect, and employed all their common friends to preſs him with Letters on that head [*s*]: who, by his keeping ſuch a diſtance at this time from POMPEY, imagining that they had made ſome impreſſion, began

[*r*] Ad Att. 8. 15.

[*s*] Quod quæris quid Cæſar ad me ſcripſerit. Quod ſæpe: gratiſſimum ſibi eſſe quod quierim: oratque ut in eo perſeverem. Balbus minor hæc eadem mandata. Ib. 8. 11.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

to attempt a ſecond point with him, viz. *to perſwade him to come back to* Rome, *and aſſiſt in the councils of the Senate*, which CÆSAR deſigned to ſummon at his return from following POMPEY: with this view in the hurry of his march towards *Brundiſium*, CÆSAR ſent him the following Letter.

CÆSAR Emperor to CICERO Emperor.

" WHEN I had but juſt time to ſee our friend FURNIUS, " nor could conveniently ſpeak with, or hear him, was " in haſt, and on my march, having ſent the Legions " before me, yet I could not paſs by without writing, " and ſending him to you with my thanks: though I " have often paid this duty before, and ſeem likely to pay " it oftner, you deſerve it ſo well of me. I deſire of you, " in a ſpecial manner, that, as I hope to be in the City " ſhortly, I may ſee you there, and have the benefit of " your advice, your intereſt, your authority, your aſſiſt- " ance in all things. But to return to the point: you " will pardon the haſt and brevity of my Letter, and learn " the reſt from FURNIUS. To which CICERO anſwered.

CICERO Emperor to CÆSAR Emperor.

" UPON reading your Letter, delivered to me by FUR- " NIUS, in which you preſſed me to come to the City, I " did not ſo much wonder at what you there intimated, " of your deſire to uſe my advice and authority, but was " at a loſs to find out what you meant by my intereſt, " and aſſiſtance: yet I flattered myſelf into a perſwaſion, " that out of your admirable and ſingular wiſdom, you " were deſirous to enter into ſome meaſures for eſtabliſh- " ing the peace and concord of the City; and in that caſe

I looked

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

" I looked upon my temper and character as fit enough
" to be employed in ſuch a deliberation. If the caſe be
" ſo, and you have any concern for the ſafety of our
" friend POMPEY, and of reconciling him to yourſelf, and
" to the Republic, you will certainly find no man more
" proper for ſuch a work than I am, who from the very
" firſt have always been the adviſer of peace both to him
" and the Senate; and ſince this recourſe to arms have
" not meddled with any part of the war, but thought you
" to be really injured by it, while your enemies and en-
" viers were attempting to deprive you of thoſe honors,
" which the *Roman* people had granted you. But as at
" that time I was not onely a favorer of your dignity,
" but an encourager alſo of others to aſſiſt you in it; ſo
" now the dignity of POMPEY greatly affects me: for
" many years ago I made choice of you two, with whom
" to cultivate a particular friendſhip, and to be, as I now
" am, moſt ſtrictly united. Wherefore I deſire of you,
" or rather beg and implore with all my prayers, that
" in the hurry of your cares you would indulge a moment
" to this thought, how by your generoſity I may be per-
" mitted to ſhew myſelf an honeſt, gratefull, pious man,
" in remembring an act of the greateſt kindneſs to me.
" If this related onely to myſelf, I ſhould hope ſtill to
" obtain it from you: but it concerns, I think, both
" your honor and the Republic, that by your means I
" ſhould be allowed to continue in a ſituation the beſt
" adapted to promote the peace of you two, as well as
" the general concord of all the Citizens. After I had
" ſent my thanks to you before on the account of LEN-
" TULUS; for giving ſafety to him who had given it to
" me; yet upon reading his Letter, in which he expreſſes

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. Claudius Marcellus, L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus.

" the moſt gratefull ſenſe of your liberality, I took my-
" ſelf to have received the ſame grace from you, which
" he had done: towards whom, if by this you perceive
" me to be gratefull, let it be your care, I beſeech you,
" that I may be ſo too towards Pompey [*t*]."

Cicero was cenſured for ſome paſſages of this Letter, which Cæsar took care to make public, *viz.* the compliment on Cæsar's *admirable wiſdom*; and above all, the acknowledgement *of his being injured by his adverſaries in the preſent war:* in excuſe of which, he ſays, " that he
" was not ſorry for the publication of it, for he himſelf
" had given ſeveral copies of it; and conſidering what
" had ſince happened, was pleaſed to have it known to
" the world how much he had always been inclined to
" peace; and that, in urging Cæsar to ſave his Coun-
" try, he thought it his buſineſs to uſe ſuch expreſſions
" as were the moſt likely to gain authority with him,
" without fearing to be thought guilty of flattery, in
" urging him to an act, for which he would gladly have
" thrown himſelf even at his feet [*u*]."

He received another Letter on the ſame ſubject, and about the ſame time, written jointly by Balbus and Oppius, two of Cæsar's chief confidents.

Balbus and Oppius to M. Cicero.

" The advice, not onely of little men, ſuch as we
" are, but even of the greateſt, is generally weighed, not
" by

[*t*] Ad Att. 9. 6, 11.

[*u*] Epiſtolam meam quod pervulgatam ſcribis eſſe non fero moleſte. Quin etiam ipſe multis dedi deſcribendam. Ea enim & acciderunt jam & impendent, ut teſtatum eſſe velim de pace quid ſenſerim. Cum autem eum hortarer, eum præſertim hominem, non videbar ullo modo facilius moturus, quam ſi id, quod eum hortarer, convenire ejus ſapientiæ dicerem. Eam ſi admirabilem dixi, cum eum ad ſalutem patriæ hortarer, non ſum veritus, ne viderer aſſentiri, cui tali in re lubenter me ad pedes abjeciſſem, &c. Ib. 8. 9.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CR-

" by the intention of the giver, but the event; yet rely-
" ing on your humanity, we will give you what we take
" to be the beſt in the caſe about which you wrote to
" us; which, though it ſhould not be found prudent,
" yet certainly flows from the utmoſt fidelity and affec-
" tion to you. If we did not know from CÆSAR him-
" ſelf, that, as ſoon as he comes to *Rome*, he will do what
" in our judgment we think he ought to do, treat about
" a reconciliation between him and POMPEY, we ſhould
" give over exhorting you to come and take part in thoſe
" deliberations; that by your help, who have a ſtrict
" friendſhip with them both, the whole affair may be
" ſettled with eaſe and dignity: or, if on the contrary,
" we believed that CÆSAR would not do it, and knew
" that he was reſolved upon a war with POMPEY, we
" ſhould never try to perſwade you, to take arms againſt
" a man to whom you have the greateſt obligations, in
" the ſame manner as we have always entreated you, not
" to fight againſt CÆSAR. But ſince at preſent we can
" onely gueſs rather than know what CÆSAR will do, we
" have nothing to offer but this, that it does not ſeem
" agreeable to your dignity, or your fidelity, ſo well
" known to all, when you are intimate with them both,
" to take arms againſt either: and this we do not doubt
" but CÆSAR, according to his humanity, will highly
" approve: yet if you judge proper, we will write to
" him, to let us know what he will really do about it;
" and if he returns us an anſwer, will preſently ſend you
" notice, what we think of it, and give you our word,
" that we will adviſe onely, what we take to be moſt
" ſuitable to your honor, not to CÆSAR's views; and are
" perſwaded, that CÆSAR, out of his indulgence to his

" friends,

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 48. Coſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

" friends, will be pleaſed with it [x]." This joint Letter was followed by a ſeparate one from BALBUS.

BALBUS to CICERO Emperor.

" IMMEDIATELY after I had ſent the common Letter " from OPPIUS and myſelf, I received one from CÆSAR, " of which I have ſent you a copy; whence you will " perceive how deſirous he is of peace, and to be recon- " ciled with POMPEY, and how far removed from all " thoughts of cruelty. It gives me an extreme joy, as it " certainly ought to do, to ſee him in theſe ſentiments. " As to yourſelf, your fidelity, and your piety, I am " intirely of the ſame mind, my dear CICERO, with you, " that you cannot, conſiſtently with your character and " duty, bear arms againſt a man to whom you declare " yourſelf ſo greatly obliged: that CÆSAR will approve " this reſolution, I certainly know from his ſingular " humanity; and that you will perfectly ſatisfy him, by " taking no part in the war againſt him, nor joining " yourſelf to his adverſaries: this he will think ſufficient, " not onely from you, a perſon of ſuch dignity and " ſplendor, but has allowed it even to me, not to be " found in that camp, which is likely to be formed " againſt LENTULUS and POMPEY, from whom I have " received the greateſt obligations: it was enough, he " ſaid, if I performed my part to him in the City and " the gown, which I might perform alſo to them if I " thought fit: wherefore I now manage all LENTULUS's " affairs at *Rome*, and diſcharge my duty, my fidelity, " my piety to them both: yet in truth I do not take the " hopes of an accommodation, though now ſo low, to " be

[x] Ad Att. 9. 8.

" be quite desperate, since CÆSAR is in that mind in which
" we ought to wish him: one thing would please me, if
" you think it proper, that you would write to him, and
" desire a guard from him, as you did from POMPEY, at
" the time of MILO's trial, with my approbation: I will
" undertake for him, if I rightly know CÆSAR, that he
" will sooner pay a regard to your dignity, than to his
" own interest. How prudently I write these things, I
" know not; but this I certainly know; that whatever
" I write, I write out of a singular love and affection to
" you: for (let me die, so as CÆSAR may but live) if I
" have not so great an esteem for you, that few are equally
" dear to me. When you have taken any resolution in
" this affair, I wish that you would let me know it, for
" I am excedingly sollicitous that you should discharge
" your duty to them both, which in truth I am confident
" you will discharge. Take care of your health [*y*]."

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

THE offer of a guard was artfully insinuated; for while it carried an appearance of honor and respect to CICERO's person, it must necessarily have made him CÆSAR's prisoner, and deprived him of the liberty of retiring, when he found it proper, out of *Italy*: but he was too wise to be caught by it, or to be moved in any manner by the Letters themselves, to entertain the least thought of going to *Rome*, since to assist in the Senate, when POMPEY and the Consuls were driven out of it, was in reality to take part against them. What gave him a more immediate uneasiness, was the daily expectation of an interview with CÆSAR himself, who was now returning from *Brundisium* by the road of *Formiæ*, where he then resided: for though he would gladly have avoided him, if he could have

[*y*] Ad Att. 9. 8.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. Claudius Marcellus, L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus.

have contrived to do it decently, yet to leave the place juſt when Cæsar was coming to it, could not fail of being interpreted as a particular affront: he reſolved therefore *to wait for him, and to act on the occaſion with a firmneſs and gravity, which became his rank and character.*

They met, as he expected, and he ſent Atticus the following account of what paſſed between them: "My "diſcourſe with him, ſays he, was ſuch, as would rather "make him think well of me than thank me. I ſtood "firm in refuſing to go to *Rome*; but was deceived in ex- "pecting to find him eaſy; for I never ſaw any one leſs "ſo: he was condemned, he ſaid, by my judgment; "and, if I did not come, others would be the more back- "ward: I told him that their caſe was very different "from mine. After many things ſaid on both ſides, he "bad me come however and try to make peace: ſhall I "do it, ſays I, in my own way? do you imagine, re- "plied he, that I will preſcribe to you? I will move the "Senate then, ſays I, for a decree againſt your going to "*Spain*, or tranſporting your troops into *Greece*, and ſay "a great deal beſides in bewailing the caſe of Pompey: "I will not allow, replied he, ſuch things to be ſaid: "ſo I thought, ſays I, and for that reaſon will not come; "becauſe I muſt either ſay them, and many more, which "I cannot help ſaying, if I am there, or not come at "all. The reſult was; that to ſhift off the diſcourſe, he "wiſhed me to conſider of it; which I could not refuſe "to do, and ſo we parted. I am perſwaded, that he is "not pleaſed with me; but I am pleaſed with myſelf; "which I have not been before of a long time. As for "the reſt; good Gods, what a crew he has with him! "what a helliſh band, as you call them!-----what a de-

"plorable

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

" plorable affair! what deſperate troops! what a lament-
" able thing, to ſee SERVIUS's ſon, and TITINIUS's, with
" many more of their rank in that camp, which beſieged
" POMPEY! he has ſix legions; wakes at all hours; fears
" nothing; I ſee no end of this calamity. His declara-
" tion at the laſt, which I had almoſt forgot, was odious;
" that if he was not permitted to uſe my advice, he
" would uſe ſuch as he could get from others, and pur-
" ſue all meaſures which were for his ſervice [*z*]." From this conference, CICERO went directly to *Arpinum*, and there inveſted his ſon, *at the age of ſixteen, with the manly gown:* he reſolved to carry him along with him to POMPEY's camp, and thought it proper to give him an air of manhood before he enliſted him into the war; and ſince he could not perform that ceremony at *Rome*, choſe to oblige his Countrymen, by celebrating this Feſtival in his native City [*a*].

WHILE CÆSAR was on the road towards *Rome*, young QUINTUS CICERO, the nephew, a fiery giddy youth, privately wrote to him to offer his ſervice, with a promiſe of ſome information concerning his uncle; upon which, being ſent for and admitted to an audience, he aſſured CÆSAR, *that his Uncle was utterly diſaffected to all his meaſures, and determined to leave* Italy *and go to* POMPEY. The boy was tempted to this raſhneſs *by the hopes of a conſiderable preſent*, and gave much uneaſineſs by it both to the Father and the Uncle, *who had reaſon to fear ſome ill conſequence from it* [*b*]: but CÆSAR deſiring ſtill to divert

[*z*] Ad Att. 9. 18.

[*a*] Ego meo Ciceroni, quoniam Roma caremus, Arpini potiſſimum togam puram dedi, idque municipibus noſtris fuit gratum—ib. 19.

[*b*] Litteras ejus ad Cæſarem miſſas ita graviter tulimus, ut te quidem celaremus——tantum ſcito poſt Hirtium conventum, arceſſitum ab Cæſare; cum eo de meo animo ab ſuis conſiliis alieniſſimo, & conſilio relinquendi Italiam—ib. 10. 4, 5, &c.

Quintum puerum accepi vehementer. Avaritiam video fuiſſe, & ſpem magni congiarii. Magnum hoc malum eſt.—ib. 10. 7.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

CICERO from declaring againſt him, and to quiet the apprehenſions which he might entertain for what was paſt, took occaſion to ſignify to him in a kind Letter from *Rome*, that he retained *no reſentment of his refuſal to come to the City, though* TULLUS *and* SERVIUS *complained, that he had not ſhewn the ſame indulgence to them*——*ridiculous men*, ſays CICERO, *who, after ſending their ſons to beſiege* POMPEY *at* Brundiſium, *pretend to be ſcrupulous about going to the Senate* [c].

CICERO's behaviour however and reſidence *in thoſe villa's* of his, which were neareſt to the ſea, gave riſe to a general report, that he was waiting onely for a wind to carry him over to POMPEY; upon which CÆSAR ſent him another preſſing Letter, to try, if poſſible, to diſſwade him from that ſtep.

CÆSAR Emperor to CICERO Emperor.

" THOUGH I never imagined that you would do any " thing raſhly or imprudently, yet moved by common " report, I thought proper to write to you, and beg of " you by our mutual affection, that you would not run " to a declining cauſe, whither you did not think fit to " go while it ſtood firm. For you will do the greateſt " injury to our friendſhip, and conſult but ill for yourſelf, " if you do not follow, where fortune calls: for all things " ſeem to have ſucceded moſt proſperouſly for us, moſt " unfortunately for them: nor will you be thought to " have followed the cauſe, (ſince that was the ſame, when " you

[c] Cæſar mihi ignoſcit per litteras, quod non Romam venerim, ſe ſeque in optimam partem id accipere dicit. Facile patior, quod ſcribit, ſecum Tullum & Servium queſtos eſſe, quia non idem ſibi, quod mihi remiſiſſet. Homines ridiculos, qui cum filios miſiſſent ad Cn. Pompeium circumſidendum, ipſi in ſenatum venire dubitarent. Ib. ep. 3.

" you chose to withdraw yourself from their councils) A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.
" but to have condemned some act of mine; than which
" you can do nothing that could affect me more sen-
" sibly, and what I beg by the rights of our friendship,
" that you would not do. Lastly, what is more agree-
" able to the character of an honest, quiet man, and
" good Citizen, than to retire from civil broils? from
" which some, who would gladly have done it, have been
" deterred by an apprehension of danger: but you, after
" a full testimony of my life, and trial of my friend-
" ship, will find nothing more safe or more reputable,
" than to keep yourself clear from all this contention.
" The 16th of *April* on the road [*d*]."

ANTONY also, whom CÆSAR left to guard *Italy* in his absence, wrote to him to the same purpose, and on the same day.

ANTONIUS Tribun of the people and Proprætor to CICERO Emperor.

" IF I had not a great esteem for you, and much
" greater indeed than you imagine, I should not be con-
" cerned at the report which is spread of you, especially
" when I take it to be false. But out of the excess of
" my affection, I cannot dissemble, that even a report,
" though false, makes some impression on me. I can-
" not believe that you are preparing to cross the sea, when
" you have such a value for DOLABELLA, and your daughter
" TULLIA, that excellent woman, and are so much valued
" by us all, to whom in truth your dignity and honor
" are almost dearer than to yourself: yet I did not think
" it the part of a friend not to be moved by the discourse

[*d*] Ad Att. x. 8.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

" even of ill-deſigning men, and wrote this with the " greater inclination, as I take my part to be the more " difficult on the account of our late coldneſs, occaſioned " rather by my jealouſy, than any injury from you. For " I deſire you to aſſure yourſelf, that no body is dearer " to me than you, excepting my CÆSAR, and that I know " alſo that CÆSAR reckons M. CICERO in the firſt claſs " of his friends. Wherefore I beg of you, my CICERO, " that you will keep yourſelf free and undetermined, and " deſpiſe the fidelity of that man who firſt did you an " injury, that he might afterwards do you a kindneſs; " nor fly from him, who, though he ſhould not love " you, which is impoſſible, yet will always deſire to ſee " you in ſafety and ſplendor. I have ſent CALPURNIUS " to you with this, the moſt intimate of my friends, that " you might perceive the great concern which I have for " your life and dignity [*e*].

COELIUS alſo wrote to him on the ſame ſubject; but finding by ſome hints in CICERO's anſwer, that he was actually preparing to run away to POMPEY, he ſent him a ſecond Letter, in a moſt pathetic, or, as CICERO calls it, *lamentable ſtrain* [*f*], in hopes to work upon him by alarming all his fears.

COELIUS to CICERO.

" BEING in a conſternation at your Letter, by which " you ſhew that you are meditating nothing but what is " diſmal, yet neither tell me directly what it is, nor " wholly hide it from me, I preſently wrote this to you. " By all your fortunes, CICERO, by your children, I beg " and beſeech you, not to take any ſtep injurious to " your

[*e*] Ibid. [*f*] M. Cœli epiſtolam ſcriptam miſerabiliter—ib. x. 9.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

" your ſafety: for I call the gods and men, and our
" friendſhip to witneſs, that what I have told, and fore-
" warned you of, was not any vain conceit of my own,
" but after I had talked with CÆSAR, and underſtood
" from him, how he reſolved to act after his victory, I
" informed you of what I had learnt. If you imagine
" that his conduct will always be the ſame, in diſmiſſing
" his enemies and offering conditions, you are miſtaken:
" he thinks and even talks of nothing but what is fierce
" and ſevere, and is gone away much out of humor with
" the Senate, and thoroughly provoked by the oppoſition
" which he has met with, nor will there be any room
" for mercy. Wherefore, if you yourſelf, your onely
" ſon, your houſe, your remaining hopes be dear to you:
" if I, if the worthy man, your ſon in law, have any
" weight with you, you ſhould not deſire to overturn our
" fortunes, and force us to hate or to relinquiſh that
" cauſe in which our ſafety conſiſts, or to entertain an
" impious wiſh againſt yours. Laſtly, reflect on this,
" that you have already given all the offence, which you
" can give by ſtaying ſo long behind; and now to declare
" againſt a Conqueror, whom you would not offend,
" while his cauſe was doubtful, and to fly after thoſe who
" run away, with whom you would not join, while they
" were in condition to reſiſt, is the utmoſt folly. Take
" care, that while you are aſhamed not to approve your-
" ſelf one of the beſt Citizens, you be not too haſty in
" determining what is the beſt. But if I cannot wholly
" prevail with you, yet wait at leaſt till you know how
" we ſuccede in *Spain*, which, I now tell you, will be ours
" as ſoon as CÆSAR comes thither. What hopes they
" may have when *Spain* is loſt, I know not; and what

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. Claudius Marcellus; L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus.

" your view can be in acceding to a deſperate cauſe, by " my faith I cannot find out. As to the thing, which " you diſcover to me by your ſilence about it, Cæsar " has been informed of it; and after the firſt ſalutation, " told me preſently what he had heard of you: I denied " that I knew any thing of the matter, but begged of " him to write to you in a manner the moſt effectual " to make you ſtay. He carries me with him into *Spain*, " if he did not, I would run away to you where-ever you " are, before I came to *Rome*, to diſpute this point with " you in perſon, and hold you faſt even by force. Con- " ſider, Cicero, again and again, that you do not " utterly ruin both you and yours; that you do not know- " ingly and willingly throw yourſelf into difficulties, " whence you ſee no way to extricate yourſelf. But if " either the reproaches of the better ſort touch you, or " you cannot bear the inſolence and haughtineſs of a certain " ſet of men, I would adviſe you to chuſe ſome place " remote from the war, till theſe conteſts be over, which " will ſoon be decided: if you do this, I ſhall think that " you have done wiſely, and you will not offend " Cæsar [*g*]."

Coelius's advice, as well as his practice, was grounded upon a maxim, which he had before advanced in a Letter to Cicero, *that in a public diſſenſion, as long as it was carried on by civil methods, one ought to take the honeſter ſide; but when it came to arms, the ſtronger; and to judge that the beſt which was the ſafeſt* [*h*]. Cicero was not of his opinion, but governed himſelf in this, as he generally did,

[*g*] Ep. fam. 8. 16.

[*h*] Illud te non arbitror fugere; quin homines in diſſenſione domeſtica debeant, quamdiu civiliter ſine armis cernetur, honeſtiorem ſequi partem: ubi ad bellum & caſtra ventum ſit, firmiorem; & id melius ſtatuere, quod tutius ſit. Ep. fam. 8. 14.

did, in all other caſes, by a contrary rule; *that where our duty and our ſafety interfere, we ſhould adhere always to what is right, whatever danger we incur by it.*

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

CURIO paid CICERO *a friendly viſit of two days* about this time on his way towards *Sicily*, the command of which CÆSAR had committed to him. Their converſation turned on the unhappy condition of the times, and the impending miſeries of the war, in which CURIO was open, and without any reſerve, in talking of CÆSAR's views: "He exhorted CICERO to chuſe ſome neutral place "for his retreat; aſſured him, that CÆSAR would be "pleaſed with it; offered him all kind of accommoda- "tion and ſafe paſſage through *Sicily*; made not the "leaſt doubt, but that CÆSAR would ſoon be maſter of "*Spain*, and then follow POMPEY with his whole force; "and that POMPEY's death would be the end of the "war: but confeſſed withal, that he ſaw no proſpect or "glimmering of hope for the Republic: ſaid, that CÆSAR "was ſo provoked by the Tribun METELLUS at *Rome*, "that he had a mind to have killed him, as many of his "friends adviſed; that if he had done it, a great ſlaughter "would have enſued; that his clemency flowed, not "from his natural diſpoſition, but becauſe he thought it "popular; and if he once loſt the affections of the "people, he would be cruel: that he was diſturbed to ſee "the people ſo diſguſted by his ſeizing the public treaſure; "and though he had reſolved to ſpeak to them before "he left *Rome*, yet he durſt not venture upon it for fear "of ſome affront; and went away at laſt much diſ- "compoſed [*i*]."

THE

[*i*] Ad Att. x. 4.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

THE leaving *the public treaſure at* Rome *a prey to* CÆSAR, is cenſured more than once by CICERO as one of the blunders of his friends [*k*]: but it is a common caſe in civil diſſenſions, for the honeſter ſide, through the fear of diſcrediting their cauſe by any irregular act, to ruin it by an unſeaſonable moderation. The public money was kept *in the Temple of* Saturn; and the Conſuls contented themſelves with *carrying away the keys*, fancying, that the ſanctity of the place would ſecure it from violence; eſpecially when the greateſt part of it was *a fund of a ſacred kind, ſet apart by the laws for occaſions* onely of the laſt exigency, *or the terror of a Gallic invaſion* [*l*]. POMPEY was ſenſible of the miſtake, when it was too late, and ſent inſtructions to the Conſuls to go back and fetch away *this ſacred treaſure:* but CÆSAR was then ſo far advanced, that they durſt not venture upon it; and LENTULUS coldly ſent him word, *that he himſelf ſhould firſt march againſt* CÆSAR *into* Picenum, *that they might be able to do it with ſafety* [*m*]. CÆSAR had none of theſe ſcruples; but as ſoon as he came to *Rome*, ordered the *doors of the Temple to be broken open, and the money to be ſeized for his own uſe; and had like to have killed the Tribun* METELLUS, who truſting to the authority of his office, was ſilly enough to attempt to hinder him. He found there an immenſe treaſure, *both in coin and wedges of ſolid gold, reſerved from the ſpoils of conquered nations from the time even of the Punic war: for the Republic*, as PLINY ſays, *had never been richer than it was at this day* [*n*].

CICERO

[*k*] Ib. 7. 12, 15.
[*l*] Dio, p. 161.
[*m*] C. Caſſius—attulit mandata ad Conſules, ut Romam venirent, pecuniam de ſanctiore ærario auferrent—Conſul reſcripſit, ut prius ipſe in Picenum—ad Att. 7. 21.
[*n*] Nec fuit aliis temporibus Reſpub. locupletior. Plin. Hiſt. 33. 3.

CICERO was now impatient to be gone, and the more so, on account of the inconvenient pomp of *his Laurel, and Lictors, and ſtile of Emperor*; which in a time of that jealouſy and diſtraction expoſed him too much to the eyes of the public, as well as to *the taunts and raillery of his enemies* [o]. He reſolved to croſs the ſea to POMPEY; yet knowing all his motions to be narrowly watched, took pains to conceal his intention, eſpecially from ANTONY, who reſided at this time in his neighbourhood, and kept a ſtrict eye upon him. He ſent him word therefore by Letter, that he had *no deſign againſt* CÆSAR; *that he remembered his friendſhip, and his ſon in law* DOLABELLA; *that if he had other thoughts, he could eaſily have been with* POMPEY; *that his chief reaſon for retiring was to avoid the uneaſineſs of appearing in public with the formality of his Lictors* [p]. But ANTONY wrote him a ſurly anſwer; which CICERO calls *a Laconic Mandate*, and ſent a copy of it to ATTICUS, *to let him ſee*, he ſays, *how tyrannically it was drawn.*

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

" How ſincere is your way of acting? for he, who has " a mind to ſtand neuter, ſtays at home; he, who goes " abroad, ſeems to paſs a judgment on the one ſide or the " other. But it does not belong to me to determine, " whether a man may go abroad or not. CÆSAR has " impoſed this taſk upon me, not to ſuffer any man to " go out of *Italy*. Wherefore it ſignifies nothing for me " to approve your reſolution, if I have no power to in- " dulge you in it. I would have you write to CÆSAR, and

[o] Accedit etiam moleſta hæc pompa lictorum meorum, nomenque imperii quo appellor. —ſed incurrit hæc noſtra laurus non ſolum in oculos, ſed jam etiam in voculas malevolorum— Ep. fam. 2. 16.

[p] Cum ego ſæpiſſime ſcripſiſſem, nihil me contra Cæſaris rationes cogitare; meminiſſe me generi mei, meminiſſe amicitiæ, potuiſſe ſi aliter ſentirem, eſſe cum Pompeio, me autem, quia cum lictoribus invitus curſarem, abeſſe velle—ad Att. x. 10.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

"aſk that favor of him: I do not doubt but you will "obtain it, eſpecially ſince you promiſe to retain a regard "for our friendſhip [q]."

AFTER this Letter, ANTONY never came to ſee him, but ſent an excuſe, *that he was aſhamed to do it, becauſe he took him to be angry with him*, giving him to underſtand at the ſame time by TREBATIUS, *that he had ſpecial orders to obſerve his motions* [r].

THESE Letters give us the moſt ſenſible proof of the high eſteem and credit in which CICERO floriſhed at this time in *Rome*: when in a conteſt for Empire, which force alone was to decide, we ſee the Chiefs on both ſides ſo ſollicitous to gain a man to their party, who had no peculiar ſkill in arms or talents for war: but his name and authority was the acquiſition which they ſought; ſince whatever was the fate of their arms, the world, they knew, would judge better of the cauſe which CICERO eſpouſed. The ſame Letters will confute likewiſe in a great meaſure the common opinion of his want of reſolution in all caſes of difficulty, ſince no man could ſhew a greater than he did on the preſent occaſion, when againſt the importunities of his friends, and all the invitations of a ſucceſsfull power, he choſe to follow that cauſe which he thought the beſt, though he knew it to be the weakeſt.

DURING CÆSAR's abſence in *Spain*, ANTONY, who had no body to controul him at home, gave a free courſe to his natural diſpoſition, and indulged himſelf without reſerve in all the exceſs of lewdneſs and luxury. CICERO deſcribing his uſual equipage in travelling about *Italy*, ſays, "he "carries

[q] Ad Att. x. 10.

[r] Nominatim de me ſibi imperatum dicit Antonius, nec me tamen ipſe adhuc viderat, ſed hoc Trebatio narravit. Ib. x. 12. Antonius—ad me miſit, ſe pudore deterritum ad me non veniſſe, quod me ſibi ſuccenſere putaret—ib. x. 15.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

" carries with him in an open Chaiſe the famed Actreſs " CYTHERIS; his wife follows in a ſecond, with ſeven other " cloſe Litters, full of his whores and boys. See by what " baſe hands we fall; and doubt, if you can, whether " CÆSAR, let him come vanquiſhed or victorious, will not " make cruel work amongſt us at his return. For my " part, if I cannot get a ſhip, I will take a boat to tranſ- " port myſelf out of their reach; but I ſhall tell you more " after I have had a conference with ANTONY [*s*]."

Among ANTONY's other extravagancies, he had the inſolence to appear ſometimes in public, *with his miſtreſs* CYTHERIS *in a Chariot drawn by Lions*. CICERO alluding to this, in a Letter to ATTICUS, tells him jocoſely, *that he need not be afraid of* ANTONY's *Lions* [*t*]; for though the beaſts were ſo fierce, the maſter himſelf was very tame.

PLINY ſpeaks of this fact, *as a deſigned inſult on the* Roman *people*; as if, *by the emblem of the Lions*, ANTONY *intended to give them to underſtand, that the fierceſt ſpirits of them would be forced to ſubmit to the yoke* [*u*]. PLUTARCH alſo mentions it; but both of them place it *after the battle of* Pharſalia, though it is evident from this hint of it given by CICERO, that it happened long before.

WHILST CICERO continued at *Formiæ*, deliberating on the meaſures of his conduct, he formed ſeveral *political theſes's*, adapted to the circumſtances of the times, for the amuſement of his ſolitary hours: " Whether a man ought

[*s*] Hic tamen Cytheridem ſecum lectica aperta portat, altera uxorem: ſeptem præterea conjunctæ lecticæ ſunt amicarum, an amicorum? vide quam turpi leto pereamus: & dubita, ſi potes, quin ille ſeu victus, ſeu victor redierit, cædem facturus ſit. Ego vero vel lintriculo, ſi navis non erit, eripiam me ex iſtorum parricidio. Sed plura ſcribam cum illum convenero—ib. x. 10.

[*t*] Tu Antonii leones pertimeſcas, cave. Nihil eſt illo homine jucundius. Ib. x. 13.

[*u*] Jugo ſubdidit eos, primuſque Romæ ad currum junxit Antonius; & quidem civili bello cum dimicatum eſſet in Pharſalicis campis; non ſine oſtento quodam temporum, generoſos ſpiritus jugum ſubire illo prodigio ſignificante: nam quod ita vectus eſt cum nima Cytheride, ſupra monſtra etiám illarum calamitatum fuit. —Plin. Hiſt. 8. 16.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

" to ſtay in his Country, when it was poſſeſſed by a Ty-
" rant. Whether one ought not by all means to attempt
" the diſſolution of the Tyranny, though his City on that
" account was expoſed to the utmoſt hazard: whether
" there was not cauſe to be afraid of the man who ſhould
" diſſolve it, leſt he ſhould advance himſelf into the
" other's place: whether we ſhould not help our country
" by the methods of peace, rather than war: whether it
" be the part of a Citizen to ſit ſtill in a neutral place,
" while his country is oppreſſed, or to run all hazards for
" the ſake of the common liberty: whether one ought
" to bring a war upon his city, and beſiege it, when in
" the hands of a Tyrant: whether a man, not approving
" the diſſolution of a Tyranny by war, ought not to join
" himſelf however to the beſt Citizens: whether one
" ought to act with his Benefactors and friends, though
" they do not in his opinion take right meaſures for the
" public intereſt: whether a man, who has done great
" ſervices to his country, and for that reaſon has been
" envied and cruelly treated, is ſtill bound to expoſe him-
" ſelf to freſh dangers for it, or may not be permitted at
" laſt to take care of himſelf and his family, and give up
" all political matters to the men of power----by exer-
" ciſing myſelf, ſays he, in theſe queſtions, and examining
" them on the one ſide and the other, I relieve my mind
" from its preſent anxiety, and draw out ſomething which
" may be of uſe to me [x]."

FROM the time of his leaving the City, together with POMPEY and the Senate, there paſſed not a ſingle day in which

[x] In his ego me conſultationibus exercens, diſſerens in utramque partem, tum græce tum latine, abduco parumper animum a moleſtiis & τῦ πράγμα τὶ delibero. Ad Att. 9. 4.

which he did not write *one or more Letters to* ATTICUS [*y*], the onely friend whom he truſted with the ſecret of his thoughts. From theſe letters it appears, that the ſumm of ATTICUS's advice to him agreed intirely with his own ſentiments, *that if* POMPEY *remained in* Italy, *he ought to join with him; if not, ſhould ſtay behind, and expect what freſh accidents might produce* [*z*]. This was what CICERO had hitherto followed; and as to his future conduct, though he ſeems ſometimes to be a little wavering and irreſolute, yet the reſult of his deliberations conſtantly turned in favor of POMPEY. His perſonal affection for the man, preference of his cauſe, the reproaches of the better ſort, who began to cenſure his tardineſs, and above all, *his gratitude for favors received*, which had ever the greateſt weight with him, made him reſolve at all adventures to run after him; and though he was diſpleaſed with his management of the war, *and without any hopes of his ſucceſs* [*a*]; though he knew him before *to be no politician, and now perceived him*, he ſays, *to be no General*; yet with all his faults, he could not endure the thought of deſerting him, nor hardly forgive himſelf for ſtaying ſo long behind him; "For as in love, ſays he, any thing "dirty and indecent in a miſtreſs will ſtifle it for the pre- "ſent, ſo the deformity of POMPEY's conduct put me out "of

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 54. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

[*y*] Hujus autem epiſtolæ non ſolum ea cauſa eſt, ut ne quis a me dies intermittetur, quin dem ad te litteras, ſed—ib. 8. 12.

Alteram tibi eodem die hanc epiſtolam dictavi, & pridie dederam mea manu longiorem—ib. x. 3.

[*z*] Ego quidem tibi non ſim auctor, ſi Pompeius Italiam relinquit, te quoque profugere, ſummo enim periculo facies, nec Reipub. proderis; cui quidem poſterius poteris prodeſſe, ſi manſeris—&c. ib. 9. 10.

[*a*] Ingrati animi crimen horreo—ib. 9. 2, 5, 7.—

Nec mehercule hoc facio Reipub. cauſa, quam funditus deletam puto, ſed nequis me putet ingratum in eum, qui me levavit iis incommodis, quibus ipſe affecerat—ib. 9. 19—

Fortunæ ſunt committenda omnia. Sine ſpe conamur ullâ. Si melius quid acciderit mirabimur—ib. x. 2.

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" of humor with him; but now that he is gone, my love " revives, and I cannot bear his abſence, &c. [*b*]"

WHAT held him ſtill a while longer was *the tears of his family, and the remonſtrances of his daughter* TULLIA; who entreated him *to wait onely the iſſue of the* Spaniſh *war, and urged it as the advice of* ATTICUS [*c*]. He was paſſionately fond of this daughter; and with great reaſon; for ſhe was a woman of ſingular accompliſhments, with the utmoſt affection and piety to him: ſpeaking of her to ATTICUS, " how admirable, ſays he, is her virtue? " how does ſhe bear the public calamity? how her dome- " ſtic diſguſts? what a greatneſs of mind did ſhe ſhew at " my parting from them? in ſpight of the tenderneſs of " her love, ſhe wiſhes me to do nothing but what is right, " and for my honor [*d*]." But as to the affair of *Spain*, he anſwered, " that whatever was the fate of it, it " could not alter the caſe with regard to himſelf; for if " CÆSAR ſhould be driven out of it, his journey to POM- " PEY would be leſs welcome and reputable, ſince CURIO " himſelf would run over to him: or if the war was drawn " into length, there would be no end of waiting: or " laſtly, if POMPEY's army ſhould be beaten, inſtead of " ſitting ſtill, as they adviſed, he thought juſt the con- " trary, and ſhould chuſe the rather to run away from the " violence of ſuch a victory. He reſolved therefore, he " ſays, to act nothing craftily: but whatever became of " *Spain*,

[*b*] Sicut ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς, alienant immundæ, inſulſæ, indecoræ: ſic me illius fugæ, negligentiæque deformitas avertit ab amore— nunc emergit amor, nunc deſiderium ferre non poſſum. Ib. 9. 10.

[*c*] Sed cum ad me mea Tullia ſcribat, orans, ut quid in Hiſpania geratur expectem, & ſemper adſcribat idem videri tibi—ib. x. 8.

Lacrymæ meorum me interdum molliunt, precantium, ut de Hiſpaniis expectemus— ib. x. 9.

[*d*] Cujus quidem virtus mirifica. Quomodo illa fert publicam cladem? quomodo domeſticas tricas? quantus autem animus in diſceſſu noſtro? ſit σοφγὴ, ſit ſumma σύνληξις; tamen nos recte facere & bene audire vult. ib. x. 8.

" *Spain*, to find out POMPEY as ſoon as he could, in con- A. Urb. 704.
" formity to SOLON's law, who made it capital for a Cic. 58.
" Citizen not to take part in a civil diſſenſion [*e*]." Coſſ.
C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

BEFORE his going off, SERVIUS SULPICIUS ſent him word from *Rome*, that *he had a great deſire to have a conference with him, to conſult in common what meaſures they ought to take.* CICERO conſented to it, in hopes to find SERVIUS in the ſame mind with himſelf, and to have his company to POMPEY's camp: for in anſwer to his meſſage, he intimated his own intention *of leaving* Italy; and if SERVIUS was not in the ſame reſolution, adviſed him *to ſave himſelf the trouble of the journey, though if he had any thing of moment to communicate, he would wait for his coming* [*f*]. But at their meeting he found him ſo timorous and deſponding, and ſo full of ſcruples upon every thing which was propoſed, that inſtead of preſſing him to the ſame conduct with himſelf, he found it neceſſary to conceal his own deſign from him: " of all the men, ſays he, whom " I have met with, he is alone a greater Coward than C. " MARCELLUS, who laments his having been Conſul; " and urges ANTONY to hinder my going, that he him- " ſelf may ſtay with a better grace [*g*]."

CATO,

[*e*] Si pelletur, quam gratus aut quam honeſtus tum erit ad Pompeium noſter adventus, cum ipſum Curionem ad ipſum tranſiturum putem? ſi trahitur bellum, quid expectem, aut quam diu? relinquitur, ut ſi vincimur in Hiſpania, quieſcamus. Id ego contra puto: iſtum enim victorem relinquendum magis puto, quam victum—ibid.—

Aſtute nihil ſum acturus; fiat in Hiſpania quidlibet. Ib. x. 6.

Ego vero Solonis—legem negligam, qui capite ſanxit, ſi qui in ſeditione non alterius utrius partis fuiſſet—ib. x. 1.

[*f*] Sin autem tibi homini prudentiſſimo videtur utile eſſe, nos colloqui, quanquam longius etiam cogitabam ab urbe diſcedere, cujus jam etiam nomen invitus audio, tamen propius accedam—Ep. fam. 4. 1.

Reſtat ut diſcedendum putem; in quo reliqua videtur eſſe deliberatio, quod conſilium in diſceſſu, quæ loca ſequamur—ſi habes jam ſtatutum, quid tibi agendum putes, in quo non ſit conjunctum conſilium tuum cum meo, ſuperſedeas hoc labore itineris—ib. 4, 2.

[*g*] Servii conſilio nihil expeditur. Omnes captiones in omni ſententia occurrunt. Unum C. Marcello cognovi timidiorem, quem Conſulem fuiſſe pœnitet—qui etiam Antonium confirmaſſe dicitur, ut me impediret, quo ipſe, credo, honeſtius.—Ad Att. x. 15.

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Cato, whom Pompey had ſent to poſſeſs himſelf of *Sicily*, thought fit to quit that poſt, *and yield up the iſland to* Curio, who came likewiſe to ſeize it on Cæsar's part with a ſuperior force. Cicero was much ſcandalized at Cato's conduct, being perſuaded that he might have held his poſſeſſion without difficulty, and that all honeſt men would have flocked to him, eſpecially, *when* Pompey's *fleet was ſo near to ſupport him:* for if that had but once appeared on the coaſt, and begun to act, Curio himſelf, as he confeſſed, *would have run away the firſt. I wiſh,* ſays Cicero, *that* Cotta *may hold out* Sardinia, *as it is ſaid he will: for if ſo, how baſe will* Cato's *act appear* [*h*].

In theſe circumſtances, while he was preparing all things for his voyage, and waiting onely for a fair wind, he removed from his *Cuman to his Pompeian Villa beyond* Naples, which, not being ſo commodious for an embarkment, would help *to leſſen the ſuſpicion of his intended flight* [*i*]. Here he received a private meſſage from the Officers of three Cohorts, which were in garriſon at *Pompeii*, to beg leave to wait upon him the day following, in order to deliver up their troops and the Town into his hands; but inſtead of liſtening to the overture, he ſlipt away the next morning before day to avoid ſeeing them; ſince ſuch a force or a greater could be of no ſervice there; and he was apprehenſive that it was deſigned onely as a trap for him [*k*]. Thus

[*h*] Curio mecum vixit—Siciliæ diffidens, ſi Pompeius navigare cœpiſſet—ib. x. 7.

Curio—Pompeii claſſem timebat: quæ ſi eſſet, ſe de Sicilia abiturum. Ib. x. 4.

Cato qui Siciliam tenere nullo negotio potuit, & ſi tenuiſſet, omnes boni ad eum ſe contuliſſent, Syracuſis profectus eſt a. d. 8. Kal. Maii—utinam, quod aiunt, Cotta Sardiniam teneat. Eſt enim rumor, O, ſi id fuerit, turpem Catonem!——ib. x. 16.

[*i*] Ego ut minuerem ſuſpicionem profectionis,—profectus ſum in Pompeianum a. d. IIII Id. Ut ibi eſſem, dum quæ ad navigandum opus eſſent, pararentur. Ib.

[*k*] Cum ad villam veniſſem, ventum eſt ad me, Centuriones trium Cohortium, quæ Pompeiis ſunt, me velle poſtridie; hæc mecum Ninnius noſter, velle eos mihi ſe, & oppidum tradere. At ego tibi poſtridie a villa ante lucem, ut me omnino illi non viderent. Quid enim erat in tribus cohortibus? quid ſi plures, quo apparatu?—& ſimul fieri poterat, ut tentaremur. Omnem igitur ſuſpicionem ſuſtuli—ibid.

THUS purſuing at laſt the reſult of all his deliberations, and preferring the conſideration of duty to that of his ſafety, he embarked to follow POMPEY; and though from the nature of the war, he plainly ſaw and declared, "that "it was a contention only for rule; yet he thought POM- "PEY *the modeſter, honeſter and juſter King of the two*; "and if he did not conquer, that the very name of the "*Roman* people would be extinguiſhed; or if he did, "that it would ſtill be after the manner and pattern of "SYLLA, with much cruelty and blood [*l*]." With theſe melancholy reflections he ſet ſail *on the eleventh of* June [*m*], "ruſhing, as he tells us, knowingly and willingly into volun- "tary deſtruction, and doing juſt what cattel do when "driven by any force, running after thoſe of his own kind; "for as the ox, ſays he, follows the herd, ſo I follow the "honeſt, or thoſe at leaſt who are called ſo, though it "be to certain ruin [*n*]." As to his Brother QUINTUS, he was ſo far from deſiring his company in this flight, that *he preſſed him to ſtay in* Italy on account of his perſonal obligations to CÆSAR, and the relation that he had born to him: yet QUINTUS would not be left behind; but

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[*l*] Dominatio quæſita ab utroque eſt. Ib. 8. 11.

Regnandi contentio eſt; in qua pulſus eſt modeſtior Rex & probrior & integrior; & is, qui niſi vincit, nomen populi Romani deleatur neceſſe eſt: ſin autem vincit, Syllano more, exemploque vincet—ib. x. 7.

[*m*] a. d. III. Id. Jun. Ep. fam. 14. 7. It is remarkable, that among the reaſons, which detained CICERO in *Italy* longer than he intended, he mentions the *tempeſtuous weather of the Equinox, and the calms that ſucceded it*; yet this was about the end of *May* [ad Att. x. 17, 18.] which ſhews what a ſtrange confuſion there was at this time in the *Roman Kalendar*; and what neceſſity for that reformation of it, which CÆSAR ſoon after effected, in order to reduce the computation of their months to the regular courſe of the ſeaſons from which they had ſo widely varied. Some of the commentators, for want of attending to this cauſe, are ſtrangely puzzled to account for the difficulty; and one of them ridiculouſly imagines, that by *the Equinox*, CICERO covertly means ANTONY, who uſed to make *his days and nights equal*, by ſleeping as much as he waked.—

[*n*] Ego prudens ac ſciens ad peſtem ante oculos poſitam tum profectus. [Ep. fam. 6. 6.]

Prudens & ſciens tanquam ad interitum ruerem voluntarium. [pro M. Marcel. 5.] quid ergo acturus es? idem, quod pecudes, quæ diſpulſæ ſui generis ſequuntur greges. Ut bos armenta, ſic ego bonos viros, aut eos, quicunque dicentur boni, ſequar, etiam ſi ruent—ad Att. 7. 7.

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but declared, *that he would follow his Brother, whitherſoever he ſhould lead, and think that party right which he ſhould chuſe for him* [o].

WHAT gave CICERO a more particular abhorrence of the war, into which he was entring, was, to ſee POMPEY on all occaſions affecting to imitate SYLLA, and to hear him often ſay with a ſuperior air, *could* SYLLA *do ſuch a thing, and cannot I do it?* as if determined to make SYLLA's victory the pattern of his own. He was now in much the ſame circumſtances in which that Conqueror had once been; ſuſtaining the cauſe of the Senate by his arms, and treated as an enemy by thoſe who poſſeſſed *Italy*; and as he flattered himſelf with the ſame good fortune, ſo he was meditating the ſame kind of return, and threatening ruin and proſcription to all his enemies. This frequently ſhocked CICERO, as we find from many of his Letters, to conſider with what cruelty and effuſion of civil blood the ſucceſs even of his own friends would certainly be attended [p].

WE have no account of the manner and circumſtances of his voyage, or by what courſe he ſteered towards *Dyrrhachium*: for after his leaving *Italy*, all his correſpondence with it was in great meaſure cut off, ſo that from *June*, in which he ſailed, we find an intermiſſion of about nine months in the ſeries of his Letters, and not more than *four* of them written to ATTICUS during the continuance of the war [q]. He arrived however ſafely in POMPEY's camp with *his ſon, his brother, and nephew*, committing the fortunes of the whole family to the iſſue of

[o] Fratrem—ſocium hujus fortunæ eſſe non erat æquum: cui magis etiam Cæſar iraſcetur. Sed impetrare non poſſum, ut maneat. [ibid. 9. 1.] frater, quicquid mihi placeret, id rectum ſe putare aiebat. Ib. 9. 6.

[p] Quam crebro illud, *Sylla potuit, ego non potero?*—Ita *Syllaturit* animus ejus, & *proſcripturit* diu. [Att. 9. x.] Cnæus noſter *Syllani regni* ſimilitudinem concupivit. ἰδὼς σοι λέγω. [ib. 7.] ut non nominatim ſed generatim proſcriptio eſſet informata. Ib. xi. 6.

[q] Vid. Ad Att. xi. 1, 2, 3, 4.

of that cauſe: and that he might make ſome amends for coming ſo late, and gain the greater authority with his party, *he furniſhed* POMPEY, *who was in great want of money, with a large ſumm out of his own ſtock for the public ſervice* [r].

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BUT as he entered into the war with reluctance, ſo he found nothing in it but what increaſed his diſguſt: he diſliked every thing *which they had done, or deſigned to do*; *ſaw nothing good amongſt them but their cauſe*; and that their own counſils would ruin them: for all the chiefs of the party truſting to the ſuperior fame and authority of POMPEY, and dazzled with the ſplendor of the troops, which the Princes of the Eaſt had ſent to their aſſiſtance, aſſured themſelves of victory; and, without reflecting on the different character of the two armies, would hear of nothing but fighting. It was CICERO's buſineſs therefore to diſcourage this wild ſpirit, and to repreſent the hazard of the war, the force of CÆSAR, and the probability of his beating them, if ever they ventured a battel with him: but all his remonſtrances were ſlighted, and *he himſelf reproached as timorous and cowardly by the other Leaders: though nothing afterwards happened to them, but what he had often foretold* [s]. This ſoon made him *repent of embarking in a cauſe ſo imprudently conducted*; and it added to his diſcontent, to find himſelf even *blamed by* CATO *for coming to them at all*, and deſerting that

[r] Etſi egeo rebus omnibus, quod is quoque in anguſtiis eſt, quicum ſumus, cui magnam dedimus pecuniam mutuam, opinantes nobis, conſtitutis rebus, eam rem etiam honori fore. [ib. xi. 3.] ſi quas habuimus facultates, eas Pompeio tum, cum id videbamur ſapienter facere, detulimus. Ib. 13.

[s] Quippe mihi nec quæ accidunt, nec quæ aguntur, ullo modo probantur. [ib. xi. 4.] nihil boni præter cauſam. [Ep. fam. 7. 3.] itaque ego, quem tum fortes illi viri, Domitii & Lentuli, timidum eſſe dicebant, &c. [ib. 6. 21.] quo quidem in bello, nihil adverſi accidit non prædicente me. Ib. 6.

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neutral poſt, which might have given him the better opportunity of bringing about an accommodation [*t*].

IN this diſagreeable ſituation he declined all employment, and finding his counſils wholly ſlighted, reſumed his uſual way of raillery, and what he could not diſſuade by his authority, endeavoured to make ridiculous by his *jeſts*. This gave occaſion afterwards to ANTONY, in a ſpeech to the Senate, to cenſure the levity of his behaviour in the calamity of a civil war, and to reflect not onely upon his fears, but the unſeaſonableneſs alſo of his *jokes*: to which CICERO anſwered, "that though their camp "indeed was full of care and anxiety, yet in circumſtances "the moſt turbulent, there were certain moments of relaxa-"tion, which all men, who had any humanity in them, "were glad to lay hold on: but while ANTONY reproached "him both with dejection and joking at the ſame time, "it was a ſure proof that he had obſerved a proper tem-"per and moderation in them both [*u*]."

YOUNG BRUTUS was alſo in POMPEY's camp, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a peculiar zeal: which CICERO mentions as the more remarkable, becauſe he had always profeſſed *an irreconcileable hatred to* POMPEY, *as to the murtherer*

[*t*] Cujus me mei facti pœnituit, non tam propter periculum meum, quam propter vitia multa, quæ ibi offendi, quo veneram. Ib. 7. 3.—Plutar. in Cic.

[*u*] Ipſe fugi adhuc omne munus, eo magis, quod ita nihil poterat agi, ut mihi & meis rebus aptum eſſet. [Att. xi. 4.] Quod autem idem mœſtitiam meam reprehendit, idem jocum; magno argumento eſt, me in utroque fuiſſe moderatum. Phil. 2. 16.

Some of CICERO's ſayings on this occaſion are preſerved by different writers. When POMPEY put him in mind of *his coming ſo late* to them: how can *I come late*, ſaid he, *when I find nothing in readineſs among you?*—and upon POMPEY's aſking him ſarcaſtically, *where his ſon in law* DOLABELLA *was; he is with your Father in law*, replied he. To a perſon newly arrived from *Italy*, and informing them of a ſtrong report at *Rome, that* POMPEY *was blocked up by* CÆSAR; and *you ſailed hither therefore*, ſaid he, *that you might ſee it with your own eyes.* And even after their defeat, when NONNIUS was exhorting them to courage, becauſe there were *ſeven Eagles ſtill left in* POMPEY's *camp*; *you encourage well*, ſaid he, *if we were to fight with Jack-daws.* By the frequency of theſe ſplenetic jokes, he is ſaid to have provoked POMPEY ſo far as to tell him, *I wiſh that you would go over to the other ſide, that you may begin to fear us.* Vid. Macrob. Saturn. 2. 3. Plutar. in Cicer.

murtherer of his Father [*x*]. But he followed the cauſe, not the man; ſacrificing all his reſentments to the ſervice of his country, and looking now upon POMPEY *as the General of the Republic*, and the defender of their common liberty. A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

DURING the courſe of this war CICERO never ſpeaks of POMPEY's conduct but *as a perpetual ſucceſſion of blunders*. His firſt ſtep *of leaving* Italy was condemned indeed by all, *but particularly by* ATTICUS; yet to us at this diſtance, it ſeems not onely to have been prudent, but neceſſary [*y*]. What ſhocked people ſo much at it, was the diſcovery that it made of his weakneſs and want of preparation; and after the ſecurity, which he had all along affected, and the defiance ſo oft declared againſt his adverſary, it made him appear contemptible to run away at laſt on the firſt approach of CÆSAR: "Did you ever ſee, ſays "COELIUS, a more ſilly creature than this POMPEY of "yours; who, after raiſing all this buſtle, is found to "be ſuch a trifler? or did you ever read or hear of a "man more vigorous in action, more temperate in vic-"tory, than our CÆSAR [*z*]?"

POMPEY had left *Italy* about a year before CÆSAR found it convenient to go after him; during which time he had gathered a vaſt fleet from all the *maritime States and Cities dependent on the Empire*, without making any uſe of it to diſtreſs an enemy who had no fleet at all: he ſuffered *Sicily* and *Sardinia* to fall into CÆSAR's hands without a blow;

[*x*] Brutus amicus in cauſa verſatur acriter. Ad Att. xi. 4.

Vid. Plutar. in Brut. & Pomp.

[*y*] Quorum dux quam ἀτρατήγητος, tu quoque animadvertis, cui ne Picena quidem nota ſunt: quam autem ſine conſilio, res teſtis. Ad Att. 7. 13.

Si iſte Italiam relinquet, faciet omnino male, & ut ego exiſtimo ἀλογίστως, &c. ib. 9. 10.

[*z*] Ecquando tu hominem ineptiorem quam tuum Cn. Pompeium vidiſti? qui tantas turbas, qui tam nugax eſſet, commorit? ecquem autem Cæſare noſtro acriorem in rebus agendis, eodem in victoria temperatiorem, aut legiſti aut audiſti? Ep. fam. 8. 15.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

blow; and the important *Town* of *Marſeilles*, after having endured a long ſiege for its affection to his cauſe: but his capital error was the giving up *Spain*, and neglecting to put himſelf at the head of the beſt army that he had, in a country devoted to his intereſts, and commodious for the operations of his naval force: when CICERO firſt heard of this reſolution, he thought it *monſtrous* [*a*]; and in truth, the committing that war to his Lieutenants againſt the ſuperior genius and aſcendent of CÆSAR, was the ruin of his beſt troops and hopes at once.

SOME have been apt to wonder, why CÆSAR, after forcing POMPEY out of *Italy*, inſtead of croſſing the ſea after him, when he was in no condition to reſiſt, ſhould leave him for the ſpace of a year to gather armies and fleets at his leiſure, and ſtrengthen himſelf with all the forces of the Eaſt. But CÆSAR had good reaſons for what he did: he knew, that all the troops, which could be drawn together from thoſe countries, were no match for his; that if he had purſued him directly to *Greece*, and driven him out of it, as he had done out of *Italy*, he ſhould have driven him probably into *Spain*, where of all places he deſired the leaſt to meet him; and where in all events POMPEY had a ſure reſource, as long as it was poſſeſſed by a firm and veteran army; which it was CÆSAR's buſineſs therefore to deſtroy in the firſt place, or he could expect no ſucceſs from the war; and there was no opportunity of deſtroying it ſo favorable, as when POMPEY himſelf was at ſuch a diſtance from it. This was the reaſon of his marching back with ſo much expedition to find, as he ſaid, *an army without a General, and return to a General without an*

[*a*] Omnis hæc claſſis Alexandria, Colchis, Tyro, Sidone, Cypro, Pamphilia, Lycia, Rhodo, &c. ad intercludendos Italiæ commeatus—comparatur—ad Att. 9. 9.
Nunciant Ægyptum—cogitare; Hiſpaniam abjeciſſe. Monſtra narrant—ad Att. 9. 11.

an army [*b*]. The event ſhewed, that he judged right; for within *forty days* from the firſt ſight of his enemy in *Spain*, he made himſelf maſter of the whole Province [*c*].

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coſſ. C. Julius Cæsar II. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

After the reduction of *Spain*, he was created *Dictator by* M. Lepidus, then *Prætor at* Rome, and by his *Dictatorial* power declared himſelf Conſul, with P. Servilius Isauricus; but he was no ſooner inveſted with this office, than he marched to *Brundiſium*, and embarked on the fourth of *January*, in order to find out Pompey. The carrying about in his perſon the ſupreme dignity of the Empire, added no ſmall authority to his cauſe, by making the Cities and States abroad the more cautious of acting againſt him, or giving them a better pretence at leaſt *for opening their gates to the Conſul of* Rome-----[*d*]. Cicero all this while deſpairing of any good from the war, had been uſing all his endeavours to diſpoſe his friends to peace, till Pompey forbad any farther mention of it in council, declaring, *that he valued neither life nor country, for which he muſt be indebted to* Cæsar, *as the world muſt take the caſe to be, ſhould he accept any conditions in his preſent circumſtances* [*e*]. He was ſenſible that he had hitherto been acting a contemptible part, and done nothing equal to the great name which he had acquired in the world; and was determined therefore, to retrieve his honor before he laid down his arms, by the deſtruction of his adverſary, or to periſh in the attempt.

During

[*b*] Ire ſe ad exercitum ſine duce, & inde reverſurum ad ducem ſine exercitu. Sueton. J. Cæſ. 34.

[*c*] Cæſ. Comment. l. 2.

[*d*] Illi ſe daturos negare, neque portas Conſuli præcluſuros. Cæſ. Comm. l. 3. 590.

[*e*] Deſperans victoriam, primum cœpi ſuadere pacem, cujus fueram ſemper auctor; deinde cum ab ea ſententia Pompeius valde abhorreret. Ep. fam. 7. 3.

Vibullius—de Cæſaris mandatis agere inſtituit; eum ingreſſum in ſermonem Pompeius interpellavit, & loqui plura prohibuit. Quid mihi, inquit, aut vita aut civitate opus eſt, quam beneficio Cæſaris habere videbor? Cæſ. Comm. 3. 596.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coſſ. C. Julius Cæsar II. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

During the blockade of *Dyrrhachium*, it was a current notion in Cæsar's army, *that* Pompey *would draw off his troops into his ſhips, and remove the war to ſome diſtant place.* Upon this Dolabella, who was with Cæsar, ſent a Letter to Cicero into Pompey's Camp, exhorting him, "that if Pompey ſhould be driven from theſe quarters, "to ſeek ſome other country, he would ſit down quietly "at *Athens*, or any City remote from the war: that it "was time to think of his own ſafety, and be a friend to "himſelf, rather than to others: that he had now fully "ſatisfied his duty, his friendſhip, and his engagements "to that party, which he had eſpouſed in the Republic: "that there was nothing left, but to be, where the Republic "itſelf now was, rather than by following that ancient one "to be in none at all----and that Cæsar would readily "approve this conduct [*f*]:" but the war took a quite different turn; and inſtead of Pompey's *running away from* Dyrrhachium, Cæsar, by an unexpected defeat before it, was forced to retire the firſt, and leave to Pompey the credit of purſuing him, as in a kind of flight towards *Macedonia*.

While the two armies were thus employed, Coelius, now *Prætor* at *Rome*, truſting to his power, and the ſucceſs of his party, began to publiſh ſeveral violent and odious laws, eſpecially one *for the cancelling of all debts* [*g*]. This raiſed a great flame in the City, till he was overruled and depoſed from his magiſtracy by the Conſul Servilius, and the Senate: but being made deſperate by this affront, he recalled Milo from his exil at Marseilles,

[*f*] Illud autem a te peto, ut, ſi jam ille evitaverit hoc periculum, & ſe abdiderit in claſſem, tu tuis rebus conſulas: & aliquando tibi potius quam cuivis ſis amicus. Satis factum eſt jam a te vel officio, vel familiaritati; ſatisfactum etiam partibus, & ei Reipub. quam tu probabas. Reliquum eſt, ubi nunc eſt Reſpub. ibi ſimus potius, quam dum veterem illam ſequamur, ſimus in nulla. Ep. fam. 9. 9.

[*g*] Cæſ. Comment. 3. 600.

SEILLES, whom CÆSAR had refuſed to reſtore; and in concert with him, reſolved to raiſe ſome public commotion in favor of POMPEY. In this diſpoſition he wrote his laſt Letter to CICERO; in which, after an account of his converſion, and the ſervice which he was projecting, " You are aſleep, ſays he, and do not know how open " and weak we are here: what are you doing? are you " waiting for a battel, which is ſure to be againſt you? " I am not acquainted with your troops; but ours have " been long uſed to fight hard; and to bear cold and " hunger with eaſe [*b*]." But this diſturbance, which began to alarm all *Italy*, was ſoon ended by the death of the Authors of it, MILO and COELIUS; who periſhed in their raſh attempt, being deſtroyed by the ſoldiers, whom they were endeavouring to debauch. They had both attached themſelves very early to the intereſts and the authority of CICERO, and were qualified by their parts and fortunes to have made a principal figure in the Republic, if they had continued in thoſe ſentiments, and adhered to his advice; but their paſſions, pleaſures, and ambition got the aſcendent; and through a factious and turbulent life hurried them on to this wretched fate.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR II. P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.

ALL thoughts of peace being now laid aſide, CICERO's next advice to POMPEY was, to draw the war into length, nor ever to give CÆSAR the opportunity of a battel. POMPEY approved this counſil, and purſued it for ſome time, till he gained the advantage abovementioned before *Dyrrhachium*; which gave him ſuch a confidence in his own troops, and ſuch a contempt of CÆSAR's, " that

[*b*] Vos dormitis, nec hæc adhuc mihi videmini intelligere, quam nos pateamus, & quam ſimus imbecilli——quid iſtic facitis? prælium expectatis, quod firmiſſimum eſt? veſtras copias non novi. Noſtri valde depugnare, & facile algere & eſurire conſueverint, Ep. fam. 8. 17.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coſſ. C. Julius Cæsar II. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

"from this moment, ſays Cicero, this great man ceaſed "to be a General; oppoſed a raw, new-raiſed army, to "the moſt robuſt and veteran Legions; was ſhamefully "beaten; and with the loſs of his Camp, forced to fly "away alone [*i*]."

Had Cicero's advice been followed, Cæsar muſt inevitably have been ruined: for Pompey's fleet would have cut off all ſupplies from him by ſea; and it was not poſſible for him to ſubſiſt long at land; while an enemy, ſuperior in number of troops, was perpetually haraſſing him, and waſting the country: and the report every where ſpread of his flying from *Dyrrhachium* before a victorious army, which was purſuing him, made his march every way the more difficult, and the people of the country more ſhy of aſſiſting him: till the deſpicable figure, that he ſeemed to make, raiſed ſuch an impatience for fighting, and aſſurance of victory in the Pompeian chiefs, as drew them to the fatal reſolution of giving him battel at *Pharſalia*. There was another motive likewiſe ſuggeſted to us by Cicero, which ſeems to have had no ſmall influence in determining Pompey to this unhappy ſtep; his ſuperſtitious regard to *omens, and the admonitions of Diviners*; to which *his nature was ſtrongly addicted*. The Haruſpices were all on his ſide, and flattered him with every thing that was proſperous: and beſides thoſe in his own camp, the whole fraternity of them at *Rome* were ſending him perpetual accounts of the *fortunate and auſpicious ſignifications which they had obſerved in the entrails* of their victims [*k*]. But

[*i*] Cum ab ea ſententia Pompeius valde abhorreret, ſuadere inſtitui, ut bellum duceret: hoc interdum probabat & in ea ſententia videbatur fore, & fuiſſet fortaſſe, niſi quadam ex pugna cœpiſſet militibus ſuis confidere. Ex eo tempore vir ille ſummus nullus Imperator fuit: victus turpiſſime, amiſſis etiam caſtris, ſolus fugit. Ep. fam. 7. 3.

[*k*] Hoc civili bello, Dii immortales!—— quæ nobis in Græciam Româ reſponſa Haruſpicum miſſa ſunt? quæ dicta Pompeio?—— etenim ille admodum extis & oſtentis movebatur. De Div. 2. 24.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR II. P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.

BUT after all, it muſt needs be owned, that POMPEY had a very difficult part to act, and much leſs liberty of executing, what he himſelf approved, than in all the other wars, in which he had been engaged. In his wars againſt foreign enemies, his power was abſolute, and all his motions depended on his own will; but in this, beſides ſeveral Kings and Princes of the Eaſt, who attended him in perſon, he had with him in his Camp almoſt all the chief Magiſtrates and Senators of *Rome*; men of equal dignity with himſelf, who had commanded armies, and obtained triumphs, and expected a ſhare in all his counſils, and that in their common danger, no ſtep ſhould be taken, but by their common advice: and as they were under no engagement to his cauſe, but what was voluntary, ſo they were neceſſarily to be humored, leſt through diſguſt they ſhould deſert it. Now theſe were all uneaſy in their preſent ſituation, and longed to be at home in the enjoyment of their eſtates and honors; and having a confidence of victory from the number of their troops, and the reputation of their Leader, were perpetually teizing POMPEY to the reſolution of a battel; charging him with a deſign to protract the war, for the ſake of perpetuating his authority; and calling him another AGAMEMNON, *who was proud of holding ſo many Kings and Generals under his command* [*l*]; till, being unable to withſtand their reproaches any longer, he was driven by a kind of ſhame, and againſt his judgment, to the experiment of a deciſive action.

CÆSAR was ſenſible of POMPEY's difficulty, and perſwaded, that he could not ſupport the indignity of ſhew-

[*l*] Καὶ ἐπὶ τῶδε αὐλὸν βασιλέα καὶ Αγαμέμνονα καλεῖσθαι, ὅτι πλείοσι βασιλεῦσι διὰ τὸν πολέμον ἦρχεν; ἐξέστη τῶν οἰκείων λογισμῶν, καὶ ἐνέδωκεν αὐθρῖς. App. p. 470.

Milites otium, ſocii moram, Principes ambitum ducis increpabant. Flor. l. 4. 2. Dio. p. 185. Plut. in Pomp.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR II. P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.

ing himſelf afraid of fighting; and from that aſſurance expoſed himſelf often more raſhly than prudence would otherwiſe juſtify: for his beſieging POMPEY at *Dyrrhachium*, who was maſter of the ſea, which ſupplied every thing to him that was wanted, while his own army was ſtarving at land; and the attempt to block up entrenchments ſo widely extended, with much ſmaller numbers than were employed to defend them, muſt needs be thought raſh and extravagant, were it not for the expectation of drawing POMPEY by it to a general engagement: for when he could not gain that end, his perſeverance in the ſiege had like to have ruined him, and would inevitably have done ſo, if he had not quitted it, as he himſelf afterwards owned [*m*].

IT muſt be obſerved likewiſe, that, while POMPEY had any walls or entrenchments between him and CÆSAR, not all CÆSAR's vigor, nor the courage of his veterans, could gain the leaſt advantage againſt him; but on the contrary, that CÆSAR was baffled and diſappointed in every attempt. Thus at *Brundiſium* he could make no impreſſion upon the Town, till POMPEY at full leiſure had ſecured his retreat, and embarked his troops: and at *Dyrrhachium*, the onely conſiderable action, which happened between them, was not onely diſadvantageous, but almoſt fatal to him. Thus far POMPEY certainly ſhewed himſelf the greater Captain, in not ſuffering a force, which he could not reſiſt in the field, to do him any hurt, or carry any point againſt him; ſince that depended on the ſkill of the General. By the help of entrenchments, he knew how to make

[*m*] Cæſar pro natura ferox, & conficiendæ rei cupidus, oſtentare aciem, provocare, laceſſere; nunc obſidione caſtrorum, quæ ſedecim millium vallo obduxerat; (ſed quid his obeſſet obſidio, qui patente mari omnibus copiis abundarent?) nunc expugnatione Dyrrhachii irrita, &c. Flor. l. 4. c. 2.

ὡμολόγέι τε μέλαγινώσκειν πρὸς Δυῤῥάχίω τρατοπεδεύσας, &c. App. p. 468.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR II. P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.

make his new raiſed ſoldiers a match for CÆSAR's Veterans; but when he was drawn to encounter him on the open plain, he fought againſt inſuperable odds, by deſerting *his proper arms*, as CICERO ſays, of *caution, counſil, and authority, in which he was ſuperior, and committing his fate to ſwords and ſpears, and bodily ſtrength, in which his enemies far excelled him* [*n*].

CICERO was not preſent at the battel of *Pharſalia*, but was left behind at *Dyrrhachium* much out of humor, as well as out of order: his diſcontent to ſee all things going wrong on that ſide, and contrary to his advice, had brought upon him an ill habit of body, and weak ſtate of health; which made him decline all public command; but he promiſed POMPEY to follow, and continue with him, as ſoon as his health permitted [*o*]; and as a pledge of his ſincerity, ſent his ſon in the mean while along with him, who, though very young, behaved himſelf gallantly, and acquired *great applauſe by his dexterity of riding and throwing the javelin*, and performing every other part of military diſcipline at the head *of one of the wings of Horſe, of which* POMPEY *had given him the command* [*p*]. CATO ſtaid behind alſo in the Camp at *Dyrrhachium*, which he commanded with *fifteen Cohorts*, when LABIENUS brought them the news of POMPEY's defeat: upon which CATO offered the command to CICERO as the ſuperior in dignity; and upon his refuſal of it, as PLUTARCH tells us,

young

[*n*] Non iis rebus pugnabamus, quibus valere poteramus, conſilio, auctoritate, cauſa, quæ erant in nobis ſuperiora; ſed lacertis & viribus, quibus pares non fuimus. Ep. fam. 4. 7.

Dolebamque pilis & gladiis, non conſiliis neque auctoritatibus noſtris de jure publico diſceptari—Ep. fam. 6. 1.

[*o*] Ipſe fugi adhuc omne munus, eo magis, quod nihil ita poterat agi, ut mihi & meis rebus aptum eſſet—me conficit ſollicitudo, ex qua etiam ſumma infirmitas corporis; qua levata, ero cum eo, qui negotium gerit, eſtque in magna ſpe—ad Att. xi. 4.

[*p*] Quo tamen in bello cum te Pompeius alæ alteri præfeciſſet, magnam laudem & a ſummo viro & ab exercitu conſequebare, equitando, jaculando, omni militari labore tolerando: atque ea quidem tua laus pariter cum Repub. cecidit. De Offic. 2. 13.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coſſ. C. Julius Cæsar II. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

young Pompey was ſo enraged, *that he drew his ſword, and would have killed him upon the ſpot, if* Cato *had not prevented it.* This fact is not mentioned by Cicero, yet ſeems to be refered to in his ſpeech for Marcellus, where he ſays, *that in the very war, he had been a perpetual aſſertor of peace, to the hazard even of his life* [q]. But the wretched news from *Pharſalia* threw them all into ſuch a conſternation, that they preſently took ſhipping, and diſperſed themſelves ſeverally, as their hopes or inclinations led them into the different provinces of the Empire [r]. The greateſt part, who were determined to renew the war, went directly into *Afric*, the general rendezvous of their ſcattered forces; whilſt others, who were diſpoſed to expect the farther iſſue of things, and take ſuch meaſures as fortune offered, retired to *Achaia*: but Cicero was reſolved to make this *the end of the war to himſelf*; and recommended the ſame conduct to his friends; declaring, *that as they had been no match for* Cæsar, *when intire, they could not hope to beat him, when ſhattered and broken* [s]: and ſo after a miſerable campaign of about eighteen months, he committed himſelf without heſitation to the mercy of the Conqueror, and landed again at *Brundiſium* about the end of *October*.

[q] Multa de pace dixi, & in ipſo bello, eadem etiam cum capitis mei periculo ſenſi. Pro Marcell. 5.

[r] Paucis ſane poſt diebus ex Pharſalica fuga veniſſe Labienum: qui cum interitum exercitus nunciaviſſet—naves ſubito perterriti conſcendiſtis. De Divin. 1. 32.

[s] Hunc ego belli mihi finem feci; nec putavi, cum integri pares non fuiſſemus, fractos ſuperiores fore. Ep. fam. 7. 3.



SECT.



SECT. VIII.

CICERO no ſooner returned to *Italy*, than he began to reflect, that he had been too haſty in coming home, before the war was determined, and without any invitation from the Conqueror; and in a time of that general licence, had reaſon to apprehend ſome inſult from the ſoldiers, if he ventured to appear in public with *his Faſces and Laurel*; and yet to drop them, would be a diminution of that honor, which he had received from the *Roman* people, and the acknowledgement of a power ſuperior to the laws: *he condemned himſelf therefore for not continuing abroad, in ſome convenient place of retirement, till he had been ſent for*, or things were better ſettled.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. Julius Cæsar Dictator II. M. Antonius Mag. Equit.

ſettled [*t*]. What gave him the greater reaſon to repent of this ſtep was, *a meſſage that he received from* Antony, who governed all in Cæsar's abſence, and with the ſame churliſh ſpirit, with which he would have held him before in *Italy* againſt his will, ſeemed now diſpoſed *to drive him out of it:* for he ſent him *the Copy of a Letter from* Cæsar, in which Cæsar ſignified, "that he had heard, "that Cato and Metellus were at *Rome*, and appeared "openly there, which might occaſion ſome diſturbance: "wherefore he ſtrictly injoined, that none ſhould be ſuf- "fered to come to *Italy* without a ſpecial licence from "himſelf. Antony therefore deſired Cicero to excuſe "him, ſince he could not help obeying Cæsar's com- "mands: but Cicero ſent L. Lamia to aſſure him, that "Cæsar had ordered Dolabella to write to him to come "to *Italy* as ſoon as he pleaſed; and that he came upon "the authority of Dolabella's Letter:" ſo that Antony, in the Edict, which he publiſhed to exclude *the Pompeians from* Italy, *excepted* Cicero *by name:* which added ſtill to his mortification; ſince all his deſire was to be conniv- ed at onely, or tacitly permitted, *without being perſonally diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of his party* [*u*].

But he had ſeveral other grievances of a domeſtic kind, which concurred alſo to make him unhappy: his Brother Quintus, with his Son, after their eſcape from *Phar- ſalia*, followed Cæsar into *Aſia*, to obtain their pardon from

[*t*] Ego vero & incaute, ut ſcribis, & celerius quam oportuit, feci, &c. Ad Att. xi. 9.

Quare voluntatis me meæ nunquam pœnitebit, conſilii pœnitet. In oppido aliquo mallem reſediſſe, quoad arceſſerer. Minus ſermonis ſubiiſſem: minus accepiſſem doloris: ipſum hoc non me angeret. Brundiſii jacere in omnes partes eſt moleſtum. Propius accedere, ut ſuades, quomodo ſine lictoribus, quos populus dedit, poſſum? qui mihi incolumi adimi non poſſunt. Ad Att. xi. 6.

[*u*] Sed quid ego de lictoribus, qui pæne ex Italia decedere ſim juſſus? nam ad me miſit Antonius exemplum Cæſaris ad ſe literarum; in quibus erat, ſe audiſſe, Catonem & L. Metellum in Italiam veniſſe, Romæ ut eſſent palam, &c. Tum ille edixit ita, ut me exciperet & Lælium nominatim. Quod ſane nollem. Poterat enim ſine nomine, re ipſa excipi. O multas graves offenſiones!—ib. 7.

from him in perſon. QUINTUS had particular reaſon to be afraid of his reſentment, on account of the relation which he had born to him, as one of his Lieutenants in *Gaul*, where he had been treated by him with great generoſity; ſo that CICERO *himſelf would have diſſwaded him from going over to* POMPEY, *but could not prevail:* yet in this common calamity, QUINTUS, in order to make his own peace the more eaſily, reſolved to throw all the blame upon his brother, and for that purpoſe made it the ſubject of *all his Letters and Speeches to* CÆSAR's *friends, to rail at him in a manner the moſt inhuman.*

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

CICERO was informed of this from all quarters, and that *young* QUINTUS, who was ſent before towards CÆSAR, *had read an oration to his friends, which he had prepared to ſpeak to him againſt his Uncle. Nothing*, as CICERO ſays, *ever happened more ſhocking to him*; and though he had no ſmall diffidence of CÆSAR's inclination, and many enemies laboring to do him ill offices, yet his greateſt concern was, leſt his Brother and Nephew ſhould hurt themſelves rather than him, by their perfidy [*x*]: for under all the ſenſe of this provocation, his behaviour was juſt the reverſe of theirs; and having been informed, *that* CÆSAR, *in a certain converſation, had charged his Brother with being the author of their going away to* POMPEY, he took occaſion to write to him in the following terms:

" As for my Brother, I am not leſs ſollicitous for his " ſafety, than my own; but in my preſent ſituation dare " not venture to recommend him to you: all that " I can

[*x*] Quintus miſit filium non ſolum ſui deprecatorem, ſed etiam accuſatorem mei—neque vero deſiſtet, ubicunque eſt omnia in me maledicta conferre. Nihil mihi unquam tam incredibile accidit, nihil in his malis tam acerbum.—ibid. 8.

Epiſtolas mihi legerunt plenas omnium in me probrorum—ipſi enim illi putavi pernicioſum fore, ſi ejus hoc tantum ſcelus percrebuiſſet—ib. 9.

Quintum filium—volumen ſibi oſtendiſſe orationis, quam apud Cæſarem contra me eſſet habiturus—multa poſtea Patris, conſimili ſcelere Patrem eſſe locutum, ib. 10.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

" I can pretend to, is, to beg that you will not believe
" him to have ever done any thing towards obſtructing
" my good offices and affection to you; but rather, that
" he was always the adviſer of our union, and the com-
" panion, not the leader of my voyage: wherefore in all
" other reſpects, I leave it to you to treat him, as your own
" humanity and his friendſhip with you require; but I
" entreat you, in the moſt preſſing manner, that I may
" not be the cauſe of hurting him with you on any account
" whatſoever [*y*].

HE found himſelf likewiſe at this time in ſome diſtreſs for want of money, which, in that ſeaſon of public diſtraction, it was very difficult to procure, either by borrowing or ſelling: the ſumm, which he advanced to POMPEY, had drained him: and his wife, by her indulgence to ſtewards, and favorite ſervants, had made great waſt of what was left at home; and inſtead of ſaving any thing from their rents, had plunged him deeply into debt; ſo that ATTICUS's purſe was the chief fund which he had to truſt to for his preſent ſupport [*z*].

THE conduct of DOLABELLA was a farther mortification to him; who by the fiction of an adoption into a plebeian family, had obtained the tribunate this year, and was raiſing great tumults and diſorders in *Rome*, by a law, which he publiſhed, *to expunge all debts.* Laws of that kind had been often attempted by deſperate or ambitious Magiſtrates; but were always deteſted by the better ſort, and particularly by CICERO, who treats them as pernicious *to the peace and proſperity of ſtates, and ſapping the very foundations*

[*y*] Cum mihi litteræ a Balbo minore miſſæ eſſent, Cæſarem exiſtimare, Quintum Fratrem *lituum meæ profectionis* fuiſſe, ſic enim ſcripſit— ad Att. xi. 12.

[*z*] Velim conſideres ut ſit, unde nobis ſuppeditentur ſumtus neceſſarii. Si quas habuimus facultates, eas Pompeio, tum, cum id videbamur ſapienter facere, detulimus. Ib. 13, 2, 22, &c.

foundations of civil Society, by deſtroying all faith and credit among men [*a*]. No wonder therefore that we find him taking this affair ſo much to heart, and complaining ſo heavily, in many of his Letters to ATTICUS, of *the famed acts of his Son in law, as an additional ſource of affliction and diſgrace to him* [*b*]. DOLABELLA was greatly embaraſſed in his fortunes, and while he was with CÆSAR abroad, ſeems to have left his wife deſtitute of neceſſaries at home, and forced to recur to her Father for her ſubſiſtence. CICERO likewiſe, either through the difficulty of the times, or for want of a ſufficient ſettlement on DOLABELLA's part, had not yet paid all her fortune; which it was uſual to do *at three different payments*, within a time limited by law: he had diſcharged *the two firſt*, and was now preparing to make *the third payment*, which he frequently and preſſingly recommends to the care of ATTICUS [*c*]. But DOLABELLA's whole life and character were ſo intirely contrary to the manners and temper both of CICERO and TULLIA, that a divorce enſued between them not long after, though the account of it is delivered ſo darkly, that it is hard to ſay at what time, or from what ſide it firſt aroſe.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

IN theſe circumſtances TULLIA paid her Father a viſit *at* Brundiſium *on the thirteenth of* June: but his great love for her made their meeting onely the more afflicting to him in that abject ſtate of their fortunes; "I was ſo far, "ſays

[*a*] Nec enim ulla res vehementius Rempub. continet, quam fides; quæ eſſe nulla poteſt, niſi erit neceſſaria ſolutio rerum creditarum, &c. de Offic. 2. 24.

[*b*] Quod me audis fractiorem eſſe animo; quid putas, cum videas acceſſiſſe ad ſuperiores ægritudines præclaras generi actiones? —ad Att. xi. 12.

Etſi omnium conſpectum horreo, præſertim hoc genero—ib. 14, 15, &c.

[*c*] De dote, quod ſcribis, per omnes Deos te obteſtor, ut totam rem ſuſcipias, & illam miſeram mea culpa—tueare meis opibus, ſi quæ ſunt; tuis, quibus tibi non moleſtum erit facultatibus. Ib. xi. 2.

De penſione altera, oro te, omni cura conſidera quid faciendum ſit.—ib. xi. 4.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

" ſays he, from taking that pleaſure which I ought to " have done from the virtue, humanity, and piety of an " excellent daughter, that I was excedingly grieved to ſee " ſo deſerving a Creature in ſuch an unhappy condition, " not by her own, but wholly by my fault: I ſaw no " reaſon therefore for keeping her longer here, in this our " common affliction; but was willing to ſend her back " to her mother as ſoon as ſhe would conſent to it [*d*]."

AT *Brundiſium* he received the news of POMPEY's death, which did not ſurprize him, as we find from the ſhort reflection that he makes upon it: " As to POMPEY's end, " ſays he, I never had any doubt about it: for the loſt " and deſperate ſtate of his affairs had ſo poſſeſſed the " minds of all the Kings and ſtates abroad, that whither- " ſoever he went, I took it for granted that this would " be his fate: I cannot however help grieving at it; " for I knew him to be an honeſt, grave, and worthy " man [*e*]."

THIS was the ſhort and true character of the man from one who perfectly knew him; not heigthened, as we ſometimes find it, by the ſhining colors of his eloquence; nor depreſſed by the darker ſtrokes of his reſentment. POMPEY had early acquired *the ſurname of the Great*, by that ſort of merit, which, from the conſtitution of the Republic, neceſſarily made him *Great*; a fame and ſucceſs in war, ſuperior to what *Rome* had ever known, in the moſt celebrated of her Generals. He had triumphed at

[*d*] Tullia mea ad me venit prid. Id. Jun.—Ego autem ex ipſius virtute, humanitate, pietate non modo eam voluptatem non cepi, quam capere ex ſingulari filia debui, ſed etiam incredibili ſum dolore affectus, tale ingenium in tam miſera fortuna verſari.—ib. xi. 17. Ep. fam. 14. 11.

[*e*] De Pompei exitu mihi dubium nunquam fuit: tanta enim deſperatio rerum ejus omnium Regum & populorum animos occuparat, ut quocunque veniſſet, hoc putarem futurum. Non poſſum ejus caſum non dolere: hominem enim integrum & caſtum & gravem cognovi. Ad Att. xi. 6.

at three ſeveral times over the three different parts of the known world, *Europe*, *Aſia*, *Africa*; and by his victories had almoſt doubled the extent, as well as the revenues of the *Roman* dominion; for as he declared to the people on his return from the *Mithridatic* war, *he had found the leſſer* Aſia *the boundary, but left it the middle of their Empire. He was about ſix years older than* CÆSAR; and while CÆSAR immerſed in pleaſures, oppreſſed with debts, and ſuſpected by all honeſt men, was hardly able to ſhew his head; POMPEY was floriſhing in the heigth of power and glory, and by the conſent of all parties placed at the head of the Republic. This was the poſt that his ambition ſeemed to aim at, to be the firſt man in *Rome*; *the Leader, not the Tyrant of his Country*: for he more than once had it in his power to have made himſelf the maſter of it without any riſk; if his virtue, or his phlegm at leaſt had not reſtrained him: but he lived in a perpetual expectation of receiving from the gift of the people, what he did not care to ſeize by force; and by fomenting the diſorders of the City, hoped to drive them to the neceſſity of creating him Dictator. It is an obſervation of all the hiſtorians, that while CÆSAR made no difference of power, *whether it was conferred or uſurped*; *whether over thoſe who loved, or thoſe who feared him*; POMPEY ſeemed to value none but what was *offered*; *nor to have any deſire to govern, but with the good will of the governed.* What leiſure he found from his wars, he employed in the ſtudy of polite Letters, and eſpecially of eloquence, *in which he would have acquired great fame, if his genius had not drawn him to the more dazzling glory of arms*: yet he pleaded ſeveral cauſes with applauſe, in the defence of his friends and clients; and ſome of them in conjunction with CICERO. His

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

language

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. Julius Cæsar Dictator II. M. Antonius Mag. Equit.

language was copious and elevated; his ſentiments juſt; his voice ſweet; his action noble, and full of dignity. But his talents were better formed for arms, than the gown: for though in both, he obſerved the ſame diſcipline; a perpetual modeſty, temperance, and gravity of outward behaviour; yet in the licence of camps, the example was more rare and ſtriking. His perſon was extremely gracefull, and imprinting reſpect; yet with an air of reſerve and haughtineſs, which became the General better than the Citizen. His parts were plauſible, rather than great; ſpecious, rather than penetrating; and his view of politics but narrow; for his chief inſtrument of governing was, *diſſimulation*; yet he had not always the art to conceal his real ſentiments. As he was a better ſoldier than a ſtateſman, ſo what he gained in the Camp he uſually loſt in the City; and though adored, when abroad, was often affronted and mortified at home; till the imprudent oppoſition of the Senate drove him to that alliance with Crassus and Cæsar, which proved fatal both to himſelf and the Republic. He took in theſe two, not as the partners, but the miniſters rather of his power; that by giving them ſome ſhare with him, he might make his own authority uncontroulable: he had no reaſon to apprehend, that they could ever prove his Rivals; ſince neither of them had any credit or character of that kind, which alone could raiſe them above the laws; a ſuperior fame and experience in war, *with the militia of the empire at their devotion*: all this was purely his own; till by cheriſhing Cæsar, and throwing into his hands the onely thing which he wanted, *arms, and military command*; he made him at laſt too ſtrong for himſelf, and never began to fear him, till it was too late: Cicero warmly diſſwaded

diſſwaded both *his union, and his breach with* CÆSAR; and after the rupture, as warmly ſtill, the thought *of giving him battel*: if any of theſe counſils had been followed, POMPEY had preſerved his life and honor, and the Republic its liberty. But he was urged to his fate by a natural ſuperſtition, and attention to thoſe vain auguries, with which he was flattered by all the Haruſpices: he had ſeen the ſame temper in MARIUS and SYLLA, and obſerved the happy effects of it: but they aſſumed it onely out of policy, he out of principle. They uſed it to animate their ſoldiers, when they had found a probable opportunity of fighting; but he, againſt all prudence and probability, was encouraged by it to fight to his own ruin. He ſaw all his miſtakes at laſt, when it was out of his power to correct them; and in his wretched flight from *Pharſalia* was forced to confeſs, *that he had truſted too much to his hopes*; *and that* CICERO *had judged better, and ſeen farther into things than he.* The reſolution of ſeeking refuge in *Egypt*, finiſhed the ſad Cataſtrophe of this great man: the Father of the reigning Prince had been highly obliged to him for his protection at *Rome*, and reſtoration to his kingdom; and the Son had ſent a conſiderable fleet to his aſſiſtance in the preſent war: but in this ruin of his fortunes, what gratitude was there to be expected from a Court, governed by *Eunuchs and mercenary* Greeks? all whoſe politics turned, not on the honor of the King, but the eſtabliſhment of their own power; which was likely to be eclipſed by the admiſſion of POMPEY. How happy had it been for him to have died in that ſickneſs, *when all* Italy *was putting up vows and prayers for his ſafety?* or if he had fallen by the chance of war on the plains of *Pharſalia*, in the defence of his Country's

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

Country's liberty, he had died ſtill glorious, though unfortunate: but, as if he had been reſerved for an example of the inſtability of human Greatneſs, he, who a few days before commanded *Kings and Conſuls, and all the nobleſt of* Rome, was ſentenced to die by *a council of ſlaves*; murthered by a *baſe deſertor*; caſt out naked and headleſs on the *Egyptian* ſtrand; and when *the whole earth*, as VELLEIUS ſays, *had ſcarce been ſufficient for his victories, could not find a ſpot upon it at laſt for a grave.* His body was burnt on the ſhoar by one of his freedmen, with the planks of an old fiſhing boat; and his aſhes being conveyed to *Rome*, were depoſited privately *by his wife* CORNELIA *in a Vault of his Alban Villa.* The *Egyptians* however raiſed a *monument* to him on the place, and adorned it with *figures of braſs*, which being defaced afterwards by time, and *buried almoſt in ſand and rubbiſh*, was ſought out and reſtored by the Emperor *Hadrian* [*f*].

ON

[*f*] Hujus viri faſtigium tantis auctibus fortuna extulit, ut primum ex Africa, iterum ex Europa, tertio ex Aſia triumpharet: & quot partes terrarum Orbis ſunt, totidem faceret monumenta victoriæ. [Vell. P. 2. 40.] Ut ipſe in concione dixit,—Aſiam ultimam provinciarum accepiſſe, mediam patriæ reddidiſſe. [Plin. H. 7. 26 Flor. 3. 5.] Potentiæ quæ honoris cauſâ ad eum deferretur, non ut ab eo occuparetur, cupidiſſimus. [Vell. P. 2. 29. Dio. p. 178.] Meus autem æqualis Cn. Pompeius, vir ad omnia ſumma natus, majorem dicendi gloriam habuiſſet, niſi eum majoris gloriæ cupiditas ad bellicas laudes abſtraxiſſet. Erat oratione ſatis amplus: rem prudenter videbat: actio vero ejus habebat & in voce magnum ſplendorem, & in motu ſummam dignitatem. [Brut. 354. vid. it. pro Balbo. 1, 2.] forma excellens, non ea, qua flos commendatur ætatis, ſed ex dignitate conſtanti. [Vell. P. 2. 29.] Illud os probum, ipſumque honorem eximiæ frontis. [Plin. Hiſt. 7. 12.] Solet enim aliud ſentire & loqui, neque tantum valere ingenio, ut non appareat quid cupiat. [Ep. fam. 8. 1.] Ille aluit, auxit, armavit—ille Galliæ ulterioris adjunctor—ille provinciæ propagator; ille abſentis in omnibus adjutor. [ad Att. 8. 3.] aluerat Cæſarem, eundem repente timere cœperat. [ib. 8.] Ego nihil prætermiſi, quantum facere, nitique potui, quin Pompeium a Cæſaris conjunctione avocarem—idem ego, cum jam omnes opes & ſuas & populi Romani Pompeius ad Cæſarem detuliſſet, ſeroque ea ſentire cœpiſſet, quæ ego ante multo provideram—pacis, concordiæ, compoſitionis auctor eſſe non deſtiti: meaque illa vox eſt nota multis, Utinam, Pompei, cum Cæſare ſocietatem aut nunquam coiſſes, aut nunquam diremiſſes!—hæc mea, Antoni, & de Pompeio & de Repub. conſilia fuerunt: quæ ſi valuiſſent, Reſpub. ſtaret. [Phil. 2. 10.] multi teſtes, me & initio ne conjungeret ſe cum Cæſare, monuiſſe Pompeium, & poſtea, ne ſejungeret, &c. Ep. fam. 6. 6. quid vero ſingularis ille vir ac pæne divinus de me ſenſerit, ſciunt, qui eum de Pharſalica fuga Paphum proſecuti ſunt: nunquam ab eo mentio de me niſi honorifica—cum me vidiſſe plus fateretur, ſe ſperaviſſe meliora. [ib. 15.] qui, ſi

mortem

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

ON the news of POMPEY's death, CÆSAR *was declared Dictator the ſecond time in his abſence, and* M. ANTONY *his Maſter of the Horſe*, who by virtue of that poſt governed all things abſolutely in *Italy*. CICERO continued all the while at *Brundiſium*, in a ſituation wholly diſagreeable, and *worſe to him*, he ſays, *than any puniſhment: for the air of the place began to affect his health, and to the uneaſineſs of mind added an ill ſtate of body* [g]: yet to move nearer towards *Rome* without leave from his new Maſters, was not thought adviſeable; nor did ANTONY encourage it; being pleaſed rather, we may believe, to ſee him well mortified: ſo that he had no hopes of any eaſe or comfort, but in the expectation of CÆSAR's return; which made his ſtay in that place the more neceſſary for the opportunity of paying his early compliments to him at landing.

BUT what gave him the greateſt uneaſineſs was, to be held ſtill in ſuſpenſe, in what touched him the moſt nearly, the caſe of his own ſafety, and of CÆSAR's diſpoſition towards him: for though all CÆSAR's friends aſſured him, *not onely of pardon, but of all kind of favor*; yet he had received no intimation of kindneſs from CÆSAR himſelf, who was ſo embaraſſed in *Egypt*, that he had no leiſure to think of *Italy*, and did not ſo much as *write a Letter*

mortem tum obiſſet, in ampliſſimis fortunis occidiſſet; is propagatione vitæ quot, quantas, quam incredibiles hauſit calamitates? [Tuſc. diſp. 1. 35.] in Peluſiaco littore, imperio viliſſimi Regis, conſiliis ſpadonum, & ne quid malis deſit, Septimii deſertoris ſui gladio trucidatur. [Flor. 4. 2. 52.] Ægyptum petere propoſuit, memor beneficiorum quæ in Patrem ejus Ptolemæi,—qui tum regnabat, contulerat—Princeps Romani nominis, imperio, arbitrioque Ægyptii mancipii jugulatus eſt—in tantum in illo viro a ſe diſcordante fortuna, ut cui modo ad victoriam terra defuerat, deeſſet ad ſepulturam. Vell. Pat. 2. 54. vid. Dio. p. 186. it. Appian. 2. 481.

Provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres
Optandas. Sed multæ urbes, & publica vota
Vicerunt. Igitur fortuna ipſius & Urbis
Servatum victo caput abſtulit. Juv. x. 283.

[g] Quodvis enim ſupplicium levius eſt hac permanſione.—Ad Att. xi. 18.

Jam enim corpore vix ſuſtineo gravitatem hujus cœli, qui mihi laborem affert, in dolore—ibid. 22.

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thither from December *to* June: for as he had raſhly, and out of gaiety, as it were, involved himſelf there in a moſt deſperate war to the hazard of all his fortunes, *he was aſhamed, as* CICERO ſays [*b*], to *write any thing about it*, till he had extricated himſelf out of that difficulty.

HIS enemies in the mean time had greatly ſtrengthened themſelves in *Afric*, where P. VARUS, who firſt ſeized it on the part of the Republic, was ſupported by all the force of *King* JUBA, POMPEY's faſt friend, and had reduced the whole Province to his obedience; for CURIO, after he had driven CATO *out of* Sicily, being ambitious to drive VARUS *alſo out of* Afric, and having tranſported thither the beſt part *of four legions*, which CÆSAR had committed to him, was, after ſome little ſucceſs upon his landing, intirely defeated and deſtroyed with his whole army in an engagement with SABURA, *King* JUBA's *General*.

CURIO was a young nobleman of ſhining parts; admirably formed by nature to adorn that character, in which *his Father and Grandfather* had floriſhed before him, of one of the principal *Orators of* Rome. Upon his entrance into the *Forum*, he was committed to the care of CICERO: but a natural propenſion to pleaſure, ſtimulated by the example and counſils of his perpetual companion ANTONY, hurried him into all the extravagance of expence and debauchery: for ANTONY, who always wanted money, with which CURIO abounded, was ever obſequious to his will, and miniſtring to his Luſts, for the opportunity of gratifying his own: ſo that, *no boy purchaſed for the uſe of lewdneſs, was more in a Maſter's power, than* ANTONY *in* CURIO's. He was equally prodigal of his money, and his modeſty;

[*b*] Ille enim ita videtur Alexandriam tenere, ut eum ſcribere etiam pudeat de illis rebus. Ib. xi. 15.

Nec poſt idus Decemb. ab illo datas ullas litteras. Ib. 17.

modeſty; and not onely of his own, but of other people's: ſo that CICERO alluding to the infamous effeminacy of his life, calls him in one of his Letters, *Miſs* CURIO. But when the Father, by CICERO's advice, had obliged him by his paternal authority *to quit the familiarity of* ANTONY; he reformed his conduct, and adhering to the inſtructions and maxims of CICERO, became the favorite of the City; the Leader of the young nobility; and a warm aſſertor of the authority of the Senate, againſt the power of the *Triumvirate.* After his Father's death, upon his firſt taſt of public honors, and admiſſion into the Senate, his ambition and thirſt of popularity engaged him in ſo immenſe a prodigality, that to ſupply the magnificence *of his ſhews, and plays,* with which he entertained the City, he was ſoon driven to the neceſſity of ſelling himſelf to CÆSAR; having *no revenue left,* as PLINY ſays, *but from the diſcord of his Citizens.* For this he is conſidered commonly by the old writers, as *the chief inſtrument, and the Trumpet, as it were, of the civil war*; in which he juſtly fell the firſt victim: yet after all his luxury and debauch, fought and died with a courage truly *Roman*; which would have merited a better fate, if it had been employed in a better cauſe: for upon the loſs of the battel, and his beſt troops, being admoniſhed by his friends to ſave himſelf by flight, he anſwered, *that after loſing an army, which had been committed to him by* CÆSAR, *he could never ſhew his face to him again*; and ſo continued fighting, till he was killed among the laſt of his ſoldiers [*i*].

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

T 2 CURIO's

[*i*] *Haud alium tanta civem tulit indole Roma.* Lucan. 4. 814.

Una familia Curionum, in qua tres continua ſerie Oratores extiterunt. Plin. H. 7. 41.

Naturam habuit admirabilem ad dicendum. Brut. 406.

Nemo unquam puer, emptus libidinis cauſa, tam fuit in domini poteſtate, quam tu in Curionis. [Philip. 2. 18.] duce filiola Curionis. [ad Att. 1. 14.]

Vir

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. Julius Cæsar Dictator II. M. Antonius Mag. Equit.

Curio's death happened before the battel of *Pharſalia*, while Cæsar was engaged in *Spain* [*k*]: by which means *Afric* fell intirely into the hands of the *Pompeians*; and became the general rendezvous of all that party: hither Scipio, Cato, and Labienus, conveyed the remains of their ſcattered troops from *Greece*, as Afranius and Petreius likewiſe did from *Spain*; till on the whole they had brought together again a more numerous army than Cæsar's, and were in ſuch high ſpirits, as to talk of coming over with it into *Italy*, before Cæsar could return from *Alexandria* [*l*]. This was confidently given out, and expected at *Rome*; and in that caſe, Cicero was ſure to be treated as a deſertor; for while Cæsar *looked upon all men as friends, who did not act againſt him*, and pardoned even enemies, who ſubmitted to his power; it was a declared law on the other ſide, *to conſider all as enemies, who were not actually in their Camp* [*m*]: ſo that Cicero had nothing now to wiſh, either for himſelf, or the Republic, but in the firſt place, a *peace, of which he had ſtill ſome hopes* [*n*]; or elſe, that Cæsar might conquer; whoſe victory was like to prove the more temperate of the two: which makes him

Vir nobilis, eloquens, audax, ſuæ alienæque & fortunæ & pudicitiæ prodigus—cujus animo, voluptatibus vel libidinibus, neque opes ullæ neque cupiditates ſufficere poſſent. [Vell. P. 248.]

Niſi meis puer olim fideliſſimis atque amantiſſimis conſiliis paruiſſes. [Ep. fam. 2. 1.]

Bello autem civili—non alius majorem quam C. Curio ſubjecit facem—[Vell. P. 2. 48.]

Quid nunc Roſtra tibi proſunt turbata, forumque
Unde Tribunitia plebeius ſignifer arce
Arma dabas populis, &c. Lucan 4. 800.

At Curio, nunquam amiſſo exercitu, quem a Cæſare fidei ſuæ commiſſum acceperat, ſe in ejus conſpectum reverſurum, confirmat; atque ita prælians interficitur. Cæſ. Comm. de Bell. Civ. 2.

[*k*]—*Autejaces, quam dira ducesPharſalia conſert; Spectandumque tibi bellum civile negatum eſt.*" Lucan. ib.

[*l*] Ii autem ex Africa jam affuturi videntur. Ad Att. xi. 15.

[*m*] Te enim dicere audiebamus, nos omnes adverſarios putare, niſi qui nobiſcum eſſent; te omnes, qui contra te non eſſent, tuos. Pro Ligar. xi. it. ad Att. xi. 6.

[*n*] Eſt autem, unum, quod mihi ſit optandum, ſi quid agi de pace poſſit: quod nullo equidem habeo in ſpe: ſed quia tu leviter interdum ſignificas, cogis me ſperare quod optandum vix eſt—ad Att. xi. 19, it. 12—

him often lament the unhappy ſituation to which he was reduced, where *nothing could be of any ſervice to him, but what he had always abhorred* [o].

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

UNDER this anxiety of mind, it was an additional vexation to him to hear, *that his reputation was attacked at* Rome, for ſubmitting ſo haſtily to the Conqueror, or putting himſelf rather at all into his power. Some condemned him *for not following* POMPEY; ſome more ſeverely *for not going to* Afric, as the greateſt part had done; others, *for not retiring with many of his party to* Achaia; till they could ſee the farther progreſs of the war: as he was always extremely ſenſible of what was ſaid of him by honeſt men, ſo he begs of ATTICUS to be his advocate; and gives him ſome hints, which might be urged in his defence. As to the firſt charge, *for not following* POMPEY, he ſays, "that POMPEY's fate would extenuate the omiſſion of "that ſtep: of the ſecond, that though he knew many brave "men to be in *Afric*, yet it was his opinion, that the Re-"public neither could, nor ought to be defended by the help "of ſo barbarous and treacherous a nation: as to the third, "he wiſhes indeed that he had joined himſelf to thoſe in "*Achaia*, and owns them to be in a better condition than "himſelf, becauſe they were many of them together; "and whenever they returned to *Italy*, would be reſtored "to their own at once:" whereas he was confined like a priſoner of war to *Brundiſium*, without the liberty of ſtirring from it till CÆSAR arrived [p].

WHILE

[o] Mihi cum omnia ſunt intolerabilia ad dolorem, tum maxime, quod in eam cauſam veniſſe me video, ut ea ſola utilia mihi eſſe videantur, quæ ſemper nolui. Ad Att. xi. 13.

[p] Dicebar debuiſſe cum Pompeio proficiſci. Exitus illius minuit ejus officii prætermiſſi reprehenſionem.—Sed ex omnibus nihil magis deſideratur, quam quod in Africam non ierim. Judicio hoc ſum uſus, non eſſe barbaris auxiliis fallaciſſimæ gentis Rempub. defendendam——extremum eſt eorum, qui in Achaia ſunt. Ii tamen ipſi ſe hoc melius habent, quam nos, quod & multi ſunt uno in loco, & cum in Italiam venerint, domum ſtatim venerint. Hæc tu perge, ut facis, mitigare & probare quam plurimis. Ad Att. xi. 7.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CAESAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

WHILE he continued in this uneaſy ſtate, ſome of his friends at *Rome* contrived to ſend him a Letter *in* CÆSAR's *name, dated the ninth of* February *from* Alexandria, encouraging him *to lay aſide all gloomy apprehenſions, and expect every thing that was kind and friendly from him*: but it was drawn *in terms ſo ſlight and general*, that inſtead of giving him any ſatisfaction, it made him onely ſuſpect, what he perceived afterwards to be true, *that it was forged by* BALBUS *or* OPPIUS, on purpoſe to raiſe his ſpirits, and adminiſter ſome little comfort to him [*q*]. All his accounts however confirmed to him the report of CÆSAR's clemency and moderation, and his granting pardon without exception to all who aſked it; and with regard to himſelf, CÆSAR *ſent* QUINTUS's *virulent Letters to* BALBUS, *with orders to ſhew them to him*, as a proof of his kindneſs and diſlike of QUINTUS's perfidy. But CICERO's preſent deſpondency, which interpreted every thing by his fears, made him *ſuſpect* CÆSAR *the more, for refuſing grace to none*; as if ſuch a clemency muſt needs be affected, *and his revenge deferred onely to a ſeaſon more convenient*: and as to *his Brother's Letters*, he fancied, *that* CÆSAR *did not ſend them to* Italy, *becauſe he condemned them, but to make his preſent miſery and abject condition the more notorious and deſpicable to every body* [*r*].

BUT after a long ſeries of perpetual mortifications, he was refreſhed at laſt by a very obliging Letter from CÆSAR, who confirmed to him the full enjoyment *of his former ſtate*

[*q*] Ut me iſta epiſtola nihil conſoletur; nam & exigue ſcripta eſt & magnas ſuſpiciones habet, non eſſe ab illo—ad Att. xi. 16.

Ex quo intelligis, illud de litteris a. d. v. Id. Feb. datis (quod inane eſſet, etiam ſi verum eſſet) non verum eſſe. Ib. 17.

[*r*] Omnino dicitur nemini negare: quod ipſum eſt ſuſpectum, notionem ejus differri. Ib. 20.

Diligenter mihi faſciculum reddidit Balbi tabellarius—quod ne Cæſar quidem ad iſtos videtur miſiſſe, quaſi quo illius improbitate offenderetur, ſed credo, uti notiora noſtra mala eſſent,—ib. 22.

ſtate and dignity, and bad him reſume his Faſces and ſtile of Emperor as before [*s*]. CÆSAR's mind was too great to liſten to the tales of *the Brother and Nephew*; and inſtead of approving their treachery, ſeems to have granted them their pardon on CICERO's account, rather than their own; ſo that QUINTUS, upon the trial of CÆSAR's inclination, began preſently to change his note, and *to congratulate with his Brother on* CÆSAR's affection and eſteem for him [*t*].

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

CICERO was now preparing *to ſend his Son to wait upon* CÆSAR, *who was ſuppoſed to be upon his journey towards home*; but the uncertain accounts of his coming diverted him a while from that thought [*u*]; till CÆSAR himſelf prevented it, and relieved him very agreeably from his tedious reſidence at *Brundiſium*, by his ſudden and unexpected arrival in *Italy*; where he landed at *Tarentum* in the month of *September*; and on the firſt notice of his coming forward towards *Rome*, CICERO *ſet out on foot to meet him.*

WE may eaſily imagine, what we find indeed from his Letters, that he was not a little diſcompoſed at the thoughts of this interview, and the indignity of offering himſelf to a Conqueror, againſt whom he had been in arms, in the midſt of a licentious and inſolent rabble: for though he had reaſon to expect a kind reception from CÆSAR, yet he hardly *thought his life*, he ſays, *worth begging*; *ſince what was given by a Maſter, might always be taken away again*

[*s*] Redditæ mihi tandem ſunt a Cæſare litteræ ſatis liberales. Ep. fam. 14. 23.

Qui ad me ex Ægypto litteras miſit, ut eſſem idem, qui fuiſſem: qui cum ipſe Imperator in toto imperio populi Romani unus eſſet, eſſe me alterum paſſus eſt: a quo—conceſſos faſces laureatos tenui, quoad tenendos putavi. Pro Ligar. 3.

[*t*] Sed mihi valde Quintus gratulatur. Ad Att. xi. 23.

[*u*] Ego cum Salluſtio Ciceronem ad Cæſarem mittere cogitabam. Ib. 17.

De illius Alexandria diſceſſu nihil adhuc rumoris, contraque opinio—itaque nec mitto, ut conſtitueram, Ciceronem—ib. 18.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CAESAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

again at pleaſure [x]. But at their meeting, he had no occaſion to ſay or do any thing that was below his dignity: for CÆSAR *no ſooner ſaw him, than he alighted and ran to embrace him; and walked with him alone, converſing very familiarly for ſeveral furlongs* [y].

FROM this interview, CICERO followed CÆSAR towards *Rome*: he propoſed to be at *Tuſculum on the ſeventh or eighth of* October; and wrote to his wife to provide for his reception there, *with a large company of friends, who deſigned to make ſome ſtay with him* [z]. From *Tuſculum* he came afterwards to the City, with a reſolution to ſpend his time in ſtudy and retreat, till the Republic ſhould be reſtored to ſome tolerable ſtate; "having made his peace "again, as he writes to VARRO, with his old friends, his "books, who had been out of humor with him for not "obeying their precepts; but inſtead of living quietly "with them, as VARRO had done, committing himſelf "to the turbulent counſils and hazards of war, with "faithleſs companions [a]."

ON CÆSAR's return to *Rome*, he appointed P. VATINIUS *and* Q. FUFIUS CALENUS, *Conſuls for the three laſt months of the year*: this was a very unpopular uſe of his new power, which he continued however to practiſe through the reſt of his reign; creating theſe firſt Magiſtrates of the State, without any regard to the ancient forms, or recourſe to the people, and at any time of the year; which gave a ſenſible diſguſt to the City, and an early

[x] Sed non adducor, quemquam bonum ullam ſalutem mihi tanti fuiſſe putare, ut eam peterem ab illo—ad Att. xi. 16.

Sed—ab hoc ipſo quæ dantur, ut a Domino, rurſus in ejuſdem ſunt poteſtate. Ib. 20.

[y] Plutar. in Cic.

[z] Ep. fam. 14. 20.

[a] Scito enim me poſteaquam in urbem venerim, rediſſe cum veteribus amicis, id eſt, cum libris noſtris in gratiam—ignoſcunt mihi, revocant in conſuetudinem priſtinam, teque, quod in ea permanſeris, ſapientiorem, quam me dicunt fuiſſe, &c. Ep. fam. 9. 1.

early ſpecimen of the arbitrary manner, in which he deſigned to govern them.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. Julius Caesar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

About the end of the year, Cæsar embarked for *Afric*, to purſue the war againſt Scipio, and the other *Pompeian* Generals, who, aſſiſted by King Juba, held the poſſeſſion of that Province with a vaſt army. As he was ſacrificing for the ſucceſs of this voyage, *the Victim happened to break looſe and run away from the Altar*; which being looked upon as an unlucky Omen, *the Aruſpex admoniſhed him not to ſail before the winter ſolſtice*: but he took ſhip directly in contempt of the admonition; and by that means, as Cicero ſays, *came upon his enemies unprepared; and before they had drawn together all their forces* [*b*]. Upon his leaving the City, he declared himſelf Conſul, together with M. Lepidus for the year enſuing; and gave the government of *the* Hither Gaul *to* M. Brutus; *of* Greece, *to* Servius Sulpicius; the firſt of whom had been in arms againſt him at *Pharſalia*; and the ſecond was a favorer likewiſe of *the Pompeian cauſe*, and a great friend of Cicero, yet ſeems to have taken no part in the war [*c*].

[*b*] Quid? ipſe Cæſar, cum a Summo haruſpice moneretur, ne in Africam ante brumam tranſmitteret, nonne tranſmiſit? quod ni feciſſet, uno in loco omnes adverſariorum copiæ conveniſſent—de Divin. 2. 24.

Cum immolanti aufugiſſet hoſtia profectionem adverſus Scipionem & Jubam non diſtulit—Sueton. J. Cæſ. 59.

Hirtius, in his account of this war, ſays, that Caesar embarked at *Lilybæum* for *Afric on the 6th of the Kalends of* Jan. [de Bell. Afric. init.] That is, *on the 27th of our* December: whereas Cicero, in the paſſage juſt cited, declares him to have paſſed over before the *Solſtice*, or the ſhorteſt day. But this ſeeming contradiction is intirely owing to a cauſe already intimated, the great confuſion that was introduced at this time into the *Roman* Kalendar, by which the months were all tranſpoſed from their ſtated ſeaſons; ſo that *the 27th of* December, on which, according to their computation, Caesar embarked, was in reality coincident, or the ſame with our *8th of* October, and conſequently above two months before the *Solſtice*, or ſhorteſt day. All which is clearly and accurately explaned in a learned diſſertation, publiſhed by a perſon of eminent merit in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, who chuſes to conceal his name. See Bibliothec. Literar. N°. VIII. Lond. 1724. 4to.

[*c*] Brutum Galliæ præfecit; Sulpicium Græciæ. Ep. fam. 6. 6.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. Julius Caesar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

THE *African* war now held the whole Empire in ſuſpenſe; SCIPIO's name was thought ominous and invincible on that ground: but while the general attention was employed on the expectation of ſome deciſive blow, CICERO, deſpairing of any good from either ſide, choſe to live retired, and out of ſight; and whether in the City, or the Country, ſhut himſelf up with his books; which, as he often ſays, *had hitherto been the diverſion onely, but were now become the ſupport of his life* [d]. In this humor of ſtudy he entered into a cloſe friendſhip and correſpondence of Letters with M. TERENTIUS VARRO; a friendſhip equally valued on both ſides, and at VARRO's deſire, immortalized by the mutual dedication of their learned works to each other; *of* CICERO's *Academic Queſtions to* VARRO; *of* VARRO's *treatiſe on the* Latin *Tongue, to* CICERO. VARRO was a Senator of the firſt diſtinction, both for birth and merit; eſteemed *the moſt learned man of* Rome; and though now above fourſcore years old, *yet continued ſtill writing and publiſhing books to his eighty eighth year* [e]. He was POMPEY's *Lieutenant in* Spain, in the beginning of the war; but after the defeat of AFRANIUS and PETREIUS quitted his arms, and retired to his ſtudies; ſo that his preſent circumſtances were not very different from thoſe of CICERO; who in all his Letters to him, bewails with great freedom the utter ruin of the ſtate; and propoſes, "that they ſhould live together in a ſtrict communication "of ſtudies, and avoid at leaſt the ſight, if not the "tongues of men; yet ſo, that if their new Maſters "ſhould call for their help towards ſettling the Republic, "they

[d] A quibus antea delectationem modo petebamus, nunc vero etiam ſalutem. Ep. fam. 9. 2.

[e] Niſi M. Varronem ſcirem octogeſimo octavo vitæ anno prodidiſſe, &c. Plin. Hiſt. 29. 4.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CAESAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

" they ſhould run with pleaſure, and aſſiſt, not onely as " architects, but even as Maſons to build it up again; " or if no body would employ them, ſhould write and " read the beſt forms of government; and, as the learned " ancients had done before them, ſerve their Country, if " not in the Senate and Forum, yet by their books and " ſtudies, and by compoſing treatiſes of morals and " laws [*f*]."

IN this retreat he wrote his book of *Oratorial Partitions*; or the art of ordering and diſtributing the parts of an Oration ſo, as to adapt them in the beſt manner to their proper end, of moving and perſwading an audience. It was written for the inſtruction of his ſon, now about eighteen years old, but ſeems to have been the rude draught onely of what he intended, or not to have been finiſhed at leaſt to his ſatisfaction; ſince we find no mention of it in any of his Letters, as of all his other pieces which were prepared for the public.

ANOTHER fruit of this leiſure was his Dialogue *on famous Orators*, called BRUTUS; in which he gives a ſhort character of all, who had ever floriſhed either *in* Greece *or* Rome, with any reputation of eloquence, down to his own times: and as he generally touches the principal points of each man's life, ſo an attentive reader may find in it an *Epitome*, as it were, *of the* Roman *Hiſtory*. The conference is ſuppoſed to be held with BRUTUS *and* ATTICUS, *in* CICERO's *garden at* Rome, *under the Statue of* PLATO [*g*]; whom he always admired, and uſually imi-

[*f*] Non deeſſe ſi quis adhibere volet, non modo ut Architectos, verum etiam ut fabros, ad ædificandam Rempub. & potius libenter accurrere: ſi nemo utetur opera, tamen & ſcribere & legere πολιτείας; & ſi minus in curia atque in foro, at in litteris & libris, ut doctiſſimi veteres fecerunt, navare Rempub. & de moribus & legibus quærere. Mihi hæc videntur. Ep. fam. 9. 2.

[*g*] Cum idem placuiſſet illis, tum in pratulo, propter Platonis Statuam conſedimus— Brut. 28.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

tated in the manner of his Dialogues; and in this, ſeems to have copied from him the very form of his double title; Brutus, *or of Famous Orators*; taken from the ſpeaker and the ſubject, as in Plato's piece, called *Phædon, or of the Soul.* This work was intended as *a ſupplement, or a fourth book to the three*, which he had before publiſhed on *the complete Orator.* But though it was prepared and finiſhed at this time, while Cato *was living*, as it is intimated in ſome parts of it, yet, as it appears from the preface, it was not made public till the year following, after the death of his daughter Tullia.

As at the opening of the war we found Cicero *in debt to* Cæsar, ſo we now meet with ſeveral hints in his Letters of Cæsar's being indebted to him. It aroſe probably from a mortgage, that Cicero had upon the confiſcated eſtate of ſome *Pompeian*, which Cæsar had ſeized: but of what kind ſoever it was, Cicero was in pain for his money: "He ſaw but three ways, he ſays, of getting it; "by purchaſing the eſtate at Cæsar's auction; or taking "an aſſignment on the purchaſer; or compounding for "half with the Brokers or Money-jobbers of thoſe times; "who would advance the money on thoſe terms. The "firſt he declares to be baſe, and that he would rather "loſe his debt, than touch any thing confiſcated: the "ſecond he thought hazardous; and that no body would "pay any thing in ſuch uncertain times: the third he "liked the beſt, but deſires Atticus's advice upon "it [*b*]."

He now at laſt *parted with his wife* Terentia, whoſe humor and conduct had long been uneaſy to him: this drew

[*b*] Nomen illud, quod a Cæſare, tres habet conditiones; aut emtionem ab haſta; (perdere malo;—) aut delegationem a mancipe, annua die: (quis erit, cui credam?—) aut Vecteni conditionem, ſemiſſe. σκίψαι igitur. Ad Att. 12. 3.

drew upon him ſome cenſure; for putting away a wife, who had lived with him above *thirty years*, the faithfull partner of his bed and fortunes; and the mother of *two Children*, extremely dear to him. But ſhe was a woman of an imperious and turbulent ſpirit; expenſive and negligent in her private affairs; buſy and intriguing in the public; and, in the heigth of her husband's power, ſeems to have had the chief hand in the diſtribution of all his favors. He had eaſily born her perverſeneſs in the vigor of health, and the floriſhing ſtate of his fortunes; but in a declining life, ſoured by a continual ſucceſſion of mortifications from abroad, the want of eaſe and quiet at home was no longer tolerable to him: the divorce however was not likely to cure the difficulties, in which her management had involved him: for ſhe had brought him a great fortune, which was all to be reſtored to her at parting: this made a ſecond marriage neceſſary, in order to repair the ill ſtate of his affairs; and his friends of both ſexes were buſy in providing a fit match for him: ſeveral parties were propoſed to him, and among others, *a daughter of* POMPEY *the Great*; for whom he ſeems to have had an inclination: but a prudential regard to the times, and the envy and ruin under which that family then lay, induced him probably to drop it [*i*]. What gave his enemies the greater handle to rally him was, his marrying a handſom young woman, named PUBLILIA, of an age diſproportionate to his own, to whom he was Guardian: but ſhe was well allied, and rich; circumſtances very convenient to him at this time; as he intimates in a Letter to a friend, who congratulated with him on his marriage.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CAESAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

"As

[*i*] De Pompeii magni filia tibi reſcripſi, illam, quam tu ſcribis, puto noſti. Nihil vidi nihil me hoc tempore cogitare. Alteram vero fœdius.—ib. 12. 11.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CAESAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

" As to your giving me joy, ſays he, for what I have " done, I know you wiſh it: but I ſhould not have " taken any new ſtep in ſuch wretched times, if at my " return I had not found my private affairs in no better " condition than thoſe of the Republic. For when " through the wickedneſs of thoſe, who, for my infinite " kindneſs to them, ought to have had the greateſt con- " cern for my wellfare, I found no ſafety or eaſe from " their intrigues and perfidy within my own walls, I " thought it neceſſary to ſecure myſelf by the fidelity of " new alliances againſt the treachery of the old [*k*]."

CÆSAR returned victorious from *Afric* about the end of *July*, by the way of *Sardinia*, where he ſpent ſome days: upon which CICERO ſays pleaſantly in a Letter to VARRO, *he had never ſeen that farm of his before, which, though one of the worſt that he has, he does not yet deſpiſe* [*l*]. The uncertain event of the *African war* had kept the Senate under ſome reſerve; but they now began to puſh their flattery beyond all the bounds of decency, and decreed more extravagant honors to CÆSAR, than were ever given before to man; which CICERO oft rallies with great ſpirit; and being determined to bear no part in that ſervile adulation, was treating about *the purchaſe of a Houſe at* Naples, for a pretence of retiring ſtill farther and oftner

[*k*] Ep. fam. 4. 14.

In caſes of divorce, where there were children, it was the cuſtom for each party to make a ſettlement by will on their common offspring, proportionable to their ſeveral eſtates: which is the meaning of CICERO's preſſing ATTICUS ſo often in his Letters to put TERENTIA in mind of making her will, and depoſiting it in ſafe hands. Ad Att. xi. 21, 22, 24: xii. 18.—

TERENTIA is ſaid to have lived to the age of *an hundred and three years:* [Val. M. 8. 13. Plin. H. 7. 48.] and took, as St. JEROM ſays, for her ſecond huſband, CICERO's *enemy*, SALLUST; *and* MESSALA *for her third*. DIO CASSIUS gives her a fourth, VIBIUS RUFUS; who was Conſul in the reign of TIBERIUS, and valued himſelf for the poſſeſſion of two things, which had belonged to the two greateſt men of the age before him, CICERO's *wife, and* CAESAR's *chair, in which he was killed*. Dio. p. 612. Hieron. Op. To. 4. par. 2. p. 190.

[*l*] Illud enim adhuc prædium ſuum non inſpexit: nec ullum habet deterius, ſed tamen non contemnit. Ep. fam. 9. 7.

A. URB. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CAESAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

oftner from *Rome*. But his friends, who knew his impatience under their preſent ſubjection, and the free way of ſpeaking, which he was apt to indulge, were in ſome pain, leſt he ſhould forfeit the good graces of CÆSAR and his favorites, and provoke them too far by the keenneſs of his raillery [*m*]. They preſſed him *to accommodate himſelf to the times*; and to uſe more caution in his diſcourſe; and to reſide more at *Rome*, eſpecially when CÆSAR was there, who would interpret the diſtance and retreat which he affected, as a proof of his averſion to him.

BUT his anſwers on this occaſion will ſhew the real ſtate of his ſentiments and conduct towards CÆSAR, as well as of CÆSAR's towards him: writing on this ſubject to PAPIRIUS PÆTUS, he ſays; "You are of opinion, I perceive, "that it will not be allowed to me, as I thought it might "be, to quit theſe affairs of the City: you tell me of "CATULUS, and thoſe times; but what ſimilitude have "they to theſe? I myſelf was unwilling at that time, to "ſtir from the guard of the ſtate; for I then ſat at the "helm, and held the rudder; but am now ſcarce thought "worthy to work at the pump: would the Senate think "you paſs fewer decrees, if I ſhould live at *Naples*? "while I am ſtill at *Rome*, and attend the Forum, their "decrees

[*m*] Some of his jeſts on CAESAR's adminiſtration are ſtill preſerved; which ſhew, that his friends had reaſon enough to admoniſh him to be more upon his guard. CAESAR had advanced LABERIUS, a celebrated *mimic actor, to the order of Knights*: but when he ſtept from the Stage into the Theater, to take his place on *the Equeſtrian* benches, none of the Knights would admit him to a ſeat among them. As he was marching off therefore with diſgrace, happening to paſs near CICERO, *I would make room for you here*, ſays CICERO on our bench, *if we were not already too much crouded*; alluding to CAESAR's filling up the Senate alſo with the ſcumm of his creatures, and even with ſtrangers and barbarians. At another time, being deſired by a friend, in a public company, to procure for his ſon *the rank of a Senator*, in one of the Corporate Towns of *Italy*, *he ſhall have it*, ſays he, *if you pleaſe, at* Rome; *but it will be difficult at* Pompeii. An acquaintance likewiſe from *Laodicea*, coming to pay his reſpects to him, and being aſked, what buſineſs had brought him to *Rome*, ſaid, that he was ſent upon an embaſſy to CAESAR, *to intercede with him for the liberty of his country*; upon which CICERO replied, *if you ſuccede, you ſhall be an Embaſſador alſo for us*. Macrob. Saturn. 2. 3. Sueton. c. 76.

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" decrees are all drawn at our friend's houſe; and when-
" ever it comes into his head, my name is ſet down, as
" if preſent at drawing them; ſo that I hear from *Ar-*
" *menia* and *Syria* of decrees, ſaid to be made at my
" motion, of which I had never heard a ſyllable at home.
" Do not take me to be in jeſt; for I aſſure you, that I
" have received Letters from Kings, from the remoteſt
" parts of the earth, to thank me for giving them the
" title of King; when, ſo far from knowing, that any
" ſuch title had been decreed to them, I knew not even,
" that there were any ſuch men in being. What is then
" to be done? why as long as our *maſter of manners* con-
" tinues here, I will follow your advice; but as ſoon as
" he is gone, will run away to your muſhrooms, &c. [*n*]."

In another Letter, " Since you expreſs, ſays he, ſuch
" a concern for me in your laſt, be aſſured, my dear
" Pætus, that whatever can be done by art, (for it is
" not enough to act with prudence, ſome artifice alſo muſt
" now be employed) yet whatever, I ſay, can be done
" by art, towards acquiring their good graces, I have
" already done it with the greateſt care; nor, as I believe,
" without ſucceſs: for I am ſo much courted by all, who
" are in any degree of favor with Cæsar, that I begin
" to fancy that they love me: and though real love is not
" eaſily diſtinguiſhed from falſe, except in the caſe of
" danger, by which the ſincerity of it may be tried, as
" of gold by fire; for all other marks are common to
" both; yet I have one argument to perſwade me, that
" they really love me; becauſe both my condition and
" theirs is ſuch, as puts them under no temptation to
" diſſemble:

[*n*] Ep. fam. 9. 15. *Præfectus morum, or Maſter of the public manners*, was one of *the new Titles*, which the Senate had decreed to Caesar.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

" diſſemble: and as for him, who has all power, I ſee
" no reaſon to fear any thing; unleſs that all things be-
" come of courſe uncertain, when juſtice and right are
" once deſerted: nor can we be ſure of any thing, that
" depends on the will, not to ſay the paſſion of another.
" Yet I have not in any inſtance particularly offended
" him, but behaved myſelf all along with the greateſt
" moderation: for as once I took it to be my duty, to
" ſpeak my mind freely in that City, which owed its
" freedom to me; ſo now, ſince that is loſt, to ſpeak
" nothing that may offend him, or his principal friends:
" but if I would avoid all offence, of things ſaid faceti-
" ouſly or by way of raillery, I muſt give up all repu-
" tation of wit; which I would not refuſe to do, if I
" could. But as to CÆSAR himſelf, he has a very pierc-
" ing judgment; and as your brother SERVIUS, whom I
" take to have been an excellent Critic, would readily ſay,
" *this verſe is not* PLAUTUS's, *that verſe is*; having formed
" his ears by great uſe, to diſtinguiſh the peculiar ſtile and
" manner of different Poets; ſo CÆSAR, I hear, who has
" already collected ſome volumes of Apophthegms, if any
" thing be brought to him for mine, which is not ſo, pre-
" ſently rejects it: which he now does the more eaſily,
" becauſe his friends live almoſt continually with me;
" and in the variety of diſcourſe, when any thing drops
" from me, which they take to have ſome humor or ſpirit
" in it, they carry it always to him, with the other news
" of the Town, for ſuch are his orders: ſo that if he
" hears any thing beſides of mine from other perſons, he
" does not regard it. I have no occaſion therefore for
" your example of ÆNOMAUS, though aptly applied from
" ACCIUS: for what is the envy, which you ſpeak of?

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

" or what is there in me to be envied now? but ſuppoſe
" there was every thing: it has been the conſtant opinion
" of Philoſophers, the onely men in my judgement, who
" have a right notion of virtue, *that a wiſe man has no-*
" *thing more to anſwer for, than to keep himſelf free from*
" *guilt*; of which I take myſelf to be clear, on a double
" account; becauſe I both purſued thoſe meaſures, which
" were the juſteſt: and when I ſaw, that I had not
" ſtrength enough to carry them, did not think it my
" buſineſs to contend by force with thoſe, who were too
" ſtrong for me. It is certain therefore, that I cannot be
" blamed, in what concerns the part of a good Citizen:
" all that is now left, is not to ſay or do any thing
" fooliſhly and raſhly againſt the men in power; which
" I take alſo to be the part of a wiſe man. As for the
" reſt, what people may report to be ſaid by me, or how
" he may take it, or with what ſincerity thoſe live with
" me, who now ſo aſſiduouſly court me, it is not in
" my power to anſwer. I comfort myſelf therefore with
" the conſciouſneſs of my former conduct, and the mo-
" deration of my preſent; and ſhall apply your ſimili-
" tude from Accius, not onely to the caſe of envy, but
" of fortune; which I conſider as light and weak, and
" what ought to be repelled by a firm and great mind,
" as waves by a rock. For ſince the *Greek* Hiſtory is
" full of examples, how the wiſeſt men have endured
" Tyrannies at *Athens* or *Syracuſe*; and when their Cities
" were enſlaved, have lived themſelves in ſome meaſure
" free; why may not I think it poſſible to maintain my
" rank ſo, as neither to offend the mind of any, nor
" hurt my own dignity?----*&c.* [*o*]"

Poetus

[*o*] Ep. fam. 9. 16.

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PÆTUS having heard, that CÆSAR *was going to divide ſome lands in his neighbourhood to the ſoldiers*, began to be afraid for his own eſtate, and writes to CICERO, to know how far that diſtribution would extend: to which CICERO anſwers; "Are not you a pleaſant fellow, who when "BALBUS has juſt been with you, aſk me what will become "of thoſe Towns and their lands? as if either I knew "any thing, that BALBUS does not; or if at any time I "chance to know any thing, I do not know it from him: "nay, it is your part rather, if you love me, to let me "know what will become of me: for you had it in your "power to have learnt it from him, either ſober, or at "leaſt when drunk. But as for me, my dear PÆTUS, "I have done inquiring about thoſe things: firſt, becauſe "we have already lived near four years, by clear gain, as "it were; if that can be called gain, or this life, to out-"live the Republic: ſecondly, becauſe I myſelf ſeem to "know what will happen; for it will be, whatever "pleaſes the ſtrongeſt; which muſt always be decided "by arms: it is our part therefore, to be content with "what is allowed to us: he who cannot ſubmit to this, "ought to have choſen death. They are now meaſuring "the fields of *Veiæ* and *Capenæ*: this is not far from "*Tuſculum*: yet I fear nothing: I enjoy it whilſt I may; "wiſh that I always may; but if it ſhould happen other-"wiſe, yet ſince, with all my courage and philoſophy, "I have thought it beſt to live; I cannot but have an "affection for him, by whoſe benefit I hold that life: "who, if he has an inclination to reſtore the Republic, "as he himſelf perhaps may deſire, and we all ought to "wiſh, yet he has linked himſelf ſo with others, that he "has not the power to do what he would. But I pro-

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

" cede too far ; for I am writing to you : be aſſured " however of this, that not onely I, who have no part " in their counſils, but even the Chief himſelf does not " know what will happen. We are ſlaves to him, he to " the times : ſo neither can he know, what the times will " require, nor we, what he may intend, &c. [p]."

The Chiefs of the *Cæſarian party*, who courted Cicero ſo much at this time, were Balbus, Oppius, Matius, Pansa, Hirtius, Dolabella : they were all in the firſt confidence with Cæsar, yet profeſſed the utmoſt affection for Cicero ; were every morning at his levee, and perpetually engaging him to ſup with them ; and the two laſt employed themſelves in a daily exerciſe *of declaming at his houſe*, for the benefit of his inſtruction ; of which he gives the following account in his familiar way to Pætus : " Hirtius and Dolabella are my ſcholars in ſpeak- " ing ; my maſters in eating : for you have heard, I " gueſs, how they declame with me, I ſup with them." In another Letter he tells him, " that as King Dionysius, " when driven out of *Syracuſe*, turned ſchool-maſter at " *Corinth*, ſo he having loſt his kingdom of the Forum, " had now opened a School-----to which he merrily in- " vites Pætus with the offer of a ſeat and cuſhion next to " himſelf, as his Uſher [q]." But to Varro more ſeriouſly, " I acquainted you, ſays he, before, that I am in- " timate with them all, and aſſiſt at their counſils : I ſee " no reaſon why I ſhould not----for it is not the ſame " thing, *to bear what muſt be born, and to approve* " *what*

[p] Ep. fam. 9. 17.

[q] Hirtium ego & Dolabellam dicendi diſcipulos habeo, cœnandi magiſtros : puto enim te audiſſe—illos apud me declamitare, me apud eos cœnitare. Ib. 16.

Ut Dionyſius Tyrannus, cum Syracuſis pulſus eſſet, Corinthi dicitur ludum aperuiſſe, ſic ego—amiſſo regno forenſi, ludum quaſi habere cœperim—ſella tibi erit in ludo, tanquam Hypodidaſculo, proxima : eam pulvinus ſequetur. Ib. 18.

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" *what ought not to be approved.* And again; I do not " forbear to ſup with thoſe who now rule: what can I " do? we muſt comply with the times [*r*]."

THE onely uſe which he made of all this favor was, to ſkreen himſelf from any particular calamity in the general miſery of the times; and to ſerve thoſe unhappy men, who were driven from their country and their families, for their adherence to that cauſe, which he himſelf had eſpouſed. CÆSAR was deſirous indeed to engage him in his meaſures, and attach him inſenſibly to his intereſts: but he would bear no part in an adminiſtration, eſtabliſhed on the ruins of his country; nor ever cared to be acquainted with their affairs, or to inquire what they were doing: ſo that whenever he entered into their councils, as he ſignifies above to VARRO, it was onely, when the caſe of ſome exiled friend required it; for whoſe ſervice he ſcrupled no pains of ſolliciting, and attending even CÆSAR himſelf; though he was ſometimes ſhocked, as he complains, *by the difficulty of acceſs, and the indignity of waiting in an Antichamber*; not indeed through CÆSAR's fault, who was always ready to give him audience; but from the multiplicity of his affairs, by whoſe hands *all the favors of the Empire were diſpenſed* [*s*]. Thus in a Letter to AMPIUS, whoſe pardon he had procured,----- " I have ſollicited your cauſe, ſays he, more eagerly than " my preſent ſituation would well juſtify: for my deſire " to ſee you, and my conſtant love for you, moſt aſſidu- " ouſly cultivated on your part, over-ruled all regard to " the

[*r*] Oſtentavi tibi, me iſtis eſſe familiarem, & conſiliis eorum intereſſe. Quod ego cur nolim nihil video. Non enim eſt idem, ferre ſi quid ferendum eſt, & probare, ſi quid probandum non eſt. Ib. 6.

Non deſino apud iſtos, qui nunc dominantur, cœnitare. Quid faciam? tempori ſerviendum eſt. Ib. 7.

[*s*] Quod ſi tardius fit quam volumus, magnis occupationibus ejus, a quo omnia petuntur, aditus ad eum difficiliores fuerunt. —— Ep. fam. 6. 13.

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" the preſent weak condition of my power and intereſt. " Every thing that relates to your return and ſafety is pro- " miſed, confirmed, fixed and ratified: I ſaw, knew, " was preſent at every ſtep: for by good luck, I have " all Cæsar's friends engaged to me by an old acquain- " tance and friendſhip; ſo that next to him they pay " the firſt regard to me: Pansa, Hirtius, Balbus, Op- " pius, Matius, Postumius, take all occaſions to give " me proof of their ſingular affection. If this had been " ſought and procured by me, I ſhould have no reaſon, " as things now ſtand, to repent of my pains: but I " have done nothing with the view of ſerving the times; " I had an intimacy of long ſtanding with them all; and " never gave over ſolliciting them on your behalf: I " found Pansa however the readieſt of them all to ſerve " you, and oblige me; who has not onely an intereſt, " but authority with Cæsar, &c. [t]"

But while he was thus careſſed by Cæsar's friends, he was not leſs followed, we may imagine, by the friends of the Republic: theſe had always looked upon him as the chief Patron of their liberty; whoſe counſils, if they had been followed, would have preſerved it; and whoſe authority gave them the only hopes, that were left, of recovering it: ſo that his houſe was as much frequented, and his levee as much crouded, as ever; ſince *people now flocked*, he ſays, *to ſee a good Citizen, as a ſort of rarity* [u]. In another Letter, giving a ſhort account of his way of life, he ſays, " Early in the morning, I receive the compli- " ments of many honeſt men, but melancholy ones; as " well as of theſe gay Conquerors; who ſhew indeed a " very

[t] Ibid. 6. 12.

[u] Cum ſalutationi nos dedimus amicorum; quæ fit hoc etiam frequentius, quam ſolebat, quod quaſi avem albam, videntur bene ſentientem civem videre, abdo me in Bibliothecam. ib. 7. 28.

" very officious and affectionate regard to me. When " theſe viſits are over, I ſhut myſelf up in my Library, " either to write or read: Here ſome alſo come to hear " me, as a man of learning; becauſe I am ſomewhat " more learned then they: the reſt of my time I give to " the care of my body: for I have now bewailed my " Country longer, and more heavily, than any mother " ever bewailed her onely Son [*x*]."

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IT is certain, that there was not a man in the Republic, ſo particularly engaged, both by principle and intereſt, to wiſh well to it's liberty, or who had ſo much to loſe by the ſubverſion of it as he: for as long as it was governed by civil methods, and ſtood upon the foundation of it's laws, he was undoubtedly the firſt Citizen in it; had the chief influence in the Senate; the chief authority with the people: and as all his hopes and fortunes were grounded on the peace of his country, ſo all his labors and ſtudies were perpetually applied to the promotion of it: it is no wonder therefore, in the preſent ſituation of the City, oppreſſed by arms, and a tyrannical power, to find him ſo particularly impatient under the common miſery, and expreſſing ſo keen a ſenſe of the diminution of his dignity, and the diſgrace of ſerving, where he had been uſed to govern.

CÆSAR, on the other hand, though he knew his temper and principles to be irreconcileable to his uſurped dominion, yet out of friendſhip to the man, and a reverence for his character, was determined to treat him with the greateſt humanity; and by all the marks of perſonal favor, to

[*x*] Hæc igitur eſt nunc vita noſtra. Mane ſalutamus domi & bonos viros multos, ſed triſtes, & hos lætos victores; qui me quidem perofficioſe & peramanter obſervant. Ubi ſalutatio defluxit, litteris me involvo, aut ſcribo aut lego. Veniunt etiam qui me audiunt, quaſi doctum hominem, quia paullo ſum, quam ipſi, doctior. Inde corpori omne tempus datur. Patriam eluxi jam gravius & diutius quam ulla mater unicum filium. Ep. fam. 9. 20.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

to make his life not onely tolerable, but eaſy to him: yet all that he could do, had no other effect on Cicero, than to make him think and ſpeak ſometimes favorably of the *natural clemency of their maſter*; and to entertain ſome hopes from it, that he would one day be perſwaded to reſtore the public liberty: but excluſive of that hope, he never mentions his government, but as a real *Tyranny*; or his perſon in any other ſtile, than as the oppreſſor of his Country.

But he gave a remarkable proof at this time of his being no temporiſer, by writing a book *in praiſe of* Cato; which he publiſhed within a few months after Cato's death. He ſeems to have been left a *Guardian to* Cato's *Son*; as he was alſo *to young* Lucullus, Cato's *Nephew* [*y*]: and this teſtimony of Cato's friendſhip and judgement of him, might induce him the more readily to pay this honor to his memory. It was a matter however of no ſmall deliberation, in what manner he ought to treat the ſubject: his friends adviſed him, not to be too explicit and particular in the detail of Cato's praiſes; but to content himſelf with a general encomium, for fear of irritating Cæsar, by puſhing the argument too far. In a Letter to Atticus, he calls this, "an *Archimedean pro-*
"*blem*; but I cannot hit upon any thing, ſays he, that
"thoſe friends of yours will read with pleaſure, or even
"with patience: beſides, if I ſhould drop the account of
"Cato's Votes and Speeches in the Senate, and of his
"political conduct in the ſtate, and give a ſlight com-
"mendation onely of his conſtancy and gravity, even this
"may be more, than they will care to hear: but the man
"cannot be praiſed, as he deſerves, unleſs it be particu-
"larly

[*y*] Ad Att. 13. 6. De Finib. 3. 2.

" larly explaned, how he foretold all that has happened " to us; how he took arms to prevent its happening; and " parted with life rather than ſee it happen [*z*]." Theſe were the topics, which he reſolved to diſplay with all his force; and from the accounts given of the work by antiquity, it appears, that he had ſpared no pains to adorn it, but *extolled* CATO's *virtue and character to the ſkies* [*a*].

A. Urb. 707: Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

THE book was ſoon ſpread into all hands; and CÆSAR, inſtead of expreſſing any reſentment, affected to be much pleaſed with it; yet declared, that he would anſwer it: and HIRTIUS, in the mean while, drew up a little piece in the form *of a Letter to* CICERO, filled with objections *to* CATO's *character, but with high compliments to* CICERO *himſelf*; *which* CICERO took care to make public, and calls *it a ſpecimen of what* CÆSAR's *work was like to be* [*b*]. BRUTUS alſo compoſed and publiſhed a piece on the ſame ſubject; as well as another friend of CICERO, FABIUS GALLUS [*c*]: but theſe were but little conſidered in compariſon of CICERO's: and BRUTUS had made ſome miſtakes in his account of the tranſactions, in which CATO had been concerned; eſpecially *in the debates on* CATILINE's *plot*; in which he had given him *the firſt part and merit*, in derogation even of CICERO himſelf [*d*].

[*z*] Sed de Catone πρόβλημα ἀρχιμήδειον eſt. Non aſſequor ut ſcribam, quod tui convivæ non modo libenter, ſed etiam æquo animo legere poſſint. Quin etiam ſi a ſententiis ejus dictis, ſi ab omni voluntate, conſiliiſque quæ de Repub. habuit, recedam; ψιλῶς que velim gravitatem conſtantiamque ejus laudare, hoc ipſum ἄκυρμα ſit. Sed vere laudari ille vir non poteſt, niſi hæc ornata ſint, quod ille ea, quæ nunc ſunt, & futura viderit, & ne fierent contenderit, & facta ne videret, vitam reliquerit. Ad Att. 12. 4.

[*a*] M. Ciceronis libro, quo Catonem cœlo æquavit, &c. Tacit. Ann. 4. 34.

[*b*] Qualis futura ſit Cæſaris vituperatio contra laudationem meam perſpexi ex eo libro, quem Hirtius ad me miſit, in quo colligit vitia Catonis, ſed cum maximis laudibus meis. Itaque miſi librum ad Muſcam, ut tuis librariis daret. Volo eum divulgari, &c. Ad Att. 12. 40. it. 41.

[*c*] Catonem tuum mihi mitte. Cupio enim legere. Ep. fam. 7. 24.

[*d*] Catonem primum ſententiam putat de animadverſione dixiſſe, quam omnes ante dixerant præter Cæſarem, &c.—Ad Att. 12. 21.

FROM this and other particulars, which are mentioned in the ſame Letter, we may obſerve, that SALLUST had probably taken his account of the debates upon CATILINE's *Accomplices*, from BRUTUS's *Life of* CATO, and choſen to copy even his miſtakes, rather than do juſtice to CICERO on that occaſion.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Cæsar's answer was not published till the next year, upon his return from *Spain*; after the defeat of Pompey's *Sons*. It was a labored invective; answering Cicero's book paragraph by paragraph, and accusing Cato *with all the art and force of his Rhetoric, as if in a public trial before Judges* [e]; yet with expressions of great respect towards Cicero; whom, for his virtues and abilities, he compared *to* Pericles *and* Theramenes *of* Athens [f]: and in a Letter upon it to Balbus, which was shewn by his order to Cicero, he said, *that by the frequent reading of* Cicero's *Cato, he was grown more copious; but after he had read* Brutus's, *thought himself even eloquent* [g].

These two rival pieces were much celebrated in *Rome*; and had their several admirers, as different parties and interests disposed men, to favor the subject or the author of each: and it is certain, that they were the principal cause of establishing and propagating that veneration, which posterity has since paid to the memory of Cato. For his name being thrown into controversy, in that critical period of the fate of *Rome*, by the Patron of liberty on the one side, and the oppressor of it on the other, became of course a kind of *Political test* to all succeding ages; and a perpetual argument of dispute between the friends of liberty, and the flatterers of power. But if we consider his character without prejudice, he was certainly a great and worthy man; a friend to truth, virtue, liberty: yet falsely measuring all duty by the absurd rigor of the *stoical* rule, he was generally disappointed of the end, which he sought

[e] Ciceronis libro—quid aliud Dictator Cæsar, quam rescripta oratione, velut apud Judices respondit? Tacit. Ann. 4. 34. it. Quintil. 3. 7.

[f] Plutar. in Cic.

[g] Legi epistolam: multa de meo Catone, quo sæpissime legendo se dicit copiosiorem factum; Bruti Catone lecto, se sibi visum disertum. Ad Att. 13. 46.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

ſought by it, the happineſs both of his private and public life. In his private conduct, he was ſevere, moroſe, inexorable; baniſhing all the ſofter affections, as natural enemies to juſtice, and as ſuggeſting falſe motives of acting, from favor, clemency, and compaſſion: in public affairs he was the ſame; had but one rule of policy; *to adhere to what was right*; without regard to times or circumſtances, or even to a force that could controul him: for inſtead of managing the power of the Great, ſo as to mitigate the ill, or extract any good from it, he was urging it always to acts of violence by a perpetual defiance; ſo that, *with the beſt intentions in the world, he often did great harm to the Republic.* This was his general behaviour; yet from ſome particular facts explaned above, it appears, that his ſtrength of mind was not always impregnable, but had its weak places of pride, ambition, and party zeal; which when managed and flattered to a certain point, would betray him ſometimes into meaſures, contrary to his ordinary rule of right and truth. The laſt act of his life was agreeable to his nature and philoſophy: *when he could no longer be, what he had been*; *or when the ills of life overbalanced the good*; which, by the principles of his ſect, was *a juſt cauſe for dying* [*b*]; he put an end to his life, with a ſpirit and reſolution, which would make one imagine, *that he was glad to have found an occaſion of dying in his proper character.* On the whole, his life was rather admirable, than amiable; fit to be praiſed, rather than imitated [*i*]. As

[*b*] In quo enim plura ſunt, quæ ſecundum naturam ſunt, hujus officium eſt in vita manere: in quo autem aut ſunt plura contraria, aut fore videntur, hujus officium eſt e vita excedere. De Fin. 3. 18.

Vetus eſt enim; ubi non ſis, qui fueris, non eſſe cur velis vivere. Ep. fam. 7. 3.

[*i*] Cato ſic abiit e vita, ut cauſam moriundi nactum ſe eſſe gauderet.—cum vero cauſam juſtam Deus ipſe dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, &c. Tuſc. quæſt. 1. 30.

Catoni—moriundum potius, quam Tyranni vultus adſpiciendus fuit. De Offic. 1. 31.

Non immaturus deceſſit: vixit enim, quantum debuit vivere. Senec. Conſol. ad Marc. 20.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. Julius Caesar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

As ſoon as Cicero had publiſhed his *Cato*, he wrote his piece called *the Orator*, at the requeſt of Brutus; containing the plan or delineation of what he himſelf eſteemed the moſt perfect eloquence or manner of ſpeaking. He calls it *the fifth part or book*, deſigned to complete the argument of *his* Brutus, *and the other three, on the ſame ſubject*. It was received with great approbation; and in a Letter to Lepta, who had complimented him upon it, he declares, *that whatever judgement he had in ſpeaking, he had thrown it all into that work, and was content to riſk his reputation on the merit of it* [*k*].

He now likewiſe ſpoke that famous ſpeech of thanks to Cæsar, *for the pardon of* M. Marcellus; which was granted upon the interceſſion of the Senate. Cicero had a particular friendſhip with all the family of the *Marcelli*; but eſpecially with this Marcus; who from the defeat of Pompey at *Pharſalia*, retired to *Mitylene* in *Leſbos*, where he lived with ſo much eaſe and ſatisfaction to himſelf in a philoſophical retreat, that Cicero, as it appears from his Letters, was forced to uſe all his art and authority to perſwade him to return, and take the benefit of that grace, which they had been laboring to obtain for him [*l*]. But how the affair was tranſacted, we may learn from Cicero's account of it to Serv. Sulpicius, who was then Proconſul of *Greece*-----" Your condition, ſays he, is " better than ours in this particular, that you dare ven- " ture to write your grievances; we cannot even do that " with ſafety: not through any fault of the Conqueror, " than whom nothing can be more moderate, but of " victory

[*k*] Ita tres erunt de Oratore: quartus Brutus; quintus, Orator. De Div. 2. 1.

Oratorem meum tantopere a te probari, vehementer gaudeo: mihi quidem ſic perſuadeo, me quicquid habuerim judicii in dicendo, in illum librum contuliſſe. Ep. fam. 6. 18.

[*l*] Ep. fam, 4. 7, 8, 9.

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" victory itſelf, which in civil wars is always inſolent: " we have had the advantage of you however in one " thing; in being acquainted a little ſooner than you, " with the pardon of your collegue MARCELLUS; or ra- " ther indeed in ſeeing how the whole affair paſſed; for " I would have you believe, that from the beginning of " theſe miſeries, or ever ſince the public right has been " decided by arms, there has nothing been done beſides " this with any dignity. For CÆSAR himſelf, after ha- " ving complained of the moroſeneſs of MARCELLUS, for " ſo he called it, and praiſed in the ſtrongeſt terms the " equity and prudence of your conduct, preſently declared " beyond all our hopes, that whatever offence he had " received from the man, he could refuſe nothing to the " interceſſion of the Senate. What the Senate did was " this: upon the mention of MARCELLUS by PISO, his " Brother CAIUS having thrown himſelf at CÆSAR's feet, " they all roſe up, and went forward in a ſupplicating " manner towards CÆSAR: in ſhort, this day's work ap- " peared to me ſo decent, that I could not help fancying " that I ſaw the image of the old republic reviving: when " all therefore, who were aſked their opinions before me, " had returned thanks to CÆSAR, excepting VOLCATIUS, " (for he declared, that he would not have done it, though " he had been in MARCELLUS's place,) I, as ſoon as I was " called upon, changed my mind; for I had reſolved with " myſelf to obſerve an eternal ſilence, not through any " lazineſs, but the loſs of my former dignity; but CÆSAR's " greatneſs of mind, and the laudable zeal of the Senate, " got the better of my reſolution. I gave thanks there- " fore to CÆSAR in a long ſpeech, and have deprived my- " ſelf by it, I fear, on other occaſions, of that honeſt

" quiet,

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

" quiet, which was my onely comfort in theſe unhappy
" times: but ſince I have hitherto avoided giving him
" offence, and if I had always continued ſilent, he would
" have interpreted it perhaps, as a proof of my taking the
" Republic to be ruined, I ſhall ſpeak for the future not
" often, or rather very ſeldom; ſo as to manage at the
" ſame time both his favor, and my own leiſure for
" ſtudy [*m*]."

Cæsar, though he ſaw the Senate unanimous in their petition for Marcellus, yet took the pains to call for the particular opinion of every Senator upon it: a method never practiſed, except in caſes of debate, and where the houſe was divided: but he wanted the uſual tribute of flattery upon this act of grace; and had a mind probably to make an experiment of Cicero's temper, and to draw from him eſpecially ſome incenſe on the occaſion: nor was he diſappointed of his aim; for Cicero, touched by his generoſity, and greatly pleaſed with the act itſelf, on the account of his friend, returned thanks to him in a ſpeech, which, though made upon the ſpot, yet for elegance of diction, vivacity of ſentiment, and politeneſs of compliment, is ſuperior to any thing extant of the kind in all antiquity. The many fine things, which are ſaid in it of Cæsar, have given ſome handle indeed for a charge of inſincerity againſt Cicero: but it muſt be remembered, that he was delivering a ſpeech of thanks, not onely for himſelf, but in the name and at the deſire of the Senate, where his ſubject naturally required the embelliſhments of Oratory; and that all his compliments are grounded on a ſuppoſition, *that* Cæsar *intended to reſtore the Republic: of which he entertained no ſmall hopes at this time, as he ſignifies*

[*m*] Ep. fam. 4. 4.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

ſignifies in a letter to one of Cæsar's *principal friends* [*n*]. This therefore he recommends, enforces, and requires from him in his ſpeech, with the ſpirit of an old *Roman*; and no reaſonable man will think it ſtrange, that ſo free an addreſs to a Conqueror, in the heigth of all his power, ſhould want to be tempered with ſome few ſtrokes of flattery. But the following paſſage from the oration itſelf will juſtify the truth of what I am ſaying.

" If this, ſays he, Cæsar, was to be the end of your " immortal acts, that after conquering all your enemies, " you ſhould leave the Republic in the condition, in which " it now is; conſider, I beſeech you, whether your di- " vine virtue would not excite rather an admiration of " you, than any real glory: for glory is the illuſtrious " fame of many and great ſervices either to our friends, " our country, or to the whole race of mankind. This " part therefore ſtill remains; there is one act more to be " performed by you; to eſtabliſh the Republic again, that " you may reap the benefit of it yourſelf in peace and proſ- " perity. When you have paid this debt to your coun- " try, and fulfilled the ends of your nature by a ſatiety " of living, you may then tell us, if you pleaſe, that you " have lived long enough: yet what is it after all, that " we can really call long, of which there is an end? for " when that end is once come, all paſt pleaſure is to be " reckoned as nothing, ſince no more of it is to be ex- " pected. Though your mind, I know, was never con- " tent with theſe narrow bounds of life, which nature " has aſſigned to us, but inflamed always with an ardent " love of immortality: nor is this indeed to be conſidered

" as

[*n*] Sperare tamen videor, Cæſari, collegæ noſtro, fore curæ & eſſe, ut habeamus aliquam Rempublicam. Ep. fam. 13. 68.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

" as your life, which is comprized in this body and
" breath; but that, that, I ſay, is your life, which is to
" floriſh in the memory of all ages: which poſterity will
" cheriſh, and eternity itſelf propagate. It is to this
" that you muſt attend; to this that you muſt form your-
" ſelf: which has many things already to admire, yet
" wants ſomething ſtill, that it may praiſe in you. Poſte-
" rity will be amazed to hear and read of your com-
" mands, provinces; the Rhine, the Ocean, the Nile;
" your innumerable battels, incredible victories, infinite
" monuments, ſplendid triumphs: but unleſs this City
" be eſtabliſhed again by your wiſdom and counſils, your
" name indeed will wander far and wide, yet will have
" no certain ſeat or place at laſt, where to fix itſelf. There
" will be alſo amongſt thoſe, who are yet unborn, the
" ſame controverſy, that has been amongſt us; when ſome
" will extoll your actions to the ſkies; others perhaps will
" find ſomething defective in them; and that one thing
" above all, if you ſhould not extinguiſh this flame of
" civil war, by reſtoring liberty to your country: for the
" one may be looked upon as the effect of fate, but the
" other is the certain act of wiſdom. Pay a reverence
" therefore to thoſe Judges, who will paſs judgement upon
" you in ages to come; and with leſs partiality perhaps
" than we; ſince they will neither be biaſſed by affection
" or party, nor prejudiced by hatred or envy to you:
" and though this, as ſome falſely imagine, ſhould then
" have no relation to you, yet it concerns you certainly
" at the preſent, to act in ſuch a manner, that no oblivion
" may ever obſcure the luſter of your praiſes. Various
" were the inclinations of the Citizens, and their opinions
" wholly divided: nor did we differ onely in ſentiments

" and

" and wiſhes, but in arms alſo and camps: the merits A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
" of the cauſe were dubious; and the contention between
" two celebrated Leaders: many doubted what was the
" beſt; many what was convenient; many what was
" decent; ſome alſo what was lawfull, &c. [o]"

BUT though CÆSAR took no ſtep towards reſtoring the Republic, he employed himſelf this ſummer in another work of general benefit to mankind; *the reformation of the Kalendar*; *by accomodating the courſe of the year, to the exact courſe of the Sun*; from which it had varied ſo widely, as to occaſion a ſtrange confuſion in all their accounts of time.

THE *Roman* year, from the old inſtitution of *Numa*, was *lunar*; borrowed from the *Greeks*; amongſt whom it conſiſted of *three hundred and fifty four days*: *Numa* added one more to them to make the whole number odd, which was thought the more fortunate; and to fill up the deficiency of his year to the meaſure of the ſolar courſe, inſerted likewiſe or *intercalated*, after the manner of the *Greeks*, an extraordinary month *of twenty two days*, every ſecond year, and *twenty three* every fourth, between *the twenty third and twenty fourth day of* February [p]: he committed the care of *intercalating* this month and the ſupernumerary day, to the College of Prieſts; who in proceſs of time partly by a negligent, partly a ſuperſtitious, but chiefly by an arbitrary abuſe of their truſt, uſed either to drop or inſert them, as it was found moſt convenient to themſelves or their friends, to make the current year

[o] Pro M. Marcell. 8, 9, 10.

[p] This was uſually called *Intercalaris*, though PLUTARCH gives it the name of *Mercedonius*, which none of the *Roman* writers mention, except that FESTUS ſpeaks of ſome days under the title of *Mercedoniæ*, becauſe the *Merces* or wages of workmen were commonly paid upon them.

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longer or ſhorter [q]. Thus Cicero, when haraſſed by a perpetual courſe of pleading, prayed, *that there might be no intercalation* to lengthen his fatigue; and when Proconſul of *Cilicia*, preſſed Atticus to exert all his intereſt, to prevent *any intercalation within the year*; that it might not protract his government, and retard his return to *Rome* [r]. Curio, on the contrary, when he could not perſuade the Prieſts, to prolong the year of his Tribunate by an *Intercalation*, made that a pretence for abandoning the Senate, and going over to Cæsar [s].

This licence of *intercalating* introduced the confuſion above mentioned, in the computation of their time: ſo that the order of all their months was tranſpoſed from their ſtated ſeaſons; the winter months carried back into Autumn, the Autumnal into Summer: till Cæsar reſolved to put an end to this diſorder by aboliſhing the ſource of it, the uſe of *intercalations*; and inſtead of the *Lunar*, to eſtabliſh the *Solar* year, adjuſted to the exact meaſure of the Sun's revolution in the *Zodiac*, or to that period of time, in which it returns to the point, from which it ſet out: and as this, according to the Aſtronomers of that age, was ſuppoſed to be *three hundred and ſixty five days, and ſix hours*, ſo he divided the days into twelve artificial months, and to ſupply the deficiency of the ſix hours, by which they fell ſhort of the Sun's complete courſe, he ordered a day *to be intercalated* after every four years, between *the twenty third and twenty fourth of* February [t].

But

[q] Quod inſtitutum perite a Numa poſteriorum Pontificum negligentia diſſolutum eſt. De Leg. 2. 12. vid. Cenſorin. de die Nat. c. 20. Macrob. Sat. 1. 14.

[r] Nos hic in multitudine & celebritate judiciorum—ita deſtinemur, ut quotidie vota faciamus ne intercaletur. Ep. fam. 7. 2.

Per fortunas primum illud præfulci atque præmuni quæſo, ut ſimus annui; ne intercaletur quidem. Ad Att. 5. 13. it. 9.

[s] Leviſſime enim, quia de intercalando non obtinuerat, transfugit ad populum & pro Cæſare loqui cœpit. Ep. fam. 8. 6. Dio. p. 148.

[t] This day was called *Biſſextus*, from its being a repetition or duplicate of *the Sixth of the Calends of* March, which fell always on the 24th; and hence our *Intercalary or Leap-year* is ſtill called *Biſſextile*.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

BUT to make this new year begin, and procede regularly; he was forced to inſert into the current year, *two extraordinary months*, between *November* and *December*; the one of *thirty three*, the other of *thirty four days*; beſides the ordinary *intercalary month of twenty three days*, which fell into it of courſe; which were all neceſſary to fill up the number of days, that were loſt to the old year, by the omiſſion of *intercalations*, and to replace the months in their proper ſeaſons [*u*]. All this was effected by the care and ſkill of SOSIGENES, a celebrated *Aſtronomer of* Alexandria, whom CÆSAR had brought to *Rome* for that purpoſe [*x*]: and a *new Kalendar* was formed upon it by FLAVIUS *a Scribe*, digeſted according to the order of the *Roman* Feſtivals, and the old manner of computing their days by *Kalends*, *Ides*, *and Nones*; which was publiſhed and authorized by *the Dictator's Edict*, not long after his return from *Afric*. This year therefore was the longeſt, that *Rome* had ever known; conſiſting of *fifteen months*, or *four hundred and forty five days*, and is called *the laſt of the confuſion* [*y*]; becauſe it introduced *the Julian, or ſolar year*, with the commencement of the enſuing *January*; which continues in uſe to this day in all Chriſtian Countries, without any other variation, than that of *the old and new ſtile*-----[*z*].

[*u*] Quo autem magis in poſterum ex Kalendis Januariis nobis temporum ratio congrueret, inter Novembrem & Decembrem menſem adjecit duos alios: fuitque is annus—xv. menſium cum Intercalario, qui ex conſuetudine eum annum inciderat. Suet. J. Cæſ. 40.

[*x*] Plin. Hiſt. N. 18. 25.

[*y*] Adnitente ſibi M. Flavio ſcriba, qui ſcriptos dies ſingulos ita ad Dictatorem detulit, ut & ordo eorum inveniri facillime poſſet, & invento certus ſtatus perſeveraret——eaque re factum eſt, ut annus confuſionis ultimus in quadringentos quadraginta tres dies tenderetur. Macrob. Sat. 1. 14. Dio. 227.

MACROBIUS makes this year to conſiſt of 443 days, but he ſhould have ſaid 445. ſince, according to all accounts, ninety days were added to the old year of 355.

[*z*] This difference *of the old and new ſtile* was occaſioned by a regulation made *by Pope* GREGORY A.D. 1582. for it having been obſerved, that the computation of *the Vernal Equinox* was fallen back ten days from the time of *the Council of* Nice, when it was found to be on *the 21ſt of* March; according to which all the feſtivals of the Church were then ſolemnly ſettled; *Pope* GREGORY, by the advice of Aſtronomers, cauſed ten days to be intirely ſunk and thrown out of the current year, between the 4th and 15th of *October*.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. Julius Caesar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Soon after the affair of Marcellus, Cicero had another occaſion of trying both his eloquence and intereſt with Cæsar, in the cauſe of Ligarius; who was now in exil on the account of his having been in arms againſt Cæsar, *in the* African *war*, in which he had born a conſiderable command. His two Brothers however had always been on Cæsar's ſide; and being recommended by Pansa, and warmly ſupported by Cicero, had almoſt prevailed for his pardon; of which Cicero gives the following account in a Letter to Ligarius himſelf.

Cicero to Ligarius.

" I would have you to be aſſured, that I employ my
" whole pains, labor, care, ſtudy, in procuring your reſto-
" ration: for as I have ever had the greateſt affection for
" you, ſo the ſingular piety and love of your Brothers,
" for whom, as well as yourſelf, I have always profeſſed
" the utmoſt eſteem, never ſuffer me to neglect any oppor-
" tunity of my duty and ſervice to you. But what I am
" now doing, or have done, I would have you learn from
" their Letters, rather than mine; but as to what I hope,
" and take to be certain in your affair, that I chuſe to ac-
" quaint you with myſelf: for if any man be timorous
" in great and dangerous events, and fearing always the
" worſt, rather than hoping the beſt, I am he; and if
" this be a fault, confeſs myſelf not to be free from it;
" yet on the twenty ſeventh of *November*, when, at the
" deſire of your Brothers, I had been early with Cæsar,
" and gone through the trouble and indignity of getting
" acceſs and audience; when your Brothers and relations
" had thrown themſelves at his feet, and I had ſaid, what
" your cauſe and circumſtances required, I came away
" perſuaded,

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CAESAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

" perſuaded, that your pardon was certain: which I col-
" lected, not onely from CÆSAR's diſcourſe, which was
" mild and generous, but from his eyes and looks, and
" many other ſigns, which I could better obſerve than
" deſcribe. It is your part therefore, to behave yourſelf
" with firmneſs and courage; and as you have born the
" more turbulent part prudently, to bear this calmer ſtate
" of things chearfully: I ſhall continue ſtill to take the
" ſame pains in your affairs, as if there was the greateſt
" difficulty in them, and will heartily ſupplicate in your
" behalf, as I have hitherto done, not onely CÆSAR him-
" ſelf, but all his friends, whom I have ever found moſt
" affectionate to me. Adieu. [*a*]"

WHILE LIGARIUS's affair was in this hopefull way, Q. TUBERO, who had an old quarrel with him, being deſirous to obſtruct his pardon, and knowing CÆSAR to be particularly exaſperated againſt all thoſe, *who, through an obſtinate averſion to him, had renewed the war in* Africk, accuſed him, in the uſual forms, of an uncommon zeal and violence in proſecuting that war. CÆSAR privately encouraged the proſecution, and ordered the cauſe to be tried *in the Forum*, where he ſat upon it in perſon, ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt the Criminal, and determined to lay hold on any plauſible pretence for condemning him: but the force of CICERO's eloquence, exerted with all his ſkill in a cauſe, which he had much at heart, got the better of all his prejudices, and extorted a pardon from him againſt his will.

THE merit of this ſpeech is too well known, to want to be enlarged upon here: thoſe, who read it, will find no reaſon to charge CICERO with flattery: but the free ſpirit, which

[*a*] Ep. fam. 6. 14.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. Julius Caesar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

which it breaths, in the face of that power, to which it was ſuing for mercy, muſt give a great idea of the art of the ſpeaker, who could deliver ſuch bold truths without offence; as well as of the generoſity of the Judge, who heard them not onely with patience, but approbation.

" Obſerve, Cæsar, ſays he, with what fidelity I plead " Ligarius's cauſe, when I betray even my own by it. " O that admirable clemency, worthy to be celebrated by " every kind of praiſe, letters, monuments! M. Cicero " defends a criminal before you, by proving him not to " have been in thoſe ſentiments, in which he owns him- " ſelf to have been: nor does he yet fear your ſecret " thoughts, or while he is pleading for another, what " may occur to you about himſelf. See, I ſay, how little " he is afraid of you. See with what a courage and " gaiety of ſpeaking your generoſity and wiſdom inſpire " me. I will raiſe my voice to ſuch a pitch, that the " whole *Roman* people may hear me. After the war was " not onely begun, Cæsar, but in great meaſure finiſhed, " when I was driven by no neceſſity, I went by choice " and judgement to join myſelf with thoſe, who had taken " arms againſt you. Before whom do I ſay this? why " before him, who, though he knew it to be true, yet " reſtored me to the Republic, before he had even ſeen " me; who wrote to me from *Egypt*, that I ſhould be " the ſame man, that I had always been; and when he " was the onely Emperor within the dominion of *Rome*, " ſuffered me to be the other; and to hold my laurelled " Faſces, as long as I thought them worth holding---[*b*]. " Do you then, Tubero, call Ligarius's conduct wicked? " for what reaſon? ſince that cauſe has never yet been " called

[*b*] Pro Ligar. 3.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

" called by that name: ſome indeed call it miſtake,
" others fear; thoſe who ſpeak more ſeverely, hope, am-
" bition, hatred, obſtinacy; or at the worſt, raſhneſs;
" but no man, beſides you, has ever called it wickedneſs.
" For my part, were I to invent a proper and genuin
" name for our calamity, I ſhould take it for a kind of
" fatality, that had poſſeſſed the unwary minds of men;
" ſo that none can think it ſtrange, that all human coun-
" ſils were over-ruled by a divine neceſſity. Call us then,
" if you pleaſe, unhappy; though we can never be ſo,
" under this Conqueror; but I ſpeak not of us, who ſur-
" vive, but of thoſe who fell; let them be ambitious; let
" them be angry; let them be obſtinate; but let not the
" guilt of crime, of fury, of parricide, ever be charged
" on CN. POMPEY, and on many of thoſe who died with
" him. When did we ever hear any ſuch thing from
" you, CÆSAR? or what other view had you in the war,
" than to defend yourſelf from injury?-----you conſidered
" it from the firſt, not as a war, but a ſeceſſion; not as
" an hoſtile, but civil diſſenſion: where both ſides wiſhed
" well to the Republic; yet through a difference, partly
" of counſils, partly of inclinations, deviated from the
" common good: the dignity of the Leaders was almoſt
" equal; though not perhaps of thoſe, who followed them:
" the cauſe was then dubious, ſince there was ſomething
" which one might approve on either ſide; but now, that
" muſt needs be thought the beſt, which the Gods have
" favored; and after the experience of your clemency,
" who can be diſpleaſed with that victory, in which no
" man fell, who was not actually in arms [*c*]."

THE

[*c*] Ib. 6.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

The Speech was ſoon made public, and greedily bought by all: Atticus was extremely pleaſed with it, and very induſtrious in recommending it; ſo that Cicero ſays merrily to him by Letter, "You have ſold my Ligarian ſpeech "finely: whatever I write for the future, I will make "you the Publiſher: and again, your authority, I perceive, "has made my little oration famous: for Balbus and "Oppius write me word, that they are wonderfully taken "with it, and have ſent a Copy to Cæsar [*d*]." The ſucceſs, which it met with, made Tubero aſhamed of the figure that he made in it; ſo that he applied to Cicero, to have ſomething inſerted in his favor, with the mention *of his wife, and ſome of his family*, who were Cicero's *near relations*: but Cicero excuſed himſelf, *becauſe the ſpeech was got abroad: nor had he a mind*, he ſays, *to make any apology for* Tubero's *conduct* [*e*].

Ligarius was a man of diſtinguiſhed zeal for the liberty of his Country: which was the reaſon both of Cicero's pains to preſerve, and of Cæsar's averſeneſs to reſtore him. After his return he lived in great confidence with Brutus, who found him a fit perſon to bear a part in the conſpiracy againſt Cæsar; but happening to be taken ill near the time of its execution, when Brutus, in a viſit to him, began to lament, *that he was fallen ſick in a very unlucky hour*; Ligarius, *raiſing himſelf preſently upon his elbow, and taking* Brutus *by the hand, replied*; *yet ſtill*, Brutus, *if you mean to do any thing worthy of yourſelf, I am well* [*f*]: nor did he diſappoint Brutus's opinion of

[*d*] Ligarianam præclare vendidiſti. Poſthac quicquid ſcripſero, tibi præconium deferam. Ad Att. 13. 12.

Ligarianam, ut video, præclare auctoritas tua commendavit. Scripſit enim ad me Balbus & Oppius, mirifice ſe probare, ob eamque cauſam ad Cæſarem eam ſe oratiunculam miſiſſe. Ib. 19.

[*e*] Ad Ligarianam de uxore Tuberonis, & privigna, neque poſſum jam addere, eſt enim res pervulgata, neque Tuberonem volo defendere. Mirifice eſt enim φιλάδελφος. Ib. 20.

[*f*] Plutarch. in Brut.

of him, for we find him afterwards in the liſt of the conſpirators.

In the end of the year, Cæsar was called away in great haſt into *Spain*, to oppoſe the attemts of Pompey's Sons, who, by the credit of their father's name, were become maſters again of all that Province; and with the remains of the troops, which Labienus, Varus, and the other Chiefs, who eſcaped, had gathered up from *Afric*, were once more in condition to try the fortune of the field with him: where the great danger, to which he was expoſed from this laſt effort of a broken party, ſhews how deſperate his caſe muſt have been, if Pompey himſelf, with an intire and veteran army, had firſt made choice of this country for the ſcene of the war.

Cicero all this while paſſed his time with little ſatisfaction at home, being diſappointed of the eaſe and comfort, which he expected from his new marriage: his children, as we may imagine, while their own mother was living, would not eaſily bear with a *young mother in law* in the houſe with them. The Son eſpecially was preſſing to get a particular appointment ſettled for his maintenance, and to have leave alſo to go to *Spain*, and *make a Campaign under* Cæsar; whither his Couſin Quintus was already gone: Cicero did not approve this project; and endeavoured by all means to diſſuade him from it; repreſenting to him, *that it would naturally draw a juſt reproach upon them, for not thinking it enough to quit their former party, unleſs they fought againſt it too; and that he would not be pleaſed to ſee his Couſin more regarded there than himſelf*; and promiſing withal, if he would conſent to

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Julius Cæsar Dictator III. & Conſul IV. ſine Collega. M. Æmilius Lepidus Mag. Equit.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Julius Caesar Dictator III. M Æmilius Lepidus Mag. Equit.

ſtay, *to make him an ample and honorable allowance* [g]. This diverted him from the thoughts of *Spain*; though not from the deſire of removing from his Father, and taking a ſeparate houſe in the City, with a diſtinct family of his own: but Cicero thought it beſt to ſend him to *Athens*, in order to ſpend a few years in the ſtudy of Philoſophy, and polite Letters; and to make the propoſal agreeable, offered him an appointment, *that would enable him to live as ſplendidly as any of the* Roman *Nobility, who then reſided there*, Bibulus, Acidinus, or Messala [h]. This ſcheme was accepted, and ſoon after executed; and young Cicero was ſent to *Athens*, with *two of his Father's Freedmen*, L. Tullius Montanus, *and* Tullius Marcianus, as the Intendants and Counſellors of his general conduct, while the particular direction of his ſtudies was left to the principal Philoſophers of the place; and above all, to Cratippus, the chief of *the Peripatetic* Sect [i].

In this uneaſy ſtate both of his private and public life, he was oppreſſed by a new and moſt cruel affliction, the death of his beloved daughter Tullia; which happened ſoon *after her divorce from* Dolabella; whoſe manners and humor were intirely diſagreeable to her. Cicero had long been deliberating with himſelf and his friends, *whether* Tullia *ſhould not firſt ſend the divorce*; but a prudential regard to Dolabella's power, and intereſt with Cæsar, which was of uſe to him in theſe times, ſeems to have withheld

[g] De Hiſpania duo attuli; primum idem, quod tibi, me vereri vituperationem: non ſatis eſſe ſi hæc arma reliquiſſemus? etiam contraria? deinde fore ut angeretur, cum a fratre familiaritate & omni gratia vinceretur. Velim magis liberalitate uti mea quam ſua libertate.—Ad Att. 12. 7.

[h] Præſtabo nec Bibulum, nec Acidinum, nec Meſſalam, quos Athenis futuros audio, majores ſumptus facturos, quam quod ex eis mercedibus accipietur. Ib. 32.

[i] L. Tullium Montanum noſti, qui cum Cicerone profectus eſt. Ib. 52, 53.

Quanquam te, Marce fili, annum jam audientem Cratippum, &c. De Off. 1. 1. it. 2. 2.

withheld him [*k*]. The caſe was the ſame with DOLABELLA, he was willing enough to part with TULLIA, but did not care to break with CICERO, whoſe friendſhip was a credit to him; and whom gratitude obliged him to obſerve and reverence; ſince CICERO had twice defended and preſerved him in capital cauſes [*l*]: ſo that it ſeems moſt probable, that *the divorce was of an amicable kind*; and executed at laſt by the conſent of both ſides: for it gave no apparent interruption to the friendſhip between CICERO and DOLABELLA, which they carried on with the ſame ſhew of affection, and profeſſions of reſpect toward each other, as if the relation had ſtill ſubſiſted.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. JULIUS CAESAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

TULLIA died in childbed, *at her husband's houſe* [*m*]; which confirms the probability of their agreement in the divorce: it is certain at leaſt, that ſhe died in *Rome*; where CICERO *was detained*, he ſays, *by the expectation of the birth, and to receive the firſt payment of her fortune back again from* DOLABELLA, *who was then in* Spain: *ſhe was delivered, as it was thought, very happily, and ſuppoſed to be out of danger*; when an unexpected turn in her caſe put an end to her life, to the inexpreſſible grief of her Father [*n*].

WE have no account of the iſſue of this birth, which writers confound with that which happened three years before, when ſhe was delivered at the end of ſeven months of *a puny male Child*: but whether it was from the firſt,

[*k*] Te oro ut de hac miſera cogites—melius quidem in peſſimis nihil fuit diſcidio—nunc quidem ipſe videtur denunciare—placet mihi igitur, & idem tibi nuncium remitti, &c. Ad Att. xi. 23. vid. ib. 3.

Quod ſcripſi de nuncio remittendo, quæ ſit iſtius vis hoc tempore, & quæ concitatio multitudinis, ignoro. Si metuendus iratus eſt, quies tamen ab illo fortaſſe naſcetur. Ep. fam. 14. 13.

[*l*] Cujus ego ſalutem duobus capitis judiciis ſumma contentione defendi—Ep. fam. 3. x.

[*m*] Plutarch in Cic.

[*n*] Me Romæ tenuit omnino Tulliæ meæ partus: ſed cum ea, quemadmodum ſpero, ſatis firma ſit, teneor tamen, dum a Dolabellæ procuratoribus exigam primam penſionem.—Ep. fam. 6. 18.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Julius Cæsar Dictator III. M. Æmilius Lepidus Mag. Equit.

or the ſecond time of her lying in, it is evident, that ſhe left *a Son by* Dolabella, who ſurvived her, and whom Cicero mentions more than once in his Letters to Atticus, by the name of Lentulus [*o*]: deſiring him *to viſit the Child*, and ſee a due care taken of him, and *to aſſign him what number of ſervants he thought proper* [*p*].

Tullia was about two and thirty years old at the time of her death; and by the few hints, which are left of her character, appears to have been an excellent and admirable woman: ſhe was moſt affectionately and piouſly obſervant of her Father; and to the uſual graces of her ſex, having added the more ſolid accompliſhments of *knowledge and polite letters*, was qualified to be the companion, as well as the delight of his age; and was juſtly eſteemed not onely as one of *the beſt, but the moſt learned* of the *Roman* Ladies. It is not ſtrange therefore, that the loſs of ſuch a daughter, in the prime of her life, and the moſt comfortleſs ſeaſon of his own, ſhould affect him with all that grief, which the greateſt calamity could imprint on a temper naturally timid and deſponding.

Plutarch tells us, *that the Philoſophers came from all parts to comfort him*; but that can hardly be true, except of thoſe, who lived in *Rome*, or in his own family; for his firſt care was, to ſhun all company as much as he could,

[*o*] The Father's names were Publius Cornelius Lentulus Dolabella; the two laſt being ſurnames acquired perhaps by adoption, and diſtinguiſhing the different branches of the Cornelian family.

[*p*] Velim aliquando, cum erit tuum commodum, Lentulum puerum viſas, eique de mancipiis, quæ tibi videbitur, attribuas—ad Att. 12. 28.

Quod Lentulum inviſis, valde gratum. Ib. 30—vid. etiam 18.—

N. B. Mr. Bayle declares himſelf ſurprized, *to find* Asconius Pæd. *ſo ill informed of the hiſtory of* Tullia, *as to tell us, that after* Piso's *death, ſhe was married to* P. Lentulus, *and died in child-bed at his houſe:* in which ſhort account, there are contained, he ſays, *two or three lies.* But Plutarch confirms the ſame account; and the miſtake will reſt at laſt, not on Asconius, but on Mr. Bayle himſelf, who did not reflect, from the authority of thoſe Ancients, that Lentulus was one of Dolabella's names, by which he was called indifferently, as well as by any of the reſt. See Bayl. Diction. Artic. Tullia. not. k.

could, by removing to ATTICUS's houſe; where he lived chiefly in the Library; endeavouring to relieve his mind, *by turning over every book, which he could meet with, on the ſubject of moderating grief* [q]: but finding his reſidence here too public, and a greater reſort to him than he could bear, he retired to *Aſtura*, one of his ſeats near *Antium*; *a little iſland on the* Latian *ſhore, at the mouth of a river of the ſame name, covered with woods and groves, cut out into ſhady walks*; a ſcene of all others the fitteſt to indulge melancholy, and where he could give a free courſe to his grief. "Here, ſays he, I live without the ſpeech "of man: every morning early I hide myſelf in the "thickeſt of the wood, and never come out till the even-"ing: next to yourſelf, nothing is ſo dear to me, as "this ſolitude: my whole converſation is with my books; "yet that is ſometimes interrupted by my tears, which I "reſiſt as well as I can, but am not yet able to do "much [r]."

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

ATTICUS urged him to quit this retirement, and divert himſelf with buſineſs, and the company of his friends; and put him gently in mind, that, by afflicting himſelf ſo immoderately, he would hurt his character, and give people a handle to cenſure his weakneſs: to which he makes the following anſwer.

"As to what you write, that you are afraid, leſt the "exceſs of my grief ſhould leſſen my credit and authority; "I do not know what men would have of me. Is it, that "I ſhould not grieve? that is impoſſible: or that I ſhould "not

[q] Me mihi non defuiſſe tu teſtis es, nihil enim de mœrore minuendo ab ullo ſcriptum eſt, quod ego non domi tuæ legerim. Ad Att. 12. 14.

[r] In hac ſolitudine careo omnium colloquio, cumque mane in ſilvam me abſtruſi denſam & aſperam, non exeo inde ante veſperum. Secundum te, nihil mihi amicius ſolitudine. In ea mihi omnis ſermo eſt cum litteris; eum tamen interpellat fletus; cui repugno quoad poſſum, ſed adhuc pares non ſumus. Ib. 15.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 62. C. Julius Caesar Dictator III. M. Æmilius Lepidus Mag. Equit.

" not be oppreſſed with grief? who was ever leſs ſo? " when I took refuge at your houſe, was any man ever " denied acceſs to me? or did any one ever come, who " had reaſon to complain of me? I went from you to " *Aſtura:* where thoſe gay ſparks, who find fault with " me, are not able even to read ſo much, as I have writ- " ten: how well, is nothing to the purpoſe; yet it is " of a kind, which no body could write, with a diſor- " dered mind----I ſpent a month in my gardens about " *Rome*; where I received all who came, with the ſame " eaſineſs as before. At this very moment, while I am " employing my whole time in reading and writing, " thoſe, who are with me, are more fatigued with their " leiſure, than I with my pains. If any one aſks, why " I am not at *Rome*; becauſe it is vacation time: why " not in ſome of my villa's, more ſuitable to the ſeaſon; " becauſe I could not eaſily bear ſo much company. I " am, where he, who has the beſt houſe at *Baiæ*, chuſes " to be, in this part of the year. When I come to *Rome*, " no body ſhall find any thing amiſs, either in my looks " or diſcourſe: as to that chearfulneſs, with which we " uſed to ſeaſon the miſery of theſe times, I have loſt it " indeed for ever; but will never part with my conſtancy " and firmneſs, either of mind or ſpeech, &c. [*s*]"

All his other friends were very officious likewiſe in making their compliments of condolence, and adminiſtring arguments of comfort to him: among the reſt, Cæsar himſelf, in the hurry of his affairs in *Spain*, wrote him a Letter on the occaſion, dated from *Hiſpalis*, *the laſt of* April [*t*]. Brutus wrote another, *ſo friendly and affectionate*,

[*s*] Ad Att. 12. 40.
[*t*] A Cæſare litteras accepi conſolatorias, datas prid. Kal. Maii, Hiſpali. Ad Att. 13. 20.

tionate, that it greatly moved him [*u*]: LUCCEIUS alſo, one of the moſt eſteemed writers of that age, ſent him two; the firſt to condole, the ſecond to expoſtulate with him for perſevering, to cheriſh an unmanly and uſeleſs grief [*x*]: but the following Letter of SER. SULPICIUS is thought to be a maſter-piece of the conſolatory kind.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

SER. SULPICIUS to M. T. CICERO.

" I was excedingly concerned, as indeed I ought to
" be, to hear of the death of your daughter TULLIA;
" which I looked upon as an affliction common to us
" both. If I had been with you, I would have made it
" my buſineſs to convince you, what a real ſhare I take in
" your grief. Though that kind of conſolation is but
" wretched and lamentable, as it is to be performed by
" friends and relations, who are overwhelmed with grief,
" and cannot enter upon their taſk without tears, and
" ſeem to want comfort rather themſelves, than to be in
" condition to adminiſter it to others. I reſolved there-
" fore to write to you in ſhort, what occurred upon it to
" my own mind; not that I imagined, that the ſame things
" would not occur alſo to you, but that the force of your
" grief might poſſibly hinder your attention to them.
" What reaſon is there then to diſturb yourſelf ſo immo-
" derately on this melancholy occaſion? conſider how
" fortune has already treated us; how it has deprived us
" of what ought to be as dear to us as children; our coun-
" try, credit, dignity, honors. After ſo miſerable a loſs
" as this, what addition can it poſſibly make to our grief,
" to ſuffer one misfortune more? or how can a mind,
" after

[*u*] Bruti litteræ ſcriptæ & prudenter & amice, multas tamen mihi lacrimas attulerunt. Ib. 12. 13.

[*x*] Vid. Ep. fam. 5. 13, 14.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Julius Caesar Dictator III. M. Æmilius Lepidus Mag. Equit.

" after being exerciſed in ſuch trials, not grow callous,
" and think every thing elſe of inferior value? but is it
" for your daughter's ſake that you grieve? yet how often
" muſt you neceſſarily reflect, as I myſelf frequently do,
" that thoſe cannot be ſaid to be hardly dealt with, whoſe
" lot it has been in theſe times, without ſuffering any
" affliction, to exchange life for death. For what is there
" in our preſent circumſtances that could give her any
" great invitation to live? what buſineſs? what hopes?
" what proſpect of comfort before her? was it to paſs her
" days in the married ſtate, with ſome young man of the
" firſt quality? (for you, I know, on the account of your
" dignity, might have choſen what ſon in law you pleaſed
" out of all our youth, to whoſe fidelity you might ſafely
" have truſted her,) was it then for the ſake of bearing
" children, whom ſhe might have had the pleaſure to ſee
" floriſhing afterwards, in the enjoyment of their paternal
" fortunes, and riſing gradually to all the honors of the
" ſtate, and uſing the liberty, to which they were born
" in the protection of their friends and clients? but what
" is there of all this, which was not taken away, before
" it was even given to her? but it is an evil, you'll ſay,
" to loſe our children: it is ſo; yet it is much greater to
" ſuffer, what we now endure. I cannot help mention-
" ing one thing, which has given me no ſmall comfort,
" and may help alſo perhaps to mitigate your grief. On
" my return from *Aſia*, as I was ſailing from *Ægina* to-
" wards *Megara*, I began to contemplate the proſpect of
" the countries around me: *Ægina* was behind, *Megara*
" before me; *Piræeus* on the right; *Corinth* on the left:
" all which towns, once famous and floriſhing, now lie
" overturned, and buried in their ruins: upon this ſight,

" I could

" I could not but think preſently within myſelf, alas! how do we poor mortals fret and vex ourſelves, if any of our friends happen to die, or to be killed, whoſe life is yet ſo ſhort, when the carcaſſes of ſo many noble cities lie here expoſed before me in one view? Why wilt thou not then command thyſelf, SERVIUS, and remember, that thou art born a man? Believe me, I was not a little confirmed by this contemplation: try the force of it therefore, if you pleaſe, upon yourſelf; and imagine the ſame proſpect before your own eyes. But to come nearer home; when you conſider how many of our greateſt men have periſhed lately at once; what deſtruction has been made in the Empire; what havock in all the Provinces; how can you be ſo much ſhocked to be deprived of the fleeting breath of one little woman? who, if ſhe had not died at this time, muſt neceſſarily have died a few years after, ſince that was the condition of her being born. But recall your mind from reflections of this kind, to the conſideration of yourſelf; and think rather on what becomes your character and dignity: that your daughter lived, as long as life was worth enjoying, as long as the Republic ſtood; had ſeen her Father Prætor, Conſul, Augur; been married to the nobleſt of our youth; had taſted every good in life; and when the Republic fell, then quitted it: what ground is there then, either for you, or her, to complain of fortune on this account? In ſhort, do not forget, that you are CICERO; one, who has been uſed always to preſcribe and give advice to others; nor imitate thoſe paultry Phyſicians, who pretend to cure other people's diſeaſes, yet are not able to cure their own; but ſuggeſt rather to yourſelf the ſame leſſon, which

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 68. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Julius Cæsar Dictator III. M. Æmilius Lepidus Mag. Equit.

" you would give in the ſame caſe. There is no grief ſo " great, which length of time will not alleviate: but it " would be ſhamefull in you to wait for that time, and " not to prevent it by your wiſdom: beſides, if there be " any ſenſe in the dead, ſuch was her love and piety to " you, that ſhe muſt be concerned to ſee, how much you " afflict yourſelf. Give this therefore to the deceaſed; " give it to your friends; give it to your country; that " it may have the benefit of your aſſiſtance and advice, " whenever there ſhall be occaſion. Laſtly, ſince fortune " has now made it neceſſary to us to accommodate our- " ſelves to our preſent ſituation; do not give any one " a handle to think, that you are not ſo much bewailing " your daughter, as the ſtate of the times, and the victory " of certain perſons. I am aſhamed to write any more, " leſt I ſhould ſeem to diſtruſt your prudence; and will " add therefore but one thing farther, and conclude. We " have ſometimes ſeen you bear proſperity nobly, with " great honor and applauſe to yourſelf; let us now ſee, " that you can bear adverſity with the ſame moderation, " and without thinking it a greater burthen, than you " ought to do: leſt in the number of all your other vir- " tues, this one at laſt be thought to be wanting. As to " myſelf, when I underſtand that your mind is grown " more calm and compoſed, I will ſend you word, how " all things go on here, and what is the ſtate of the Pro- " vince. Adieu [y]."

His anſwer to Sulpicius was the ſame in effect with what he gave to all his friends; " that his caſe was dif- " ferent from all the examples, which he had been collect- " ing for his own imitation, of men, who had born the " loſs

[y] Ep. fam. 4. 5.

" loſs of children with firmneſs; ſince they lived in " times, when their dignity in the ſtate was able in great " meaſure to compenſate their misfortune: but for me, " ſays he, after I had loſt all thoſe ornaments, which you " enumerate, and which I had acquired with the utmoſt " pains, I have now loſt the onely comfort, that was left " to me. In this ruin of the Republic, my thoughts " were not diverted by ſerving either my friends or my " country; I had no inclination to the Forum; could " not bear the ſight of the Senate; took myſelf, as the " caſe in truth was, to have loſt all the fruit of my in- " duſtry and fortunes: yet when I reflected, that all this " was common to you, and to many others, as well as to " myſelf; and was forcing myſelf therefore to bear it " tolerably; I had ſtill in *Tullia*, ſomewhat always to " recur to, in which I could acquieſce; and in whoſe " ſweet converſation I could drop all my cares and trou- " bles: but by this laſt cruel wound, all the reſt, which " ſeemed to be healed, are broken out again afreſh: for " as I then could relieve the uneaſineſs, which the Re- " public gave me, by what I found at home; ſo I cannot " now, in the affliction, which I feel at home, find any " remedy abroad; but am driven, as well from my houſe, " as the Forum; ſince neither my houſe can eaſe my " public grief, nor the public my domeſtic one [z]."

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

THE remonſtrances of his friends had but little effect upon him; all the relief that he found, was from reading and writing, in which he continually employed himſelf; and *did what no man had ever done before him, draw up a treatiſe of conſolation for himſelf*; from which he profeſſes to have received his greateſt comfort; " Though he

[z] Ep. fam. 4. 6. it. ad Att. 12. 28.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Julius Cæsar Dictator III. M. Æmilius Lepidus Mag. Equit.

" wrote it, he owns, at a time, when in the opinion of " the Philoſophers, he was not ſo wiſe, as he ought to " have been: but I did violence, ſays he, to my nature; " to make the greatneſs of my ſorrow give place to the " greatneſs of the medicine; though I acted againſt the " advice of Chrysippus, who diſſwades the application " of any remedy to the firſt aſſaults of grief [*a*]." In this work he chiefly imitated Crantor, *the Academic*, who had left a celebrated piece on the ſame ſubject; *yet he inſerted alſo whatever pleaſed him, from any other Author who had written upon it* [*b*]; illuſtrating his precepts all the way, by examples from their own hiſtory, *of the moſt eminent* Romans *of both ſexes, who had born the ſame misfortune with a remarkable conſtancy.* This book was much read by *the primitive Fathers, eſpecially* Lactantius; to whom we are obliged for *the few fragments*, which remain of it: for, as the Critics have long ſince obſerved, that piece, which we now ſee in the collection of his writings, under the title of *Conſolation*, is undoubtedly ſpurious.

But the deſign of this treatiſe was, not onely to relieve his own mind, but to conſecrate the virtues and memory of Tullia to all poſterity: nor did his fondneſs for her ſtop here; but ſuggeſted the project of a more effectual conſecration, *by building a Temple to her*, and erecting her into

[*a*] Feci, quod ante me nemo, ut ipſe me per litteras conſolarer—affirmo tibi nullam conſolationem eſſe talem. Ad Att. 12. 14. it. ib. 28.

Quid ego de conſolatione dicam? quæ mihi quidem ipſi ſane aliquantum medetur, ceteris item multum illam profuturam puto. De Div. 2. 1.

In conſolationis libro, quem in medio, (non enim ſapientes eramus) mœrore & dolore conſcripſimus: quodque vetat Chryſippus, ad recentes quaſi tumores animi remedium adhibere, id nos fecimus, naturæque vim adtulimus, ut magnitudini medicinæ doloris magnitudo concederet. Tuſc. Diſp. 4. 29.

[*b*] Crantorem ſequor. Plin. Præf. Hiſt. N.

Neque tamen progredior longius, quam mihi doctiſſimi homines concedunt, quorum ſcripta omnia, quæcunque ſunt in eam ſententiam non legi ſolum—ſed in mea etiam ſcripta tranſtuli. Ad Att. 12, 21, it. 22.

into a ſort *of Deity.* It was an opinion of the Philoſophers, which he himſelf conſtantly favored, and in his preſent circumſtances particularly indulged, "that the "ſouls of men were of heavenly extraction; and that "the pure and chaſt, at their diſſolution from the body, "returned to the fountain from which they were de-"rived, to ſubſiſt eternally in the fruition and partici-"pation of the Divine Nature; whilſt the impure and "corrupt were left to grovel below in the dirt and dark-"neſs of theſe inferior regions." He declares therefore, "that as the wiſdom of the ancients had conſecrated and "deified many excellent perſons of both ſexes, whoſe "Temples were then remaining; the progeny of CAD-"MUS; of AMPHITRYON; of TYNDARUS; ſo he would "perform the ſame honor to TULLIA; who, if any crea-"ture had ever deſerved it, was of all the moſt worthy "of it. I will do it therefore, ſays he, and conſecrate "thee, thou beſt and moſt learned of women, now ad-"mitted into the aſſembly of the Gods, to the regard "and veneration of all mortals [*c*]."

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

IN his Letters to ATTICUS we find the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of his reſolution, and impatience to ſee this deſign executed: "I will have a Temple, ſays he, it is not poſ-"ſible to divert me from it----if it be not finiſhed this "ſummer, I ſhall not think myſelf clear of guilt----I "am

[*c*] Non enim omnibus illi ſapientes arbitrati ſunt eundem curſum in cœlum patere. Nam vitiis & ſceleribus contaminatos deprimi in tenebras, atque in cœno jacere docuerunt; caſtos autem animos, puros, integros, incorruptos, bonis etiam ſtudiis atque artibus expolitos leni quodam ac facili lapſu ad Deos, id eſt, ad naturam ſui ſimilem pervolare—Fragm. Conſolat. ex Lactantio—

Cum vero & mares & fæminas complures ex hominibus in Deorum numero eſſe videamus, & eorum in urbibus atque agris auguſtiſſima templa veneremur, aſſentiamur eorum ſapientiæ, quorum ingeniis & inventis omnem vitam legibus & inſtitutis excultam conſtitutamque habemus. Quod ſi ullum unquam animal conſecrandum fuit, illud profecto fuit. Si Cadmi, aut Amphitryonis progenies, aut Tyndari in cœlum tollenda fama fuit, huic idem honos certe dicandus eſt. Quod quidem faciam; teque omnium optimam doctiſſimamque, approbantibus Diis ipſis, in eorum cœtu locatam, ad opinionem omnium mortalium conſecrabo. ibid.—vid. Tuſc. Diſp. l. 1. c. xi, 12, 30, 31.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Julius Cæsar Dictator III. M. Æmilius Lepidus Mag. Equit.

" am more religiouſly bound to the execution of it, than " any man ever was to the performance of his vow [*d*]." He ſeems to have deſigned a Fabric of great magnificence; for he had ſettled the plan with his Architect, and contracted for Pillars of *Chian* marble, with a ſculptor of that Iſle; where both the work and the materials were the moſt eſteemed of any in *Greece* [*e*]. One reaſon, that determined him to *a Temple*, rather than *a Sepulcher*, was, that in the one he was not limited in the expenſe, whereas in the other, he was confined by law to a certain ſumm, which he could not excede, without the forfeiture of the ſame ſumm alſo to the public: yet this, as he tells us, was not the chief motive, but a reſolution, that he had taken, of making *a proper apotheoſis* [*f*]. The onely difficulty was, to find a place that ſuited his purpoſe: his firſt thought was

[*d*] Fanum fieri volo, neque mihi erui poteſt. [Ad Att. 12. 36.] redeo ad Fanum. niſi hac æſtate abſolutum erit—ſcelere me liberatum non putabo. [ib. 41.] ego me majore religione, quam quiſquam fuit ullius voti, obſtrictum puto. Ib. 43.

[*e*] De Fano illo dico—neque de genere dubito, placet enim mihi Cluatii. [ib. 18.] tu tamen cum Apella Chio confice de columnis. [ib. 19.] vid. Plin. Hiſt. N. 36. 5, 6.

[*f*] Nunquam mihi venit in mentem, quo plus inſumtum in monumentum eſſet, quam neſcio quid, quod lege conceditur, tantundem populo dandum eſſe: quod non magnopere moveret, niſi neſcio quomodo, ἀλόγως fortaſſe. Nollem illud ullo nomine niſi Fani appellari. [Att. 12. 35.] Sepulcri ſimilitudinem effugere non tam propter pœnam legis ſtudeo, quam ut maxime aſſequar ἀποθέωσιν. Ib. 36.

This fact ſeems to confirm what the Author of the book of Wiſdom obſerves on the origin of Idolatry; that it was owing to the fond affection of Parents, ſeeking to do honor to their deceaſed children. *The Father*, ſays he, *oppreſſed with an unexpected grief for the ſudden death of his child, after making an image of him, began to worſhip him as a God, though he was but a dead man, and enjoined certain rites and myſteries to his ſervants and dependents.* [Wiſd. xiv. 15.] But it was not Cicero's real thought after all to exalt his daughter into a Deity: he knew it to be abſurd, as he often declares, to pay *divine honors to dead mortals*; and tells us, how their very *Publicans* had decided that queſtion in *Bœotia*: for when the lands of *the Immortal Gods* were excepted out of their leaſe, *by the law of the Cenſors*, they denied, *that any one could be deemed an immortal God, who had once been a man; and ſo made the lands of* Amphiaraus *and* Trophonius *pay the ſame taxes with the reſt.* [de Nat. Deor. 3. 19.] yet in a political view he ſometimes recommends the worſhip of thoſe ſons of men, whom their eminent ſervices to mankind had advanced to the rank of inferior Gods, as it inculcated, in a manner the moſt ſenſible, the doctrine of *the Soul's Immortality*: [de Leg. 2. xi.] And ſince a Temple was the *moſt ancient way* of doing honor to thoſe dead, who had deſerved it; [Plin. Hiſt. 27.] he conſidered it as the moſt effectual method of perpetuating the memory and praiſes of Tullia; and was willing to take the benefit of the popular ſuperſtition, and follow the example of thoſe Ancients, who had poliſhed and civilized human life, by conſecrating ſuch patterns of virtue to the veneration of their fellow Citizens. Vid. Mongault. Not. 1. ad Att. 12. 18.

was *to purchaſe certain gardens croſs the* Tiber, which lying near the city, and in the public view, were the moſt likely to draw a reſort of votaries to his new Temple: "he "preſſes ATTICUS therefore to buy them for him at any "rate, without regard to his circumſtances; ſince he "would ſell, or mortage, or be content to live on "little, rather than be diſappointed: Groves and re-"mote places, he ſays, were proper onely for Deities "of an eſtabliſhed name and religion; but for the deifi-"cation of mortals, public and open ſituations were ne-"ceſſary, to ſtrike the eyes, and attract the notice of the "people." But he found ſo many obſtructions in all his attempts of purchaſing, that to ſave trouble and expence, ATTICUS adviſed him, *to build at laſt in one of his own villa's*; to which he ſeemed inclined, leſt the ſummer ſhould paſs without doing any thing: yet he was irreſolute ſtill, which of his villa's he ſhould chuſe; and diſcouraged, by reflecting *on the change of maſters*, to which all private eſtates were expoſed, in a ſucceſſion of ages; which might defeat the end of his building, and deſtroy the honor of his Temple; by converting it to other uſes, or ſuffering it to fall into ruins [*g*].

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. JULIUS CAESAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

BUT after all his eagerneſs and ſollicitude about this *Temple*, it was never actually built by him; ſince we find no mention of it in any of the ancient writers; which could not have been omitted, if a fabric ſo memorable had ever been erected [*b*]. It is likely, that as his grief evaporated,

[*g*] Sed ineunda nobis ratio eſt, quemadmodum in omni mutatione dominorum, qui innumerabiles fieri poſſunt in infinita poſteritate—illud quaſi conſecratum remanere poſſit. Equidem jam nihil egeo vectigalibus, & parvo contentus eſſe poſſum. Cogito interdum trans Tiberim hortos aliquos parare, & quidem ob hanc cauſam maxime; nihil enim video quod tam celebre eſſe poſſet. [ad Att. 12. 19.] de hortis, etiam atque etiam te rogo. [ib. 22.] ut ſæpe locuti ſumus, commutationes dominorum reformido. [ib. 36.] celebritatem requiro. ib. 37.

[*b*] COELIUS RHODIGINUS tells us, that in the time of SIXTUS the 4th, there was found near *Rome* on the *Appian* way, over-againſt the Tomb

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Julius Cæsar Dictator III. M. Æmilius Lepidus Mag. Equit.

porated, and his mind grew more calm, he began to conſider his project more philoſophically; and to perceive the vanity of expecting any laſting glory from ſuch monuments, which time itſelf, in the courſe of a few ages, muſt neceſſarily deſtroy: it is certain at leaſt, that as he made no ſtep towards building it this ſummer, ſo Cæsar's death, which happened before the next, gave freſh obſtruction to it, by the hurry of affairs, in which it engaged him; and though he had not ſtill wholly dropt the thoughts of it, but continued to make preparation, and to ſet apart a fund for it [*i*]; yet in the ſhort and buſy ſcene of life, which remained to him, he never had leiſure enough to carry it into execution.

He was now grown ſo fond of ſolitude, that all company was become uneaſy to him; and when his friend Philippus, the Father in law of Octavius, happened to come to his villa in that neighbourhood, he was not a little diſturbed at it, from the apprehenſion of being teized with his viſits; and he tells Atticus, with ſome pleaſure, *that he had called upon him onely to pay a ſhort compliment, and went back again to* Rome, *without giving him any trouble* [*k*]. His wife Publilia alſo wrote him word, *that her Mother and Brother intended to wait upon him, and that ſhe would come along with them, if he would give her*

Tomb of Cicero, the body of a woman, whoſe hair was dreſſed up in network of gold, and which, from the inſcription, was thought to be the body of Tullia. It was intire, and ſo well preſerved by ſpices, as to have ſuffered no injury from time; yet when it was removed into the city, it mouldered away in three days. But this was onely the haſty conjecture of ſome learned of that time, which, for want of authority to ſupport it, ſoon vaniſhed of itſelf; for no inſcription was ever produced to confirm it, nor has it been mentioned, that I know of, by any other author, that there was any ſepulchre of Cicero, on the *Appian* way—vid. Cœl. Rhod. Lection. antiq. l. 3. c. 24.

[*i*] Quod ex iſtis fructuoſis rebus receptum eſt, id ego ad illud fanum ſepoſitum putabam. Ad Att. 15. 15.

[*k*] Mihi adhuc nihil prius fuit hac ſolitudine, quam vereor, ne Philippus tollat: heri enim veſperi venerat. Ib. 12. 16.

Quod eram veritus, non obturbavit Philippus: nam ut heri me ſalutavit, ſtatim Romam profectus eſt. Ib. 18.

her leave; which ſhe begged in the moſt earneſt and ſubmiſſive terms----but his anſwer was, *that he was more indiſpoſed than ever to receive company, and would not have them come*; and leſt they ſhould come without leave, he deſires ATTICUS *to watch their motions, and give him notice, that he might contrive to avoid them* [*l*]. A denial ſo peremptory confirms what PLUTARCH ſays, *that his wife was now in diſgrace with him, on account of her carriage towards his daughter, and for ſeeming to rejoice at her death:* a crime, which, in the tenderneſs of his affliction, appeared to him ſo heinous, that he could not bear the thoughts of ſeeing her any more; and though it was inconvenient to him, to part with her fortune at this time, yet he reſolved *to ſend her a divorce*, as a proper ſacrifice to the honor of TULLIA [*m*].

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BRUTUS likewiſe about this time took a reſolution of putting away his wife CLAUDIA, for the ſake of taking PORCIA, BIBULUS's *widow, and his Uncle* CATO's *daughter*. But he was much cenſured for this ſtep; ſince CLAUDIA had no ſtain upon her character; was nobly born; the Siſter of APPIUS CLAUDIUS; and nearly allied to POMPEY; *ſo that his Mother* SERVILIA, though CATO's Siſter, ſeems to have been averſe to the divorce, and ſtrongly in the intereſts of CLAUDIA, againſt her Niece. CICERO's advice upon it was, *that if* BRUTUS *was reſolved upon the thing, he ſhould do it out of hand*, as the beſt way to put an end to people's talking; by ſhewing, that it was not done out

[*l*] Publilia ad me ſcripſit, matrem ſuam cum Publilio ad me venturam, & ſe una, ſi ego paterer: orat multis & ſupplicibus verbis ut liceat, & ut ſibi reſcribam—reſcripſi, me etiam gravius eſſe affectum, quam tum, cum illi dixiſſem, me ſolum eſſe velle, quare nolle me hoc tempore eam ad me venire—te hoc nunc rogo ut explores. Ib. 32.

[*m*] This affair of PUBLILIA's divorce is frequently referred to, though with ſome obſcurity, in his Letters; and we find ATTICUS employed by him afterwards to adjuſt with the Brother PUBLILIUS, the time and manner of paying back the fortune. Vid. ad Att. 13. 34, 47: 16. 2.

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of levity or complaiſance to the times, but to take *the daughter of* Cato, whoſe name was now highly popular [*n*]: which Brutus ſoon after complied with, and made Porcia his wife.

There happened another accident this ſummer, which raiſed a great alarm in the City; *the ſurprizing death of* Marcellus, whom Cæsar had lately pardoned. He had left *Mitylene*, and was come as far as *Piræus*, on his way towards *Rome*; where he ſpent a day, with his old friend and collegue, Serv. Sulpicius, intending to purſue his voyage the day following by ſea; but in the night, after Sulpicius had taken leave of him, *on the twenty third of* May, he was killed by his friend and client, Magius, who *ſtabbed himſelf inſtantly, with the ſame poignard*: of which Sulpicius ſent the following account to Cicero.

Serv. Sulpicius to M. T. Cicero.

" Though I know that the news, which I am going " to tell you, will not be agreeable, yet ſince chance and " nature govern the lives of us all, I thought it my duty " to acquaint you with the fact, in what manner ſoever " it happened. On the twenty ſecond of *May* I came " by ſea from *Epidaurus* to *Piræus*, to meet my collegue " Marcellus, and for the ſake of his company, ſpent that " day with him there. The next day, when I took my " leave of him, with deſign to go from *Athens* into *Bœotia*, " to finiſh the remaining part of my juriſdiction, he, as " he told me, intended to ſet ſail at the ſame time to- " wards *Italy*. The day following, about four in the " morning,

[*n*] A te expecto ſi quid de Bruto: quanquam Nicias confectum putabat, ſed divortium non probari.—Ad Att. 13. 9.

Brutus ſi quid—curabis ut ſciam. Cui quidem quam primum agendum puto, præſertim ſi ſtatuit; ſermunculum enim omnem aut reſtinxerit aut ſedarit. Ib. 10.

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" morning, when I was preparing to ſet out from *Athens*, " his friend, P. POSTUMIUS, came to let me know, that " MARCELLUS was ſtabbed by his companion P. MAGIUS " CILO after ſupper, and had received two wounds, the " one in his ſtomach, the other in his head near the ear, " but he was in hopes ſtill, that he might live; that MA- " GIUS preſently killed himſelf; and that MARCELLUS ſent " him to inform me of the caſe, and to deſire, that I " would bring ſome Phyſicians to him. I got ſome toge- " ther immediately, and went away with them before " break of day: but when I was come near *Piræus*, ACI- " DINUS's boy met me with a note from his maſter, in " which it was ſignified, that MARCELLUS died a little " before day. Thus a great man was murthered by a " baſe villain; and he, whom his very enemies had ſpared " on the account of his dignity, received his death from " the hands of a friend. I went forward however to his " tent, where I found two of his freedmen, and a few of " his ſlaves; all the reſt, they ſaid, were fled, being in " a terrible fright, on the account of their maſter's mur- " ther. I was forced to carry his body with me into " the City, in the ſame litter in which I came, and by " my own ſervants: where I provided a funeral for him, " as ſplendid as the condition of *Athens* would allow. I " could not prevail with the *Athenians*, to grant a place " of burial for him within the City; they ſaid, that it " was forbidden by their religion, and had never been " indulged to any man: but they readily granted, what " was the moſt deſirable in the next place, to bury him " in any of their public Schools, that I pleaſed. I choſe " a place therefore, the nobleſt in the Univerſe, *the School* " *of the Academy*, where I burnt him; and have ſince

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" given orders, that the *Athenians* ſhould provide a " Marble Monument for him in the ſame place. Thus " I have faithfully performed to him, both when living " and dead, every duty, which our partnerſhip in office, " and my particular relation to him required. Adieu. " The thirtieth of *May* from *Athens* [o]."

M. Marcellus was the head of a family, which, for a ſucceſſion of many ages, had made the firſt figure in *Rome*; and was himſelf adorned with all the virtues, that could qualify him to ſuſtain that dignity, which he derived from his noble anceſtors. He had formed himſelf in a particular manner for the Bar, where he ſoon acquired great fame; and, of all the Orators of his time, ſeems to have approached the neareſt to Cicero *himſelf*, in the character of a complete Speaker. His manner of ſpeaking was *elegant, ſtrong, and copious; with a ſweetneſs of voice, and propriety of action, that added a grace and luſter to every thing that he ſaid. He was a conſtant admirer and imitator of* Cicero; *of the ſame principles in peace, and on the ſame ſide in war*; ſo that Cicero laments his abſence, as the loſs *of a companion and partner*, in their common ſtudies and labors of life. Of all the Magiſtrates, he was the fierceſt oppoſer of Cæsar's power, and the moſt active to reduce it: his high ſpirit, and the ancient glory of his houſe, made him impatient under the thought of receiving a maſter; and when the battel of *Pharſalia* ſeemed at laſt to have impoſed one upon them, he retired to *Mitylene*, the uſual reſort of men of learning; there to ſpend the reſt of his days in a ſtudious retreat; remote from arms, and the hurry of war; and determined neither to ſeek, nor to accept any grace from the Conqueror. Here

[o] Ep. fam. 4. 12.

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Here Brutus paid him a viſit, and found him, as he gave an account to Cicero, *as perfectly eaſy and happy under all the miſery of the times, from the conſciouſneſs of his integrity, as the condition of human life could bear*; ſurrounded with the principal Scholars and Philoſophers of *Greece*, and eager in the purſuit of knowledge: ſo that in departing from him towards *Italy*, *he ſeemed*, he ſaid, *to be going himſelf into exil, rather than leaving* Marcellus *in it* [*p*].

Magius, who killed him, was of a family which had born ſome of the public offices, and had himſelf been *Quæſtor* [*q*]; and having attached himſelf to the fortunes of Marcellus, and followed him through the wars and his exil, was now returning with him to *Italy*. Sulpicius gives no hint of any cauſe, that induced him to commit this horrid fact: which, by the immediate death of Magius, could never be clearly known. Cicero's conjecture was, *that* Magius, *oppreſſed with debts, and apprehending ſome trouble on that ſcore at his return, had been urging* Marcellus, *who was his ſponſor for ſome part of them, to furniſh him with money to pay the whole; and by receiving a denial, was provoked to the madneſs of killing his Patron.*

[*p*] Mihi, inquit, Marcellus ſatis eſt notus. Quid igitur de illo judicas?—quod habiturus es ſimilem tui—ita eſt, & vehementer placet. Nam & didicit, & omiſſis cæteris ſtudiis id egit unum, ſeſeque quotidianis commentationibus acerrime exercuit. Itaque & lectis utitur verbis & frequentibus; & ſplendore vocis, dignitate motus ſit ſpecioſum & illuſtre, quod dicitur; omniaque ſic ſuppetunt, ut ei nullam deeſſe virtutem oratoris putem. Brut. 367.

Dolebam, Patres conſcripti,—illo æmulo atque imitatore ſtudiorum meorum, quaſi quodam ſocio a me & comite diſtracto—quis enim eſt illo aut nobilitate, aut probitate, aut optimarum artium ſtudio, aut innocentia, aut ullo genere laudis præſtantior?—pro Marcel. 1.

Noſtri enim ſenſus, ut in pace ſemper, ſic tum etiam in bello congruebant. Ib. 6.

Qui hoc tempore ipſo—in hoc communi noſtro & quaſi fatali malo, conſoletur ſe cum conſcientia optimæ mentis, tum etiam uſurpatione ac renovatione doctrinæ. Vidi enim Mitylenis nuper virum, atque ut dixi, vidi plane virum. Itaque cum eum antea tui ſimilem in dicendo viderim; tum vero nunc doctiſſimo viro, tibique ut intellexi, amiciſſimo Cratippo, inſtructum omni copia, multo videbam ſimiliorem. Brut. ibid. vid. Senec. Conſolat. ad Helv. p. 79.

[*q*] Vid. Pigh. Annal. A. U. 691.

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tron [*r*]. Others aſſign a different reaſon, as *the rage of jealouſy, and the impatience of ſeeing others more favored by* Marcellus, *than himſelf* [*s*].

As ſoon as the news reached *Rome*, it raiſed a general conſternation: and from the ſuſpicious nature of the times, all people's thoughts were preſently turned on Cæsar, as if he were privately the contriver of it; and from the wretched fate of ſo illuſtrious a Citizen, every man began to think himſelf in danger: Cicero was greatly ſhocked at it, and ſeemed to conſider it, as the prelude of ſome greater evil to enſue; and Atticus ſignifying his concern upon it, adviſes him to take a more particular care of himſelf, *as being the onely conſular Senator left*, who ſtood expoſed to any envy [*t*]. But Cæsar's friends ſoon cleared him of all ſuſpicion; as indeed the fact itſelf did, when the circumſtances came to be known, and fixt the whole guilt of it on the fury of Magius.

There appeared at this time a bold Impoſtor, who began to make a great noiſe and figure in *Italy*, by aſſuming the name, and pretending to be *the Grandſon of* Caius Marius: but apprehending that Cæsar would ſoon put an end to his pretenſions, and treat him as he deſerved, he ſent a pathetic Letter to Cicero, by ſome young fellows of his company, to juſtify his claim and deſcent, and to implore his protection againſt the enemies of his family; *conjuring him, by their relation; by the poem, which he had formerly written in praiſe of* Marius; *by the eloquence of* L. Crassus, *his mother's Father, whom he had likewiſe celebrated,*

[*r*] Quanquam nihil habeo quod dubitem, niſi ipſi Magio quæ fuerit cauſa amentiæ. Pro quo quidem etiam Sponſor Sunii factus eſt. Nimirum id fuit. Solvendo enim non erat. Credo eum a Marcello petiiſſe aliquid, & illum, ut erat, conſtantius reſpondiſſe. Ad Att. 13. 10.

[*s*] Indignatus aliquem amicorum ab eo ſibi præferri. Val. Max. 9. 11.

[*t*] Minime miror te & graviter ferre de Marcello, & plura vereri periculi genera. Quis enim hoc timeret, quod neque acciderat antea, nec videbatur natura ferre, ut accidere poſſet. Omnia igitur metuenda, &c. Ad Att. 13. 10,

celebrated, that he would undertake the defence of his cauſe: CICERO anſwered him very gravely, *that he could not want a Patron, when his Kinſman* CÆSAR, *ſo excellent and generous a man, was now the Maſter of all; yet that he alſo ſhould be ready to favor him* [*u*]. But CÆSAR, at his return, knowing him to be a cheat, baniſhed him out of *Italy*; ſince inſtead of being, what he pretended to be, he was found to be onely *a Farrier*, whoſe true name was *Herophilus* [*x*].

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ARIARATHES, the Brother and preſumptive heir of ARIOBARZANES, *King of* Cappadocia, came to *Rome* this year; and as CICERO had a particular friendſhip with his family, and, when Conſul, had, by a decree of the Senate, conferred upon his Father the honor of *the Regal Title*, he thought proper to ſend a ſervant to meet him on the road, *and invite him to his houſe:* but he was already engaged by SESTIUS, whoſe office it then was, to receive foreign Princes and Embaſſadors at the public expence; which CICERO was not diſpleaſed with in the preſent ſtate of his domeſtic affairs: *he comes*, ſays he, *I gueſs, to purchaſe ſome kingdom of* CÆSAR, *for he has not at preſent a foot of land of his own* [*y*].

CICERO's whole time during his ſolitude was employed in reading and writing: this was the buſineſs both of his days

[*u*] Heri—quidam Urbani, ut videbantur, ad me mandata & litteras attulerunt, a C. Mario, C. F. C. N. multis verbis agere mecum per cognationem, quæ mihi ſecum eſſet, per eum Marium, quem ſcripſiſſem, per eloquentiam L. Craſſi avi ſui, ut ſe defenderem—reſcripſi nihil ei Patrono opus eſſe, quoniam Cæſaris, propinqui ejus, omnis poteſtas eſſet, viri optimi & hominis liberaliſſimi: me tamen ei fauturum—ad Att. 12. 49.

[*x*] Herophilus Equarius medicus, C. Marium ſepties Conſulem avum ſibi vendicando, ita ſe extulit, ut coloniæ veteranorum complures & municipia ſplendida, collegiaque fere omnia patronum adoptarent—cæterum decreto Cæſaris extra Italiam relegatus, &c. Val. Max. 9. 15.

[*y*] Ariarathes Ariobarzani filius Romam venit. Vult, opinor, regnum aliquod emere a Cæſare: nam, quo modo nunc eſt, pedem ubi ponat in ſuo non habet. Omnino eum Seſtius noſter parochus publicus occupavit: quod quidem facile patior. Verumtamen quod mihi, ſummo beneficio meo, magna cum fratribus illius neceſſitudo eſt, invito eum per litteras, ut apud me diverſetur. Ad Att. 13. 2.

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days and nights: *it is incredible*, he ſays, *how much he wrote, and how little he ſlept: and if he had not fallen into that way of ſpending his time, he ſhould not have known what to do with himſelf* [z]. His ſtudies were chiefly Philoſophical, which he had been fond of from his youth, and, after a long intermiſſion, now reſumed with great ardor; having taken a reſolution, to explane to his Countrymen in their own language, whatever the *Greeks* had taught on every part of Philoſophy whether ſpeculative or practical: "For being driven, as he tells us, from "the public adminiſtration, he knew no way ſo effectual "of doing good, as by inſtructing the minds, and reform-"ing the morals of the youth; which, in the licence of "thoſe times, wanted every help to reſtrain and correct "them. The calamity of the City, ſays he, made this "taſk neceſſary to me: ſince, in the confuſion of civil "arms, I could neither defend it after my old way; nor, "when it was impoſſible for me to be idle, could I find "any thing better, on which to employ myſelf. My "Citizens therefore will pardon, or rather thank me; that "when the government was fallen into the power of a "ſingle perſon, I neither wholly hid, nor afflicted my-"ſelf unneceſſarily; nor acted in ſuch a manner, as to "ſeem angry at the man, or the times; nor yet flattered "or admired the fortune of another ſo, as to be diſpleaſed "with my own. For I had learnt from Plato and Phi-"loſophy, that theſe turns and revolutions of ſtates are "natural; ſometimes into the hands of *a few*, ſometimes "of *the many*, ſometimes *of one*: as this was the caſe of "our own Republic, ſo when I was deprived of my former poſt

[z] Credibile non eſt, quantum ſcribam die, quin etiam noctibus. Nihil enim ſomni. Ib. 26. Niſi mihi hoc veniſſet in mentem, ſcribere iſta neſcio quæ, quo verterem me non haberem. Ib. 10.

" poſt in it, I betook myſelf to theſe ſtudies, in order to A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62.
" relieve my mind from the ſenſe of our common miſe- C. JULIUS CAESAR
" ries, and to ſerve my country at the ſame time in the Dictator III.
" beſt manner that I was able: for my books ſupplied M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS
" the place of my votes in the Senate; and of my ſpeeches Mag. Equit.
" to the people; and I took up philoſophy, as a ſubſtitute
" for my management of the ſtate [*a*].

HE now publiſhed therefore, in the way of dialogue, a book, which he called *Hortenſius*, in honor of his deceaſed friend: where in a debate of learning he did, what he had often done in conteſts of the Bar, *undertake the defence of Philoſophy againſt* Hortenſius, *to whom he aſſigned the part of arraigning it* [*b*]. It was the reading of this book, long ſince unfortunately loſt, which firſt inflamed St. *Auſtin*, as he himſelf ſomewhere declares, *to the ſtudy of the Chriſtian Philoſophy:* and if it had yielded no other fruit, yet happy it was to the world, that it once ſubſiſted, to be the inſtrument of raiſing up ſo illuſtrious a convert and champion to *the Church of Chriſt* [*c*].

HE drew up alſo about this time *in four books*, a particular account and defence *of the Philoſophy of the Academy*; the ſect, which he himſelf followed; being, as he ſays, *of all others, the moſt conſiſtent with itſelf, and the leaſt arrogant, as well as moſt elegant* [*d*]. He had before

 publiſhed

[*a*] Divin. 2. 2.—de Fin. 1. 3.

[*b*] Cohortati ſumus, ut maxime potuimus, ad philoſophiæ ſtudium eo libro, qui eſt inſcriptus, HORTENSIUS—de Div. 2. 1.

Nos autem univerſæ Philoſophiæ vituperatoribus reſpondimus in HORTENSIO. Tuſc. Diſp. 2. 2.

[*c*] It is certain, that *all the Latin Fathers* made great uſe of CICERO's *writings*; and eſpecially *Jerom*, who was not ſo gratefull as AUSTIN, in acknowledging the benefit; for, having conceived ſome ſcruples on that ſcore in his declining age, he endeavoured to diſcourage his diſciples from reading them at all; and declared, *that he had not taken either* CICERO *or* MARO, *or any heathen writer into his hands for above fifteen years:* for which his adverſary RUFFINUS rallies him very ſeverely. Vid. Hieron. Op. Tom. 4. par. 2. p. 414. it. par. 1. p. 288. Edit. Benedict.—

[*d*] Quod genus philoſophandi minime arrogans, maximeque & conſtans, & elegans arbitraremur, quatuor Academicis libris oſtendimus. De Divin. 2. 1.

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publiſhed a work on the ſame ſubject in two books; the one called Catulus, the other Lucullus: but conſidering, *that the argument was not ſuited to the characters of the ſpeakers*; who were not particularly remarkable for any ſtudy of that ſort, he was thinking to change them to Cato and Brutus: when Atticus happening to ſignify to him, that Varro *had expreſſed a deſire to be inſerted in ſome of his writings*, he preſently reformed his ſcheme, and enlarged it into *four books*, which he addreſſed to Varro; taking upon himſelf *the part of* Philo, *of defending the principles of the Academy*; and aſſigning to Varro *that of* Antiochus; of oppoſing and confuting them; and introducing Atticus, as the moderator of the diſpute. He finiſhed the whole with great accuracy; ſo as to make it a preſent worthy of Varro; *and if he was not deceived*, he ſays, *by a partiality, and ſelf-love too common in ſuch caſes, there was nothing on the ſubject equal to it, even among the* Greeks [*e*]. All theſe four books, excepting part of the firſt, are now loſt; whilſt the ſecond book of the firſt edition, which he took ſome pains to ſuppreſs, remains ſtill intire, under its original Title of Lucullus.

He publiſhed likewiſe this year one of the nobleſt of his works, and on the nobleſt ſubject in Philoſophy, his treatiſe called, *de Finibus, or of the chief good and ill of man*; written *in* Aristotle's *manner* [*f*]; in which he explaned with great elegance and perſpicuity, the ſeveral opinions of all

[*e*] Ergo illam Ἀκαδημικὴν, in qua homines, nobiles illi quidem, ſed nullo modo philologi, nimis acute loquuntur, ad Varronem transferamus—Catulo & Lucullo alibi reponemus.—Ad Att. 13. 12.

Quod ad me de Varrone ſcripſeras, totam Academiam ab hominibus nobiliſſimis abſtuli; tranſtuli ad noſtrum ſodalem, & ex duobus libris contuli in quatuor—libri quidem ita exierunt. (niſi me forte communis φιλαυτία decipit) ut in tali genere ne apud Græcos quidem quicquam ſimile. Ib. 13. vide it. ib. 16, 19.

[*f*] Quæ autem his temporibus ſcripſi Ἀριστοτέλειον morem habent—ita confeci quinque libros περὶ τελῶν—ib. 19.

all the ancient ſects on that moſt important queſtion. *It is there inquired*, he tells us, *what is the chief end, to which all the views of life ought to be referred, in order to make it happy: or what it is, which nature purſues as the ſupreme good, and ſhuns as the worſt of ills* [g]. The work conſiſts of five books: in the two firſt, *the Epicurean doctrine* is largely opened and diſcuſſed; being defended by TORQUATUS, and confuted by CICERO, in a conference ſuppoſed to be held in his *Cuman Villa*, in the preſence of TRIARIUS, a young Gentleman, who came with TORQUATUS to viſit him. The two next explane *the doctrine of the Stoics*, aſſerted by CATO, and oppoſed by CICERO, in a friendly debate, upon their meeting accidentally in LUCULLUS's *Library*. The fifth contains the opinions *of the old Academy, or the Peripatetics*, explaned by PISO, in a third dialogue, ſuppoſed to be held at *Athens*, in the preſence of CICERO, *his Brother* QUINTUS, *Couſin* LUCIUS, *and* ATTICUS. The Critics have obſerved ſome impropriety in this laſt book; in making PISO *refer to the other two dialogues*, of which he had no ſhare, and could not be preſumed to have any knowledge [h]. But if any inaccuracy of that kind be really found in this, or any other of his works, it may reaſonably be excuſed by that multiplicity of affairs, which ſcarce allowed him time to write, much leſs, to reviſe what he wrote: and in dialogues of length, compoſed by piece-meal, and in the ſhort intervals of leiſure, it cannot ſeem ſtrange, that he ſhould ſometimes forget his artificial, to reſume his proper character; and enter inadvertently into a part, which he had

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[g] Tum id, quod his libris quæritur, quid ſit finis, quid extremum, quid ultimum, quo ſint omnia bene vivendi, rectèque faciendi conſilia referenda. Quid ſequatur natura, ut ſummum ex rebus expetendis; quid fugiat ut extremum malorum. De Fin. 1. 4.

[h] Vid. Præfat. Davis in Lib. de finib.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Julius Caesar Dictator III. M. Æmilius Lepidus Mag. Equit.

aſſigned to another. He addreſſed this work to Brutus, in return for a preſent of the ſame kind, which Brutus had ſent to him a little before, *a treatiſe upon virtue* [*i*].

Not long after he had finiſhed this work, he publiſhed another of equal gravity, called his *Tuſculan Diſputations*; in five books alſo, upon as many different queſtions in Philoſophy, the moſt important and uſefull to the happineſs of human life. The firſt teaches us, *how to contemn the terrors of death, and to look upon it as a bleſſing, rather than an evil:* the ſecond, *to ſupport pain and affliction with a manly fortitude:* the third, *to appeaſe all our complaints and uneaſineſſes under the accidents of life:* the fourth, *to moderate all our other paſſions:* the fifth, *to evince the ſufficiency of virtue to make man happy.* It was his cuſtom, in the opportunities of his leiſure, to take ſome friends with him into the country; where inſtead of amuſing themſelves with idle ſports or feaſts, their diverſions were wholly ſpeculative; tending to improve the mind, and enlarge the underſtanding. In this manner he now ſpent *five days at his Tuſculan Villa*, in diſcuſſing with his friends the ſeveral queſtions juſt mentioned: for after employing the mornings in declaming and rhetorical exerciſes, they uſed to retire in the afternoon into a Gallery, called *the Academy*, which he had built for the purpoſe of Philoſophical conferences: where, after the manner of the *Greeks*, he held *a School*, as they called it, and invited the company to call for any ſubject, that they deſired to hear explaned; which being propoſed accordingly by ſome of the audience, became immediately the argument of that day's debate. Theſe five conferences or dialogues he collected afterwards into writing, *in the very words and manner*

[*i*] De Finib. 1. 3.

manner in which they really paſſed, and publiſhed them under the title of his *Tuſculan Diſputations*, from the name of the *Villa*, in which they were held [*k*].

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 62. C. JULIUS CAESAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

HE wrote alſo a little piece, in the way of *a Funeral Encomium, in praiſe of* Porcia; *the ſiſter of* CATO, *and wife of* DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, CÆSAR's mortal enemy; which ſhews how little he was ſtill diſpoſed to court the times. VARRO and LOLLIUS attempted the ſame ſubject; and CICERO *deſires* ATTICUS *to ſend him their compoſitions*: but all the three are now loſt: though CICERO took the pains to reviſe and correct his; and ſent copies of it afterwards *to* DOMITIUS *the Son, and* BRUTUS, *the Nephew of that* PORCIA [*l*].

CÆSAR continued all this while in *Spain*, purſuing *the Sons of* POMPEY, and providing for the future peace and ſettlement of the Province: whence he paid CICERO the compliment of ſending him an account of his ſucceſs with his own hand. HIRTIUS alſo gave him early intelligence *of the defeat and flight of the Two Brothers*; which was not diſagreeable to him: for though he was not much concerned about the event of the war, and expected no good from it on either ſide, yet the opinion, which he had conceived of the fierceneſs, and violence of *the young* POMPEYS, eſpecially of *the elder* of them, CNÆUS, engaged his wiſhes rather for CÆSAR. In a Letter to ATTICUS, HIRTIUS, ſays he, *wrote me word, that* SEXTUS POMPEY *had withdrawn*

[*k*] In Tuſculano, cum eſſent complures mecum Familiares—ponere jubebam, de quo quis audire vellet; ad id aut ſedens aut ambulans diſputabam. Itaque dierum quinque Scholas, ut Græci appellant, in totidem libros contuli. Tuſc. Diſp. 1. 4.

Itaque cum ante meridiem dictioni operam dediſſemus—poſt meridiem in *Academiam* deſcendimus: in qua diſputationem habitam non quaſi narrantes exponimus, ſed eiſdem fere verbis ut actum diſputatumque eſt. Ib. 2. 3. 3. 3.

[*l*] Laudationem Porciæ tibi miſi correctam: ac eo properavi; ut ſi forte aut Domitio filio aut Bruto mitteretur, hæc mitteretur. Id ſi tibi erit commodum, magnopere cures velim; & velim M. Varronis, Lolliique mittas laudationem. Ad Att. 13. 48. it. ib. 37.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Julius Cæsar Dictator III. M. Æmilius Lepidus Mag. Equit.

drawn himſelf from Corduba *into the hither* Spain; *and that* Cnæus *too was fled, I know not whither; nor in truth do I care* [*m*]: and this indeed ſeems to have been the common ſentiment of all the Republicans: as Cassius himſelf, writing to Cicero on the ſame ſubject, declares ſtill more explicitely; "May I periſh, ſays he, if I be "not ſollicitous about the event of things in *Spain*; and "would rather keep our old and clement maſter, than try "a new and cruel one. You know what a fool Cnæus "is; how he *takes cruelty for a virtue:* how he has "always thought, that we laughed at him: I am afraid, "leſt he ſhould take it into his head to repay our jokes "in his ruſtic manner with the ſword [*n*]."

Young Quintus Cicero, who made the campaign along with Cæsar, thinking to pleaſe his company, and to make his fortunes the better among them, began to play over his old game, and to abuſe his uncle again in all places. Cicero, in his account of it to Atticus, ſays, "there is "nothing new, but that Hirtius has been quarrelling in "my defence, with our Nephew Quintus, who takes "all occaſions of ſaying every thing bad of me, and "eſpecially at public feaſts; and when he has done "with me, falls next upon his Father: he is thought to "ſay nothing ſo credible, as *that we are both irreconcil-* "*able to* Cæsar; *that* Cæsar *ſhould truſt neither of* "*us*; *and even beware of me:* this would be terrible; did "I not

[*m*] Hirtius ad me ſcripſit, Sex. Pompeium Corduba exiſſe, & fugiſſe in Hiſpaniam citeriorem; Cnæum fugiſſe neſcio quo, neque enim curo. Ad Att. 12. 37.

[*n*] Peream, niſi ſollicitus ſum; ac malo veterem ac clementem dominum habere, quam novum & crudelem experiri. Scis, Cnæus quam ſit fatuus; ſcis quomodo crudelitatem virtutem putet; ſcis, quam ſe ſemper a nobis deriſum putet.

Vereor, ne nos ruſtice gladio velit ἀνλιμυητήσαι. Ep. fam. 15. 19.

" I not ſee, that our King is perſuaded, that I have no " ſpirit left [*o*]."

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ATTICUS was always endeavouring, to moderate CICERO's *impatience* under the preſent government, and perſuading him, to comply more chearfully with the times; nor to reject the friendſhip of CÆSAR, which was ſo forwardly offered to him: and upon his frequent complaints of the ſlavery and indignity of his preſent condition, he took occaſion to obſerve, what CICERO could not but own to be true, *that if to pay a particular court and obſervance to a man, was the mark of ſlavery, thoſe in power ſeemed to be ſlaves rather to him, than he to them* [*p*]. With the ſame view he was now preſſing him, among his other works, to think of ſomething to be addreſſed to CÆSAR: but CICERO had no appetite to this taſk; he ſaw how difficult it would be to perform it, without leſſening his character, and deſcending to flattery; yet being urged to it alſo by other friends, he drew up a Letter, which was communicated to HIRTIUS and BALBUS, for their judgment upon it, whether it was proper to be ſent to CÆSAR. The ſubject ſeems to have been ſome advice, about reſtoring the peace and liberty of the Republic; and to diſſuade him from *the Parthian war*, which he intended for his next expedition, till he had finiſhed the more neceſſary work of ſettling the ſtate of things at home: *there was nothing in it*, he ſays, *but what might come from the beſt of Citizens.* It was drawn however with ſo much freedom, that though ATTICUS ſeemed pleaſed with it, yet the other two

[*o*] Novi ſane nihil, niſi Hirtium cum Quinto acerrime pro me litigaſſe; omnibus eum locis facere, maximeque in conviviis; cum multa de me, tum redire ad Patrem: nihil autem ab eo tam ἀξιοπίστως dici, quam alieniſſimos nos eſſe a Cæſare; fidem nobis habendam non eſſe; me vero cavendum. φοβερὸν ἦν, niſi viderem ſcire Regem, me animi nihil habere—Ad Att. 13. 37.

[*p*] Et ſi mehercule, ut tu intelligis, magis mihi iſti ſerviunt, ſi obſervare ſervire eſt. Ad Att. 13. 49.

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two durſt not adviſe the ſending it, unleſs ſome paſſages were altered and ſoftened; which diſguſted Cicero ſo much, that he reſolved not to write at all; and when Atticus was ſtill urging him to be more complaiſant, he anſwered with great ſpirit in two or three Letters [q].

"As for the Letter to Cæsar, ſays he, I was always "very willing, that they ſhould firſt read it: for other-"wiſe I had both been wanting in civility to them; and "if I had happened to give offence, expoſed myſelf alſo "to danger. They have dealt ingenuouſly and kindly "with me, in not concealing what they thought: but "what pleaſes me the moſt is, that by requiring ſo many "alterations, they give me an excuſe for not writing at "all. As to the *Parthian* war, what had I to conſider "about it, but that which I thought would pleaſe him? "for what ſubject was there elſe for a Letter, but flat-"tery? or if I had a mind to adviſe, what I really took "to be the beſt, could I have been at a loſs for words? "there is no occaſion therefore for any Letter: for where "there is no great matter to be gained, and a ſlip, "though not great, may make us uneaſy, what reaſon "is there to run any riſk? eſpecially, when it is natural "for him to think, that as I wrote nothing to him before, "ſo I ſhould have written nothing now, had not the "war been wholly ended: beſides, I am afraid, leſt he "ſhould imagine, that I ſent this, as a ſweetner for my "Cato: in ſhort, I was heartily aſhamed of what I had "written; and nothing could fall out more luckily, than "that it did not pleaſe [r]." Again,

[q] Epiſtolam ad Cæſarem mitti video tibi placere—mihi quidem hoc idem maxime placuit, & eo magis, quod nihil eſt in ea niſi optimi civis; ſed ita optimi, ut tempora, quibus parere omnes πολίτικοὶ præcipiunt. Sed ſcis ita nobis eſſe viſum, ut iſti ante legerent. Tu igitur id curabis. Sed niſi plane intelliges iis placere, mittenda non eſt. Ad Att. 12. 51.

De Epiſtola ad Cæſarem, χέιρικα. Atque id ipſum, quod iſti aiunt illum ſcribere, ſe, niſi conſtitutis rebus, non iturum in Parthos, idem ego ſuadebam in illa epiſtola—ib. 13, 31.

[r] Ad Att. 13. 27.

A. Urb. 708 Cic. 62. C. JULIUS CAESAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

" AGAIN, " As for writing to CÆSAR, I ſwear to you, I " cannot do it: nor is it yet the ſhame of it, that deters " me, which ought to do it the moſt; for how mean " would it be to flatter, when even to live is baſe in me? " but it is not, as I was ſaying, this ſhame, which hinders " me, though I wiſh it did; for I ſhould then be, what " I ought to be; but I can think of nothing to write " upon. As to thoſe exhortations, addreſſed to ALEX- " ANDER, by the eloquent and the learned of that time, " you ſee on what points they turn: they are addreſſed " to a youth, inflamed with the thirſt of true glory, and " deſiring to be adviſed how to acquire it. On an occa- " ſion of ſuch dignity, words can never be wanting; " but what can I do on my ſubject? Yet I had ſcratched, " as it were, out of the block, ſome faint reſemblance of " an image: but becauſe there were ſome things hinted " in it, a little better, than what we ſee done every day, " it was diſliked: I am not at all ſorry for it; for had " the Letter gone, take my word for it, I ſhould have " had cauſe to repent. For do you not ſee that very " ſcholar of ARISTOTLE, a youth of the greateſt parts, " and the greateſt modeſty, after he came to be called a " King, grow proud, cruel, extravagant? Do you ima- " gine, that this man, ranked in the proceſſions of the " Gods, and inſhrined in the ſame Temple with ROMU- " LUS, will be pleaſed with the moderate ſtile of my " Letters? It is better, that he be diſguſted at my not " writing, than at what I write: in a word, let him do " what he pleaſes; for that problem, which I once pro- " poſed to you, and thought ſo difficult, *in what way* " *I ſhould manage him*, is over with me: and in truth, " I now wiſh more, to feel the effect of his reſentment,

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Julius Caesar Dictator III. M. Æmilius Lepidus Mag. Equit.

" be it what it will, than I was before afraid of it [*s*]."
" I beg of you therefore, says he, in another Letter, let
" us have no more of this; but shew ourselves at least
" *half free*, by our silence and retreat [*t*]."

From this little fact, one cannot help reflecting on *the fatal effects of arbitrary power*, upon the studies and compositions of men of genius, and on the restraint, that it necessarily lays on the free course of good sense and truth among men. It had yet scarce shewn itself in *Rome*, when we see one of the greatest men, as well as the greatest wits, which that Republic ever bred, embarassed in the choice of a subject to write upon; and for fear of offending, chusing not to write at all: and it was the same power, which, from this beginning, gradually debased the purity both of the *Roman* wit and language, from the perfection of elegance, to which Cicero had advanced them, to that state of rudeness and barbarism, which we find in the productions of the lower Empire.

This was the present state of things between Cæsar and Cicero; all the marks of kindness on Cæsar's part; of coldness and reserve on Cicero's. Cæsar was determined never to part with his power, and took the more pains, for that reason, to make Cicero easy under it: he seems indeed to have been somewhat afraid of him; not of his engaging in any attempt against his life; but lest by his insinuations, his railleries, and his authority, he should excite others to some act of violence: but what he more especially desired and wanted, was to draw from him some public testimony of his approbation; and to be recommended by his writings to the favor of posterity.

Cicero

[*s*] Ad Att. 13. 28.
[*t*] Obsecro, abjiciamus ista; & semiliberi saltem simus; quod assequemur & tacendo, & latendo—ib. 31.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Julius Cæsar Dictator III. M. Æmilius Lepidus Mag. Equit.

Cicero on the other hand, perceiving no ſtep taken towards the eſtabliſhment of the Republic, but more and more reaſon every day to deſpair of it, grew ſtill more indifferent to every thing elſe: the reſtoration of public liberty was the onely condition, on which he could entertain any friendſhip with Cæsar, or think and ſpeak of him with any reſpect: without that, no favors could oblige him; ſince to receive them from a maſter, was an affront to his former dignity, and but a ſplendid badge of ſervitude: books therefore were his onely comfort; for while he converſed with them, he found himſelf eaſy, and fancied himſelf free——thus in a Letter to Cassius, touching upon the miſery of the times, he adds, "What "is become then, you'll ſay, of Philoſophy? why, yours "is in the kitchen; but mine is troubleſome to me: for "I am aſhamed to live a ſlave; and feign myſelf there-"fore to be doing ſomething elſe, that I may not hear the "reproach of Plato [*u*]."

During Cæsar's ſtay in *Spain*, Antony ſet forward from *Italy*, to pay his compliments to him there, or to meet him at leaſt on the road in his return towards home: but when he had made about half of the journey, he met with ſome diſpatches, which obliged him to turn back in all haſt to *Rome*. This raiſed a new alarm in the city; and eſpecially among the *Pompeians*, who were afraid, that Cæsar, having now ſubdued all oppoſition, was reſolved, after the example of former Conquerors, to take his revenge in cool blood on all his adverſaries; and had ſent Antony back, as the propereſt inſtrument to execute ſome orders of that ſort. Cicero himſelf had the ſame

[*u*] Ubi igitur, inquies, Philoſophia? tua quidem in culina; mea moleſta eſt. Pudet enim ſervire. Itaque facio me alias res agere, ne convicium Platonis audiam. Ep. fam. 15. 18.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Julius Caesar Dictator III. M. Æmilius Lepidus Mag. Equit.

ſuſpicion, and was much ſurprized at Antony's *ſudden return*; till Balbus and Oppius eaſed him of his apprehenſions, by ſending him *an account of the true reaſon of it* [x]: which, contrary to expectation, gave no uneaſineſs at laſt to any body, but to Antony himſelf. Antony had bought Pompey's *Houſes in* Rome, and the neighbourhood, with all their rich furniture, *at* Cæsar's *auction*, ſoon after his return from *Egypt*; but truſting to his intereſt with Cæsar, and to the part, which he had born in advancing him to his power, never dreamt of being obliged to pay for them; but Cæsar, being diſguſted by the account of his debauches, and extravagancies in *Italy*, and reſolved to ſhew himſelf the ſole maſter, nor ſuffer any contradiction to his will, ſent peremptory orders to L. Plancus, the Prætor, to require immediate payment of Antony, or elſe to levy the money upon his ſureties, according to the tenor of their bond. This was the cauſe of his quick return, to prevent that diſgrace from falling upon him, and find ſome means of complying with Cæsar's commands: it provoked him however to ſuch a degree, that in the heigth of his reſentment, he is ſaid to have entered into a deſign *of taking away* Cæsar's *life*; of which Cæsar himſelf complained openly in the Senate [y].

The war being ended in *Spain*, by *the death of* Cnæus Pompey, *and the flight of* Sextus, Cæsar finiſhed his anſwer to Cicero's *Cato*, *in two books*, which he ſent immediately

[x] Heri cum ex aliorum litteris cognoviſſem de Antonii adventu, admiratus ſum nihil eſſe in tuis. Ad Att. 12. 18.

De Antonio Balbus quoque ad me cum Oppio conſcripſit, idque tibi placuiſſe, ne perturbarer. Illis egi gratias.—ib. 19.

[y] Appellatus es de pecunia, quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro ſectione debebas.—& ad te & ad prædes tuos milites miſit—[Phil. 2. 29.] idcirco urbem terrore nocturno, Italiam multorum dierum metu perturbaſti—ne L. Plancus prædes tuos venderet—[ib. 31.] quin his ipſis temporibus domi Cæſaris percuſſor ab iſto miſſus, deprehenſus dicebatur eſſe cum fica. De quo Cæſar in Senatu, aperte in te invehens, queſtus eſt—ib. 29.

immediately to *Rome*, in order to be publiſhed. This gave CICERO at laſt the argument of a Letter to him, to return thanks for the great civility, with which he had treated him in that piece; and to pay his compliments likewiſe in his turn, upon the elegance of the compoſition. This Letter was communicated again to BALBUS and OPPIUS, who declared themſelves extremely pleaſed with it, and forwarded it directly to CÆSAR. In CICERO's account of it to ATTICUS, "I forgot, ſays he, to ſend you a copy of "what I wrote to CÆSAR: not for the reaſon, which "you ſuſpect, that I was aſhamed to let you ſee, how "well I could flatter: for in truth, I wrote to him no "otherwiſe, than as if I was writing to an equal; for I "really have a good opinion of his two books, as I told "you, when we were together; and wrote therefore "both without flattering him; and yet ſo, that he will "read nothing, I believe, with more pleaſure [z]."

CÆSAR returned to *Rome* about *the end of* September; when deveſting himſelf of the Conſulſhip, he conferred it on Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS, *and* C. TREBONIUS, *for the three remaining months of the year* [a]. His firſt care, after his arrival, was to entertain the City with *the moſt ſplendid triumph*, which *Rome* had ever ſeen: but the people, inſtead of admiring and applauding it, as he expected, were ſullen and ſilent; conſidering it, as it really was,

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS. C. TREBONIUS.

[z] Conſcripſi de his libris epiſtolam Cæſari, quæ deferretur ad Dolabellam: ſed ejus exemplum miſi ad Balbum & Oppium, ſcripſique ad eos, ut tum deferri ad Dolabellam juberent meas litteras, ſi ipſi exemplum probaſſent, ita mihi reſcripſerunt, nihil unquam ſe legiſſe melius. Ad Att. 13. 50.

Ad Cæſarem quam miſi epiſtolam, ejus exemplum fugit me tum tibi mittere; nec id fuit quod ſuſpicaris, ut me puderet tui—nec mehercule ſcripſi aliter, ac ſi πρὸς ἴσον ὅμοιόν τε que ſcriberem. Bene enim exiſtimo de illis libris, ut tibi coram. Itaque ſcripſi & ἀκολαχεύτως, & tamen ſic, ut nihil eum exiſtimem lecturum libentius. Ib. 51.

[a] Utroque anno binos Conſules ſubſtituit ſibi in ternos noviſſimos menſes. Suet. J. Cæſ. 76.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. Q. Fabius Maximus. C. Trebonius.

was, a triumph over themſelves; purchaſed by the loſs of their liberty, and the deſtruction of the beſt and nobleſt families of the Republic. They had before given the ſame proof of their diſcontent *at the Circenſian games*; where Cæsar's *ſtatue*, by a decree of the Senate, *was carried in the proceſſion, along with thoſe of the Gods*: for they gave none of their uſual acclamations to *the favorite Deities*, as they paſſed, *leſt they ſhould be thought to give them to* Cæsar. Atticus ſent an account of it to Cicero, who ſays in anſwer to him, *Your Letter was agreeable, though the ſhew was ſo ſad---the people however behaved bravely, who would not clap even the Goddeſs victory, for the ſake of ſo bad a neighbour* [b]. Cæsar however, to make amends for the unpopularity of his triumph, and to put the people into good humor, entertained the whole City ſoon after with ſomething more ſubſtantial than ſhews; *two public dinners*, with plenty of *the moſt eſteemed and coſtly wines, of Chios and Falernum* [c].

Soon after Cæsar's triumph, *the Conſul* Fabius, one of his Lieutenants in *Spain*, was allowed to *triumph* too, for the reduction of ſome parts of that Province, which had revolted: but the magnificence of Cæsar made Fabius's triumph appear contemptible; *for his models of the conquered Towns*, which were always a part of the ſhew, being made onely *of wood*, when Cæsar's *were of Silver or Ivory*, Chrysippus merrily called them, *the caies onely of* Cæsar's *Towns* [d].

Cicero

[b] Suaves tuas litteras! etſi acerba pompa—populum vero præclarum, quod propter tam malum vicinum, ne victoriæ quidem ploditur. Ad Att. 13. 44.

[c] Quid non & Cæſar Dictator triumphi ſui cœna vini Falerni amphoras, Chii cados in convivia diſtribuit? idem in Hiſpanienſi triumpho Chium & Falernum dedit. Plin. Hiſt. 14. 15.

Adjecit poſt Hiſpanienſem victoriam duo prandia. Sueton. 38.

[d] Ut Chryſippus, cum in triumpho Cæſaris eborea oppida eſſent tranſlata, & poſt dies paucos Fabii maximi lignea, thecas eſſe oppidorum Cæſaris dixit. Quintil. 6. 3. Dio. 234.

A. Urb. 708 Cic. 62. Coſſ. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS. C. TREBONIUS.

CICERO reſided generally in the Country, and withdrew himſelf wholly from the Senate [*e*]: but on CÆSAR's approach towards *Rome*, LEPIDUS began to preſs him by repeated Letters, to come and give them his aſſiſtance; aſſuring him, *that both he and* CÆSAR *would take it very kindly of him.* He could not gueſs, for what particular ſervice they wanted him, except *the dedication of ſome Temple*, to which the preſence of *three Augurs* was neceſſary [*f*]. But whatever it was, as his friends had long been urging the ſame advice, and perſuading him to return to public affairs, he conſented at laſt, to quit his retirement and come to the City; where ſoon after CÆSAR's arrival he had an opportunity of employing his authority and eloquence, where he exerted them always with the greateſt pleaſure, in the ſervice and defence of *an old friend, King* DEIOTARUS.

THIS Prince had already been deprived by CÆSAR of part of his dominions, for his adherence to POMPEY, and was now in danger of loſing the reſt, from an accuſation preferred againſt him by his Grandſon, of a deſign pretended to have been formed by *him againſt* CÆSAR's *life*, when CÆSAR was entertained at his houſe, four years before, on his return from *Egypt*. The charge was groundleſs and ridiculous; but under his preſent diſgrace, any charge was ſufficient to ruin him; and CÆSAR's countenancing it ſo far, as to receive and hear it, ſhewed a ſtrong prejudice againſt the King; and that he wanted onely a pretence for ſtripping him of all, that remained to him. BRUTUS likewiſe intereſted himſelf very warmly in the ſame cauſe; and

[*e*] Cum his temporibus non ſane in ſenatum ventitarem—Ep. fam. 13. 77.

[*f*] Ecce tibi, orat Lepidus, ut veniam. Opinor Augures nil habere ad Templum effandum. Ad Att. 13. 42. Lepidus ad me heri—litteras miſit. Rogat magnopere ut ſim Kalend. in Senatu, me & ſibi & Cæſari vehementer gratum eſſe facturum—ib. 47.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS. C. TREBONIUS.

and when he went to meet CÆSAR, on his road from *Spain, made an Oration to him at* Nicæa, *in favor of* DEIOTARUS, with a freedom, which ſtartled CÆSAR, and gave him occaſion to reflect, on what he had not perceived ſo clearly before, the *invincible fierceneſs and vehemence of* BRUTUS's *temper* [*g*]. The preſent trial was held in CÆSAR's *houſe*; where CICERO ſo manifeſtly expoſed the malice of the accuſer, and the innocence of the accuſed, that CÆSAR, being determined not to acquit, yet aſhamed to condemn him, choſe the expedient of reſerving his ſentence to farther deliberation, till he ſhould go in perſon into the Eaſt, and inform himſelf of the whole affair upon the ſpot. CICERO ſays, *that* DEIOTARUS, *neither preſent nor abſent, could ever obtain any favor or equity from* CÆSAR: *and that, as oft as he pleaded for him, which he was always ready to do, he could never perſuade* CÆSAR, *to think any thing reaſonable, that he aſked for him* [*h*]. He ſent a copy of his oration *to the King*; and, at DOLABELLA's requeſt, gave another likewiſe to him: excuſing it, as a trifling performance, and hardly worth tranſcribing; but I *had a mind*, ſays he, *to make a ſlight preſent to my old friend and hoſt, of coarſe ſtuff indeed, yet ſuch as his preſents uſually are to me* [*i*].

SOME

[*g*] Ad Att. 14. 1. The *Jeſuits*, CATROU and ROUILLE, take *Nicæa*, where BRUTUS made this ſpeech, to be *the Capital of* Bithynia, DEIOTARUS's kingdom: but it was a City on *the Ligurian coaſt*, ſtill called *Nice*, where BRUTUS met CÆSAR on his laſt return from *Spain*, and when he was not able to prevail for DEIOTARUS, CICERO was forced to undertake the cauſe as ſoon as CÆSAR came to *Rome*. Vid. Hiſt. Tom. 17. p. 91. not.

[*h*] Quis enim cuiquam inimicitior, quam Deiotaro Cæſar?—a quo nec præſens, nec abſens Rex Deiotarus quidquam æqui boni impetravit—ille nunquam, ſemper enim abſenti affui Deiotaro, quicquam ſibi, quod nos pro illo poſtularemus, æquum dixit videri. Philip. 2. 37.

[*i*] Oratiunculam pro Deiotaro, quam requirebas—tibi miſi. Quam velim ſic legas, ut cauſam tenuem & inopem, nec ſcriptione magno opere dignam. Sed ego hoſpiti veteri & amico munuſculum mittere volui levidenſe, craſſo filo, cujuſmodi ipſius ſolent eſſe munera. Ep. fam. 9. 12.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS. C. TREBONIUS.

SOME little time after this trial, CÆSAR, to ſhew his confidence in CICERO, invited himſelf to ſpend a day with him, at his houſe in the country; and choſe *the third day of the Saturnalia* for his viſit; a ſeaſon always dedicated to mirth and feaſting amongſt friends and relations [*k*]. CICERO gives ATTICUS the following account of the entertainment, and how the day paſſed between them. "O this "gueſt, ſays he, whom I ſo much dreaded! yet I had "no reaſon to repent of him: for he was well pleaſed "with his reception. When he came the evening before, "on the eighteenth, to my neighbour PHILIP's, the houſe "was ſo crouded with ſoldiers, that there was ſcarce a "room left empty for CÆSAR to ſup in: there were about "two thouſand of them: which gave me no ſmall pain "for the next day: but BARBA CASSIUS relieved me; for "he aſſigned me a guard, and made the reſt encamp in "the field; ſo that my houſe was clear. On the nine-"teenth, he ſtaid at PHILIP's till one in the afternoon; "but ſaw no body; was ſettling accounts, I gueſs, with "BALBUS; then took a walk on the ſhore; bathed after "two; heard the verſes on MAMURRA [*l*]; at which he "never changed countenance; was rubbed, anointed,

[*k*] THIS Feſtival, after CÆSAR's reformation of the Kalendar, began on the 17*th of* December, and laſted three days. Macrob. Saturn. 1. x.

[*l*] MAMURRA was a *Roman* Knight, and *General of the Artillery to* CÆSAR *in* Gaul; where he raiſed an immenſe fortune, and is ſaid to have been the firſt man in *Rome*, who *incruſted his houſe with marble, and made all his pillars of ſolid marble*. [Plin. Hiſt. 36. 6.] He was ſeverely laſhed, together with CÆSAR himſelf, for his exceſſive luxury, and more infamous vices, by CATULLUS; whoſe verſes are ſtill extant, and the ſame probably that CICERO here refers to, as being firſt read to CÆSAR at his houſe. Vid. Catull. 27, 55.

THE Reader perhaps will not readily underſtand the time and manner of CÆSAR's *paſſing from* PHILIP's *houſe to* CICERO's in this ſhort account of it: but it muſt be remembered, that their villa's were adjoining to each other on the *Formian* coaſt, near *Cajeta*; ſo that when CÆSAR came out of PHILIP's at one, he took a walk on the ſhore for about an hour, and then entered into CICERO's; where the bath was prepared for him, and in bathing he heard CATULLUS's verſes; not produced by CICERO, for that would not have been agreeable to good manners, but by ſome of his own friends, who attended him, and who knew his deſire to ſee every thing, that was publiſhed againſt him, as well as his eaſineſs in ſlighting or forgiving it.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS. C. TREBONIUS.

" ſat down to table. Having taken a vomit juſt before,
" he eat and drank freely, and was very chearful [*m*]:
" the Supper was good and well ſerved:

" But our diſcourſe at table, as we eat,
" For taſt and ſeaſoning ſtill excell'd our meat [*n*].

" Beſides CÆSAR's table, his friends were plentifully pro-
" vided for in three other rooms; nor was there any
" thing wanting to his freedmen of lower rank, and his
" ſlaves; but the better ſort were elegantly treated. In
" a word, I acquitted myſelf like a man: yet he is not
" a gueſt, to whom one would ſay at parting, pray call
" upon me again, as you return: once is enough: we
" had not a word on buſineſs, but many on points of
" literature: in ſhort, he was delighted with his enter-
" tainment, and paſſed the day agreeably. He talked of
" ſpending one day at *Puteoli*; another at *Baiæ*: thus
" you ſee the manner of my receiving him; ſomewhat
" troubleſom indeed, but not uneaſy to me. I ſhall ſtay
" here a little longer, and then to TUSCULUM. As he
" paſſed by DOLABELLA's villa, his troops marched cloſe
" by

[*m*] The cuſtom of *taking a vomit* both immediately before and after meals, which CICERO mentions CAESAR to have done on different occaſions, [pro Deiot. 7.] was very common with the *Romans*, and uſed by them as an inſtrument both of their luxury, and of their health: *they vomit*, ſays SENECA, *that they may eat, and eat that they may vomit*. [Conſol. ad Helo. 9.] by this evacuation before eating, they were prepared to eat more plentifully; and by emptying themſelves preſently after it, prevented any hurt from repletion. Thus VITELLIUS, who was a famous glutton, *is ſaid to have preſerved his life by conſtant vomits*, while he deſtroyed all his companions, who did not uſe the ſame caution: [Sueton. 12. Dio. 65. 734.] and the practice was thought ſo effectual for ſtrengthening the conſtitution, that it was the conſtant regimen of all the *Athletæ*; or the profeſſed Wreſtlers, trained for the public ſhews, in order to make them more robuſt. So that CAESAR's vomiting before dinner was a ſort of compliment to CICERO, as it intimated a reſolution to paſs the day chearfully, and to eat and drink freely with him.

[*n*] This is a citation from LUCILIUS, of an Hexameter verſe, with part of a ſecond, which is not diſtinguiſhed from the text, in the editions of CICERO's Letters.

ſed bene cocto et
condito ſermone bono, & ſi quæris libenter.

" by his horſe's ſide, on the right and left; which was " done no where elſe. I had this from NICIAS [*o*]."

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS. C. TREBONIUS.

ON the laſt of *December*, when *the Conſul* TREBONIUS was abroad, his Collegue Q. FABIUS died ſuddenly; and his death being declared in the morning, C. CANINIUS REBILUS was named by CÆSAR to the vacancy at one in the afternoon; whoſe office was to continue onely *through the remaining part of that day.* This wanton profanation of the ſoverein dignity of the Empire raiſed a general indignation in the City; and a Conſulate ſo ridiculous gave birth to much raillery, and many jokes, which are tranſmitted to us by the ancients [*p*]; of which CICERO, who was the chief author of them, gives us the following ſpecimen, in his own account of the fact.

CICERO to CURIUS.

" I no longer either adviſe or deſire you to come home " to us, but want to fly ſome whither myſelf, where I " may hear neither the name nor the acts of theſe ſons of " *Pelops.* It is incredible, how meanly I think of my- " ſelf, for being preſent at theſe tranſactions. You had " ſurely an early foreſight of what was coming on, when " you ran away from this place: for though it be vexa- " tious to hear of ſuch things, yet that is more tolerable " than to ſee them. It is well, that you were not in the " field, when at ſeven in the morning, as they were " proceding to an election of Quæſtors, the Chair of Q. " MAXIMUS, whom they called Conſul [*q*], was ſet in

[*o*] Ad Att. 13. 52.

[*p*] Macrob. Saturn. 2. 3. Dio. p. 236.

[*q*] CICERO would not allow *a Conſul of three months*, ſo irregularly choſen, to be properly called a *Conſul:* nor did the people themſelves acknowledge him: for, as SUETONIUS tells us, [in J. Cæſ. 80.] when upon FABIUS's entrance into the Theater, his Officers, according to cuſtom, proclamed his preſence, and ordered the people *to make way for the Conſul*, the whole aſſembly cried out, *he is no Conſul.*

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS. C. TREBONIUS.

" it's place: but, his death being immediately proclamed, " it was removed; and CÆSAR, though he had taken the " auſpices for an aſſembly of the Tribes, changed it to " an aſſembly of the Centuries; and, at one in the after- " noon, declared a new Conſul, who was to govern, till " one the next morning. I would have you to know " therefore, that whilſt CANINIUS was Conſul, *no body* " *dined*; and that there was *no crime committed in his* " *Conſulſhip*, for he was ſo wonderfully *vigilant*, that " through his whole adminiſtration *he never ſo much as* " *ſlept*. Theſe things ſeem ridiculous to you, who are " abſent, but were you to ſee them, you would hardly " refrain from tears. What if I ſhould tell you the reſt? " For there are numberleſs facts of the ſame kind; which " I could never have born, if I had not taken refuge in " the port of Philoſophy, with our friend ATTICUS, the " companion and partner of my ſtudies, &c. [*r*]"

CÆSAR had ſo many creatures and dependents, who expected *the honor of the Conſulſhip* from him, as the reward of their ſervices, that it was impoſſible to oblige them all in the regular way, ſo that he was forced to contrive the expedient of ſplitting it, as it were, into parcels, and conferring it for *a few months*, *or weeks*, *or even days*, as it happened to ſuit his convenience: and as the thing itſelf was now but a name, without any real power, it was of little moment for what term it was granted; ſince the ſhorteſt gave the ſame privilege with the longeſt, and a man once declared Conſul, enjoyed ever after the rank and character of a conſular Senator [*s*].

ON

[*r*] Ep. fam. 7. 30. [*s*] Vid. Dio. p. 240.

ON the opening of the new year, CÆSAR entered into his *fifth Conſulſhip*, in partnerſhip with M. ANTONY: he had promiſed it all along to DOLABELLA, but, contrary to expectation, took it at laſt to himſelf. This was contrived by ANTONY, who, jealous of DOLABELLA, as a rival in CÆSAR's favor, had been ſuggeſting ſomewhat to his diſadvantage, and laboring to create a diffidence of him in CÆSAR; which ſeems to have been the ground of what is mentioned above, CÆSAR's *guarding himſelf ſo particularly, when he paſſed by his Villa.* DOLABELLA was ſenſibly touched with this affront, and came full of indignation to the Senate; where, not daring to vent his ſpleen on CÆSAR, he entertained the aſſembly with a ſevere ſpeech againſt ANTONY, which drew on many warm and angry words between them; till CÆSAR, to end the diſpute, promiſed to reſign the Conſulſhip to DOLABELLA, before he went to *the Parthian war:* but ANTONY *proteſted, that, by his authority as Augur, he would diſturb that election, whenever it ſhould be attempted* [*t*]; and declared, without any ſcruple, that the ground of his quarrel with DOLABELLA was, *for having caught him in an attempt, to debauch his wife* ANTONIA, the daughter of his Uncle; though that was thought to be a calumny, contrived to color his divorce with her, and his late marriage with FULVIA, the widow of CLODIUS [*u*].

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR V. M. ANTONIUS.

CÆSAR was now in the heigth of all his glory, and *dreſſed, as* FLORUS ſays, *in all his trappings, like a victim deſtined*

[*t*] Cum Cæſar oſtendiſſet, ſe, priuſquam proficiſceretur, Dolabellam Conſulem eſſe juſſurum—hic bonus Augur eo ſe ſacerdotio præditum eſſe dixit, ut comitia auſpiciis vel impedire vel vitiare poſſet, idque ſe facturum aſſeveravit. Phil. 2. 32.

[*u*] Frequentiſſimo ſenatu—hanc tibi eſſe cum Dolabella cauſam odii dicere auſus es, quod ab eo ſorori & uxori tuæ ſtuprum oblatum eſſe comperiſſes. Phil. 2. 38.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR V. M. ANTONIUS.

deſtined to ſacrifice [x]. He had received from the Senate the moſt extravagant honors, both human and divine, which flattery could invent; *a Temple, Altar, Prieſt; his Image carried in proceſſion with the Gods; his Statue among the Kings; one of the months called after his name, and a perpetual Dictatorſhip* [y]. CICERO endeavoured to reſtrain the exceſs of this complaiſance, within *the bounds of reaſon* [z]; but in vain; ſince CÆSAR was more forward to receive, than they to give; and out of the gaiety of his pride, and to try, as it were, to what length their adulation would reach; when he was actually poſſeſſed of every thing, which carried with it any real power, was not content ſtill without a title, which could add nothing but envy, and popular odium; and wanted *to be called a King*. PLUTARCH thinks it a ſtrange inſtance of folly in the people, to endure with patience all the real effects *of Kingly Government*, yet declare ſuch an abhorrence *to the name*. But the folly was not ſo ſtrange in the people, as it was in CÆSAR: it is natural to the multitude to be governed by names, rather than things; and the conſtant art of parties to keep up that prejudice; but it was unpardonable in ſo great a man, as CÆSAR, to lay ſo much ſtreſs on a title, which, ſo far from being an honor to him, ſeemed to be a diminution rather of that ſuperior dignity, which he already enjoyed.

AMONG the other compliments, that were paid to him, there was *a new fraternity of Luperci* inſtituted to his honor, and called by his name; of which ANTONY was the head. Young QUINTUS CICERO was one of this ſociety, with the conſent of his Father, though to the diſſatisfaction

[x] Quæ omnia, velut infulæ, in deſtinatam morti victimam congerebantur. l. 4. 2. 92.

[y] Flor. ibid. Sueton. J. Cæſ. 76.

[z] Plutarch. in Cæſ.

tion of his Uncle; who conſidered it, not onely as a low piece of flattery, but an indecency for a young man of family, to be ingaged in ceremonies ſo immodeſt, of running *naked and frantic about the Streets* [*a*]. The Feſtival was held about the *middle of* February; and CÆSAR, *in his triumphal robe, ſeated himſelf in the Roſtra*, in a *golden Chair*, to ſee the diverſion of the running; where, in the midſt of their ſport, the Conſul ANTONY, at the head of his naked crew, *made him the offer of a Regal Diadem, and attempted to put it upon his head*; at the ſight of which *a general groan iſſued from the whole Forum*; till upon CÆSAR's ſlight refuſal of it, the people loudly teſtified their joy, *by an univerſal ſhout*. ANTONY however ordered it to be entered in the public acts, *that by the command of the people, he had offered the Kingly name and power to* CÆSAR, *and that* CÆSAR *would not accept it* [*b*].

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WHILE this affair of *the Kingly Title* amuſed and alarmed the city, two of the Tribuns, MARULLUS and CAESETIUS, were particularly active in diſcouraging every ſtep and attempt towards it: they *took off the Diadem*, which certain perſons had privately put upon CAESAR's *Statue in the Roſtra*, and committed thoſe to priſon, who were ſuſpected to have done it; and publicly puniſhed others, for daring *to ſalute him in the ſtreets by the name of King*; declaring, *that* CAESAR *himſelf refuſed and abhorred that title*. This provoked CAESAR beyond his uſual temper, and command of

[*a*] Quintus Pater quartum vel potius milleſimum nihil ſapit, qui lætetur Luperco filio & Statio, ut cernat duplici dedecore cumulatam domum. Ad Att. 12. 5.

[*b*] Sedebat in Roſtris collega tuus, amictus toga purpurea, in ſella aurea, coronatus: adſcendis, accedis ad ſellam—diadema oſtendis: gemitus toto foro—tu diadema imponebas cum plangore populi, ille cum plauſu rejiciebat—at enim adſcribi juſſit in Faſtis ad Lupercalia, C. Cæſari, Dictatori perpetuo M. Antonium Conſulem populi juſſu regnum detuliſſe, Cæſarem uti noluiſſe. [Phil. 2. 34.] quod ab eo ita repulſum erat, ut non offenſus videretur. Vell. P. 2. 56.

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of himſelf; ſo that he accuſed them to the ſenate, *of a deſign to raiſe a ſedition againſt him, by perſuading the City, that he really affected to be a King*; but when the aſſembly was going to paſs the ſevereſt ſentence upon them, he was content *with depoſing them from their Magiſtracy, and expelling them from the Senate* [c]: which convinced people ſtill the more, of his real fondneſs for a name, that he pretended to deſpiſe.

He had now prepared all things for his expedition againſt *the Parthians*; had ſent his legions before him into *Macedonia*; ſettled the ſucceſſion of all the Magiſtrates *for two years to come* [d]; appointed Dolabella to take his own place, as Conſul of the current year; named A. Hirtius and C. Pansa, for Conſuls of the next; and D. Brutus, and Cn. Plancus, for the following year: but before his departure, he reſolved to have *the Regal Title* conferred upon him by the Senate, who were too ſenſible of his power, and obſequious to his will, to deny him any thing: and to make it the more palatable at the ſame time to the people, he cauſed a report to be induſtriouſly propagated through the city, *of ancient prophecies found in the Sibylline books, that the* Parthians *could not be conquered, but by a King*; on the ſtrength of which, Cotta, *one of the Guardians of thoſe books, was to move the Senate, at their next meeting, to decree the title of King to him* [e]. Cicero ſpeaking afterwards of this deſign, ſays, *it was expected, that ſome forged teſtimonies would be produced, to ſhew, that he, whom we had felt in reality to be a King, ſhould be called alſo by that name, if we would be ſafe:*

[c] Sueton. J. Cæſ. 79. Dio. p. 245. App. l. 2. p. 496. Vell. P. 2. 68.

[d] Etiamne Conſules & Tribunos plebis in biennium, quos ille voluit? Ad Att. 14. 6.

[e] Proximo autem Senatu, L. Cottam Quindecimvirum ſententiam dicturum; ut quoniam libris fatalibus contineretur, Parthos non niſi a Rege poſſe vinci, Cæſar Rex appellaretur. Sueton. c. 79, Dio. p. 247.

ſafe: but let us make a bargain with the keepers of thoſe Oracles, that they bring any thing out of them, rather than a King; which neither the Gods nor men will ever endure again at Rome [*f*].

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ONE would naturally have expected, after all the fatigues and dangers, through which CAESAR had made his way to Empire, that he would have choſen, to ſpend the remainder of a declining life in the quiet enjoyment of all the honors and pleaſures, which abſolute power, and a command of the world could beſtow: but in the midſt of all this glory, he was a ſtranger ſtill to eaſe: he ſaw the people generally diſaffected to him, and impatient under his government; and though amuſed a while with the ſplendor of his ſhews and triumphs, yet regretting ſeverely in cool blood the price, that they had paid for them; the loſs of their liberty, with the lives of the beſt and nobleſt of their fellow Citizens. This expedition therefore againſt *the Parthians* ſeems to have been a political pretext for removing himſelf from the murmurs of the City; and leaving to his Miniſters the exerciſe of an invidious power, and the taſk of taming the ſpirits of the populace; whilſt he, by employing himſelf in gathering freſh laurels in the Eaſt, and extending the bounds, and retrieving the honor of the Empire, againſt it's moſt dreaded enemy, might gradually reconcile them to a reign, that was gentle and clement at home, ſucceſsfull and glorious abroad.

BUT his impatience to be *a King* defeated all his projects, and accelerated his fate; and puſhed on the nobles, who had conſpired againſt his life, to the immediate execution

[*f*] Quorum Interpres nuper falſa quædam hominum fama dicturus in Senatu putabatur, eum, quem re vera regem habebamus, appellandum quoque eſſe Regem, ſi ſalvi eſſe vellemus—cum Antiſtitibus agamus, ut quidvis potius ex illis libris, quam regem proferant, quem Romæ poſthac nec Dii nec homines eſſe patientur. De Divin. 2. 54.

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of their plot; that they might ſave themſelves the ſhame of being forced to concur in an act, which they heartily deteſted [g]: and the *Two* Brutus's in particular, the honor of whoſe houſe was founded in the extirpation of *Kingly Government*, could not but conſider it as a perſonal infamy, and a diſgrace to their very name to ſuffer the reſtoration of it.

There were *above ſixty perſons* ſaid to be engaged in *this conſpiracy* [h]; the greateſt part of them of the Senatorian rank; but M. Brutus and C. Cassius were the chief in credit and authority; the firſt contrivers and movers of the whole deſign.

M. Junius Brutus was about one and forty years old; of the moſt illuſtrious family of the Republic; deriving his name and deſcent in a direct line from that firſt Conſul, L. Brutus, who expelled Tarquin, and gave freedom to the *Roman* people [i]. Having loſt his Father when very young, he was trained with great care by his uncle Cato, in all the ſtudies of polite letters, eſpecially of eloquence and Philoſophy, and under the diſcipline of ſuch a Tutor, imbibed

[g] Quæ cauſa conjuratis fuit maturandi deſtinata negotia, ne aſſentiri neceſſe eſſet. Suet. J. Cæſ. 80. Dio. p. 247.

[h] Conſpiratum eſt in eum a Sexaginta amplius, C. Caſſio, Marcoque & Decimo Bruto principibus conſpirationis. Suet. 80.

[i] Some of the ancient writers call in queſtion this account of Brutus's deſcent; particularly Dionysius of *Halicarnaſſus*, the moſt judicious and critical of them, who alledges ſeveral arguments againſt it, which ſeem to be very plauſible. Yet while Brutus lived, it was univerſally allowed to him. Cicero mentions it in his public ſpeeches, and other writings, as a fact, that no body doubted; and often ſpeaks of the *Image of old* Brutus, which Marcus kept in his houſe among thoſe of his Anceſtors: and Atticus, who was peculiarly curious in the antiquities of the *Roman* families, drew up Brutus's *genealogy* for him; and deduced his ſucceſſion from that old Hero, in a direct line through all the intermediate ages from father to ſon. Corn. Nep. vit. Att. 18. Tuſc. Diſp. 4. 1.

He was born in the Conſulſhip of L. Cornelius Cinna III. and Cn. Papirius Carbo A.U. 668. which fully confutes the vulgar ſtory of his being commonly believed to be Caesar's *ſon*; ſince he was but fifteen years younger than Caesar himſelf: whoſe familiarity with his mother Servilia, cannot be ſuppoſed to have commenced, till many years after Brutus was born; or not till Caesar had loſt his firſt wife Cornelia, whom he married when he was very young, and always tenderly loved; and whoſe *funeral oration* he made when he was *Quæſtor*, and conſequently *thirty years old*. Vid. Sueton. J. Cæſ. c. 1, 6, 50. it. Brut. p. 343. 447. & Corradi notas.

imbibed a warm love for liberty and virtue. He had excellent parts, and equal induſtry, and acquired an early fame at the bar; where he pleaded ſeveral cauſes of great importance, and was eſteemed the moſt eloquent and learned of all the young nobles of his age. His manner of ſpeaking was correct, elegant, judicious, yet wanting that force and copiouſneſs, which is required in a conſummate Orator. But Philoſophy was his favorite ſtudy; in which, though he profeſſed himſelf of the more moderate ſect of *the old Academy*, yet from a certain pride and gravity of temper, he affected the ſeverity of *the Stoic*; and to imitate his uncle CATO; to which he was wholly unequal: for he was of a mild, mercifull, and compaſſionate diſpoſition; averſe to every thing cruel; and was often forced by the tenderneſs of his nature to confute the rigor of his principles. While his mother lived in the greateſt familiarity with CÆSAR, he was conſtantly attached to the oppoſite party, and firm to the intereſts of liberty: for the ſake of which he followed POMPEY, whom he hated, and acted on that ſide, with a diſtinguiſhed zeal. At the battel of *Pharſalia*, CÆSAR gave particular orders to find out and preſerve BRUTUS; being deſirous to draw him from the purſuit of a cauſe, that was likely to prove fatal to him: ſo that when CATO, with the reſt of the Chiefs, went to renew the war in *Afric*, he was induced by CÆSAR's generoſity and his mother's prayers, to lay down his arms, and return to *Italy*. CÆSAR endeavoured to oblige him by all the honors, which his power could beſtow: but the indignity of receiving from a Maſter, what he ought to have received from a free people, ſhocked him much more than any honors could oblige; and the ruin, in which he ſaw his friends involved by CÆSAR's uſurped

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dominion, gave him a diſguſt, which no favors could compenſate. He obſerved therefore a diſtance and reſerve through CÆSAR's reign; aſpired to no ſhare of his confidence, or part in his counſils, and by the uncourtly vehemence, with which he defended the rights of *King* DEIOTARUS, convinced CÆSAR, that he could never be obliged, where he did not find himſelf free. He cultivated all the while the ſtricteſt friendſhip with CICERO, whoſe principles, he knew, were utterly averſe to the meaſures of the times; and in whoſe free converſation, he uſed to mingle his own complaints on the unhappy ſtate of the Republic, and the wretched hands, into which it was fallen: till animated by theſe conferences, and confirmed by the general diſcontent of all the honeſt, he formed the bold deſign of freeing his Country by the deſtruction of CAESAR. He had publicly defended MILO's act of *killing* CLODIUS, by a maxim, which he maintained to be univerſally true, *that thoſe, who live in defiance of the laws, and cannot be brought to a trial, ought to be taken off without a trial.* The caſe was applicable to CAESAR in a much higher degree than to CLODIUS; whoſe power had placed him above the reach of the law, and left no way of puniſhing him, but by an *aſſaſſination.* This therefore was BRUTUS's motive; and ANTONY did him the juſtice to ſay, that he *was the onely one of the conſpiracy, who entered into it out of principle; that the reſt, from private malice, roſe up againſt the man, he alone againſt the Tyrant* [*k*].

C. CASSIUS

[*k*] Natura admirabilis, & exquiſita doctrina, & ſingularis induſtria. Cum enim in maximis cauſis verſatus eſſes—[Brut. 26.] quo magis tuum, Brute, judicium probo, qui eorum, id eſt, *ex vetere academia*, philoſophorum ſectam ſecutus es, quorum in doctrina & præceptis diſſerendi ratio conjungitur cum ſuavitate dicendi & copia. [Brut. 219.] Nam cum inambularem in Xyſto—M. ad me Brutus, ut conſueverat, cum T. Pomponio venerat—[Brut. 15.] tum Brutus—itaque doleo & illius conſilio & tua voce populum Rom. carere tamdiu. Quod cum per ſe dolendum eſt, tum multo magis conſideranti, ad quos iſta non tranſlata ſint, ſed neſcio quo pacto devenerint. [Brut. 269.]

C. CASSIUS was deſcended likewiſe from a family, not leſs honorable or ancient, nor leſs zealous for the public liberty, than BRUTUS's: whoſe Anceſtor, SP. CASSIUS, after a triumph and three conſulſhips, is ſaid to have been condemned, and put to death by his own Father, for aiming at a dominion. He ſhewed a remarkable inſtance, when a boy, of his high ſpirit and love of liberty; for *he gave* SYLLA's *Son*, FAUSTUS, *a box on the ear, for bragging among his ſchool-fellows, of his Father's greatneſs and abſolute power*; and when POMPEY called the boys before him, to give an account of their quarrel, he declared in his preſence, *that if* FAUSTUS *ſhould dare to repeat the words, he would repeat the blow.* He was Quæſtor to CRASSUS, in the *Parthian* war, where he greatly ſignalized both his courage and ſkill; and if CRASSUS had followed his advice, would have preſerved the whole army; but after their miſerable defeat, he made good his retreat into *Syria* with the remains of the broken Legions: and when the *Parthians*, fluſhed with ſucceſs, purſued him thither ſoon after, and blocked him up in *Antioch*, he preſerved that City and Province from falling into their hands; and, watching his opportunity, gained a conſiderable victory over them, with the deſtruction of their General. In the civil war, after the battel of *Pharſalia*, he ſailed with *ſeventy Ships* to the coaſt of *Aſia*, to raiſe freſh forces in that country, and renew the war againſt CÆSAR; but, as the Hiſtorians tell us, happening to meet with CAESAR croſſing *the Helleſpont*, in a common paſſage boat, inſtead of deſtroying him, as he might have done, he was ſo terrified by the ſight of the Conqueror, that he begged his life

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Ἀλλ' Ἀβληνίᾳ γε καὶ πολλοὺς ἀκοῦσαι λέγουσιν, ὡς μόνον οἷόν τε βρέτον ἐπιθέσθαι Καίσαρι, προσαχθὲν τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῷ φαινομένῳ καλῷ τῆς πράξεως—vid. Plut. in Brut. p. 997. it. App. p. 498.

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life in an abject manner, and delivered up his fleet to him. But Cicero gives us a hint of a quite different ſtory, which is much more probable, and worthy of Cassius; that having got intelligence where Caesar deſigned to land, he lay in wait for him, in *a Bay of* Cilicia, at the mouth of the river *Cydnus*, with a reſolution to deſtroy him; *but* Caesar *happened to land on the oppoſite ſhoar before he was aware*, ſo that ſeeing his project blaſted, and Caesar ſecured in a country, where all people were declaring for him, he thought it beſt to make his own peace too, by going over to him with his fleet. He married Tertia, the Siſter of Brutus; and though differing in temper and philoſophy, was ſtrictly united with him in friendſhip and politics; and the conſtant partner of all his counſils. He was brave, witty, learned; yet paſſionate, fierce and cruel; ſo that Brutus *was the more amiable friend, he the more dangerous enemy*: in his later years he deſerted the *Stoics*, and became a convert to Epicurus; whoſe doctrine he thought more natural and reaſonable; conſtantly maintaining, *that the pleaſure, which their maſter recommended, was to be found onely in the habitual practice of juſtice and virtue*: while he profeſſed himſelf therefore an *Epicurean*, he lived like a *Stoic*; was moderate in pleaſures, temperate in diet, and a water-drinker through life. He attached himſelf very early to the obſervance of Cicero; as all the young Nobles did, who had any thing great or laudable in view: this friendſhip was confirmed by a conformity of their ſentiments in the civil war, and in Caesar's reign; during which, ſeveral Letters paſſed between them, written with a freedom and familiarity, which is to be found onely in the moſt intimate correſpondence. In theſe Letters, though Cicero rallies his *Epicuriſm*,

Epicuriſm, and change of principles, yet he allows him to have acted always with the greateſt honor and integrity; and pleaſantly ſays, *that he ſhould begin to think that ſect to have more nerves, than he imagined, ſince* CASSIUS *had embraced it.* The old writers aſſign ſeveral frivolous reaſons of diſguſt, as the motives of his killing CAESAR: *that* CAESAR *took a number of Lions from him, which he had provided for a public ſhew; that he would not give him the Conſulſhip; that he gave* BRUTUS *the more honorable Prætorſhip in preference to him.* But we need not look farther for the true motive, than to his temper and principles: for his nature was ſingularly impetuous and violent; impatient of contradiction, and much more of ſubjection; and paſſionately fond of glory, virtue, liberty: it was from theſe qualities, that CAESAR apprehended his danger; and when admoniſhed to beware of ANTONY and DOLABELLA, uſed to ſay, that *it was not the gay, the curled, and the jovial, whom he had cauſe to fear, but the thoughtfull, the pale and the lean; meaning* BRUTUS and CASSIUS [*l*].

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THE

[*l*] C. Caſſius in ea familia natus, quæ non modo dominatum, ſed ne potentiam quidem cujuſquam ferre potuit. [Phil. 2. 11.] Quem ubi primum magiſtratu abiit, damnatumque conſtat. Sunt qui patrem actorem ejus ſupplicii ferant. Eum cognita domi cauſa verberaſſe ac necaſſe, peculiumque filii Cereri conſecraviſſe. [Liv. 2. 41.] Cujus filium, Fauſtum, C. Caſſius condiſcipulum ſuum in ſchola, proſcriptionem paternam laudantem—colapho percuſſit. [Val. Max. 3. 1. vid. Plutar. in Brut.] Reliquias legionum C. Caſſius—Quæſtor conſervavit, Syriamque adeo in populi Romani poteſtate retinuit, ut tranſgreſſos in eum Parthos, felici rerum eventu fugaret ac funderet. [Vell. Pat. 2. 46. it. Phil. xi. 14.] οὐδὲ ἕργον ἕτερον ἡγοῦμαι τύχης ἐν ἀπόρῳ καιρῷ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον, ἢ Κάσσιόν τὸν πολεμικώτατον ἐπὶ τριηρῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἀπαρασκεύῳ Καίσαρι συντυχόντα, μηδ' ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ὑποσῆναι, δὲ οὕτως ἑαυτὸν αἰσχρῶς ὑπὸ φόβου μόνου παραπλέοντι παραδὺς, ὕστερον ἐν Ρώμῃ δυναστεύοντα ἤδη κατέλαβεν. [App. 2. 483. it. Dio. l. 42. 188. Sueton. J. Cæſ. 63.] C. Caſſius—ſine his clariſſimis viris hanc rem in Cilicia ad oſtium fluminis Cydni confeciſſet, ſi ille ad eam ripam, quam conſtituerat, non ad contrariam naves appuliſſet. [Phil. 2. 11.] e quibus Brutum amicum habere malles, inimicum magis timeres Caſſium. [Vell. P. 2. 72.] ἡδονὴν vero & ἀταραξίαν virtute, juſtitia, τῷ καλῷ parari, & verum & probabile eſt. Ipſe enim Epicurus—dicit. οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδέως ἄνευ τοῦ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως, ζῆν. [Ep. fam. 15. 19.] Caſſius tota vita aquam bibit. [Senec. 547.] Quanquam quicum loquor? cum uno fortiſſimo viro; qui poſtea quam forum attigiſti, nihil feciſti niſi pleniſſimum ampliſſimæ dignitatis. In iſta ipſa αἱρέσει metuo ne plus nervorum ſit, quam ego putarim, ſi modo eam tu probas. [Ep. fam. 15. 16.] Differendo conſulatum Caſſium offenderat. [Vell. P. 2. 56. it. Plut. in Brut. App. 408.]

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THE next in authority to BRUTUS and CASSIUS, though very different from them in character, were DECIMUS BRUTUS, and C. TREBONIUS: they had both been conſtantly devoted to CAESAR; and were ſingularly favored, advanced, and entruſted by him in all his wars; ſo that when CAESAR marched firſt into *Spain*, he left them to command *the ſiege of* Marſeilles, BRUTUS *by ſea*, TREBONIUS *by land*; in which they acquitted themſelves with the greateſt courage and ability, and reduced that ſtrong place to the neceſſity of ſurrendering at diſcretion. DECIMUS was of the ſame family with his nameſake, MARCUS; and CAESAR, as if jealous of a name, that inſpired an averſion to Kings, was particularly ſollicitous to gain them both to his intereſt; and ſeemed to have ſucceeded to his wiſh in DECIMUS; who forwardly embraced his friendſhip, and accepted all his favors; being named by him *to the command of* Ciſalpine Gaul, *and to the Conſulſhip of the following year, and the ſecond heir even of his eſtate, in failure of the firſt.* He ſeems to have had no peculiar character of virtue, or patriotiſm, nor any correſpondence with CICERO, before the act of killing CAESAR; ſo that people, inſtead of expecting it from him, were ſurprized at his doing it; yet he was brave, generous, magnificent, and lived with great ſplendor, in the enjoyment of an immenſe fortune; for he kept *a numerous band of Gladiators*, at his own expence, for the diverſion of the City; and after CAESAR's death, ſpent *about four hundred thouſand pounds* of his own money, in maintaining an army againſt ANTONY [*m*].

TREBONIUS

[*m*] Adjectis etiam conſiliariis cœdis, familiariſſimis omnium, & fortuna partium ejus in ſummum evectis faſtigium, D. Bruto & C. Trebonio, aliiſque clari nominis viris. [Vell. P. 2. 56.] Pluresque percurſorum in tutoribus filii nominavit: Decimum Brutum etiam in ſecundis heredibus. [Sueton. J. Cæſ. 83.] Vid. Cæſ. Comm. de Bell. civil. l. 2. Plut. in Brut. App. p. 497, 518. Dio. l. 44. 247. &c. D. Brutus—cum Cæſaris primus omnium amicorum fuiſſet, interfector fuit. Vell. P. 2. 64.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR V. M. ANTONIUS.

TREBONIUS had no family to boaſt of, but was wholly a new man, and the creature of CAESAR's power, who produced him through all the honors of the State, to his late conſulſhip of three months: ANTONY calls him *the Son of a Buffoon*; but CICERO, *of a ſplendid Knight*: he was a man of parts, prudence, integrity, humanity; was converſant alſo in the politer arts, and had a peculiar turn to wit and humor: for, after CAESAR's death, he publiſhed *a volume of* CICERO's *ſayings*, which he had taken the pains to collect; upon which CICERO compliments him, for having explaned them with great elegance, and given them a freſh force and beauty, by his humorous manner of introducing them. As the Hiſtorians have not ſuggeſted any reaſon, that ſhould move either him or DECIMUS to the reſolution of killing a man, to whom they were infinitely obliged; ſo we may reaſonably impute it, as CICERO does, to a greatneſs of ſoul, and ſuperior love of their country, which made them *prefer the liberty of* Rome *to the friendſhip of any man*; *and chuſe rather to be the deſtroyers, than the partners of a Tyranny* [*n*].

THE reſt of the conſpirators were partly *young men*, of noble blood, eager to revenge the ruin of their fortunes and families; partly *men obſcure, and unknown to the public* [*o*]; yet whoſe fidelity and courage had been approved by BRUTUS and CASSIUS. It was agreed by them all in council, to execute their deſign in the Senate, which was ſum-

[*n*] Scurræ filium appellat Antonius. Quaſi vero ignotus nobis fuerit ſplendidus Eques Romanus Trebonii pater. [Phil. 13. 10.] Trebonii—conſilium, ingenium, humanitatem, innocentiam, magnitudinem animi in patria liberanda quis ignorat? [Phil. xi. 4.] liber iſte, quem mihi miſiſti, quantam habet declarationem amoris tui? primum, quod tibi facetum videtur quicquid ego dixi, quod aliis fortaſſe non item: deinde, quod illa, ſive facета ſunt, ſive ſic fiunt narrante te venuſtiſſima. Quin etiam antequam ad me veniatur, riſus omnis pæne conſumitur, &c. [Ep. fam. 15. 21. it. 12. 16.] Qui libertatem populi Romani unius amicitiæ præpoſuit, depulſorque dominatus, quam particeps eſſe maluit. Phil. 2. 11.

[*o*] In tot hominibus, partim obſcuris, partim adoleſcentibus, &c. Phil. 2. 11.

A. Urb. 709: Cic. 63. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR V. M. ANTONIUS.

moned to meet *on the Ides*, or fifteenth of *March*: they knew, that the Senate would applaud it when done, and even aſſiſt, if there was occaſion, in the doing it [*p*]; and there was a circumſtance, which peculiarly encouraged them, and ſeemed to be even ominous; that it happened to be POMPEY's *Senate-Houſe*, in which their attempt was to be made; and where CÆSAR would conſequently fall *at the foot of* POMPEY's *Statue*, as a juſt ſacrifice to the *manes* of that great man [*q*]. They took it alſo for granted, that the City would be generally on their ſide, yet for their greater ſecurity, D. BRUTUS *gave orders, to arm his Gladiators that morning, as if for ſome public ſhew*, that they might be ready, on the firſt notice, to ſecure the avenues of the Senate, and defend them from any ſudden violence; and POMPEY's *Theater*, which adjoined *to his Senate-houſe*, being the propereſt place for the exerciſe of the Gladiators, would cover all ſuſpicion, that might otherwiſe ariſe from them. The onely deliberation that perplexed them, and on which they were much divided, was, whether they ſhould not kill ANTONY *alſo*, and LEPIDUS, *together with* CÆSAR; eſpecially ANTONY; the more ambitious of the two, and the more likely to create freſh danger to the Commonwealth. CASSIUS, with a majority of the company, was warmly for killing him: but the *two* BRUTUS's as warmly oppoſed, and finally over-ruled it: they alledged, "that to ſhed more blood, "than was neceſſary, would diſgrace their cauſe, and "draw upon them an imputation of cruelty; and of act-"ing not as Patriots, but as the Partiſans of POMPEY; not "ſo

[*p*] ὡς τῶν βελευτῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ προμάθοιεν, προθύμως, ὅτε ἴδοιεν τὸ ἔργον, συνεπιλημψομένων. App. 499.

[*q*] Poſtquam Senatus idibus Martiis in Pompeii curiam edictus eſt, facile tempus & locum prætulerunt. [Sueton. 80.]

"ſo much to free the City, as to revenge themſelves on "their enemies, and get the dominion of it into their "hands." But what weighed with them the moſt, was a vain perſuaſion, that ANTONY would be tractable, and eaſily reconciled, as ſoon as the affair was over: but this lenity proved their ruin; and by leaving their work imperfect, defeated all the benefit of it; as we find CICERO afterwards often reproaching them in his Letters [*r*].

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MANY prodigies are mentioned by the Hiſtorians to have given warning of CÆSAR's death [*s*]: which having been forged by ſome, and credulouſly received by others, were copied, as uſual, by all, to ſtrike the imagination of their readers, and raiſe an awful attention to an event, in which the Gods were ſuppoſed to be intereſted. CICERO has related one of the moſt remarkable of them; "that "as CÆSAR was ſacrificing a little before his death, with "great pomp and ſplendor, in *his triumphal robes, and* "*golden chair*, the victim, which was a fat Ox, was "found to be *without a heart*: and when CÆSAR ſeemed "to be ſhocked at it, SPURINNA, the Haruſpex, admo-"niſhed him to beware, leſt through a failure of *counſil*, "his *life* ſhould be cut off, ſince the heart was the ſeat "and ſource of them both. The next day he ſacrificed "again, in hopes to find the entrails more propitious; but "the liver of the bullock appeared to *want its head*, which "was reckoned alſo among the direfull omens [*t*]."

[*r*] Plutar. in Cæſ. App. 2. 499, 502. Dio. 247, 248. Quam vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me Idibus Martiis invitaſſes. Reliquiarum nihil haberemus. Ep. fam. x. 28. 12. 4. ad Brut. 2. 7.

[*s*] Sed Cæſari futura cædes evidentibus prodigiis denunciata eſt, &c. Sueton. 81. Plut. in vit.

[*t*] De Divin. 1. 52. 2. 16. Theſe caſes of victims found ſometimes *without a heart or liver*, gave riſe to a curious queſtion among thoſe who believed the reality of this kind of *divination*, as the *Stoics* generally did, how to account for the cauſe of ſo ſtrange a phænomenon. The common ſolution was, that the Gods made ſuch changes inſtantaneouſly, in the

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CAESAR V. M. ANTONIUS.

Theſe facts, though ridiculed by CICERO, were publicly affirmed and believed at the time; and ſeem to have raiſed a general rumor through the City, of ſome ſecret danger that threatened CÆSAR's life; ſo that his friends, being alarmed at it, were endeavouring to inſtill the ſame apprehenſion into CAESAR himſelf; and had ſucceded ſo far, as to ſhake his reſolution of going that day to the Senate, when it was actually aſſembled by his ſummons in POMPEY's Senate-houſe; till D. BRUTUS, by rallying thoſe fears, as unmanly and unworthy of him, and alledging, that his abſence would be interpreted as an affront to the aſſembly, drew him out againſt his will, to meet his deſtined fate [*u*].

IN the morning of the fatal day, M. BRUTUS and C. CASSIUS appeared, according to cuſtom, in the Forum, ſitting in their *Prætorian Tribunals*, to hear and determine cauſes; where, though they had daggers under their gowns, they ſat with the ſame calmneſs, as if they had nothing upon their minds; till the news of CAESAR's coming out to the Senate, called them away to the performance of their part in the tragical act; which they executed at laſt with ſuch reſolution, that, through the eagerneſs of ſtabbing CAESAR, they wounded even one another [*x*].

THUS

the moment of ſacrificing, by annihilating or altering the condition of the entrails ſo, as to make them correſpond with the circumſtances of the Sacrificer, and the admonition which they intended to give. [De Div. ibid.] But this was laughed at by the Naturaliſts, as wholly unphiloſophical, who thought it abſurd to imagine, that the Deity could either annihilate, or create; either reduce any thing to nothing, or form any thing out of nothing. What ſeems the moſt probable, is, that if the facts really happened, they were contrived by CAESAR's friends, and the heart conveyed away by ſome artifice, to give them a better pretence of enforcing their admonitions, and putting CAESAR upon his guard againſt dangers, which they really apprehended, from quite different reaſons, than the pretended denunciations of the Gods.

[*u*] Plutar. in J. Cæſ.

[*x*] Ib. in Brut. App. 2. 505.

THUS fell CAESAR, on *the celebrated Ides of* March; after he had advanced himſelf to a heigth of power, which no Conqueror had ever attained before him; though to raiſe the mighty Fabric, he had made more deſolation in the world, than any man perhaps, who ever lived in it. He uſed to ſay, *that his conqueſts in* Gaul *had coſt about a million, and two hundred thouſand lives* [*y*]; and if we add the civil wars to the account, they could not coſt the Republic much leſs, in the more valuable blood of its beſt Citizens: yet when, through a perpetual courſe of faction, violence, rapine, ſlaughter, he had made his way at laſt to Empire, he did not enjoy the quiet poſſeſſion of it *above five months* [*z*].

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HE was endowed with every great and noble quality, that could exalt human nature, and give a man the aſcendent in ſociety: formed to excell in peace, as well as war; provident in counſil; fearleſs in action; and executing what he had reſolved with an amazing celerity: generous beyond meaſure to his friends; placable to his enemies; and for parts, learning, eloquence, ſcarce inferior to any man. His orations were admired for two qualities, which are ſeldom found together, *ſtrength and elegance:* CICERO ranks him among the greateſt orators, that *Rome* ever bred: and QUINTILIAN ſays, *that he ſpoke with the ſame force with which he fought; and if he had devoted himſelf to the bar, would have been the onely man capable of rivalling* CICERO. Nor was he a maſter onely of the politer arts; but converſant alſo with the moſt abſtruſe and critical parts of learning; and among other works, which he

[*y*] Undecies centena & nonaginta duo hominum millia occiſa prælиis ab eo—quod ita eſſe confeſſus eſt ipſe, bellorum civilium ſtragem non prodendo. Plin. Hiſt. 7. 25.

[*z*] Neque illi tanto viro—pluſquam quinque menſium principalis quies contigit—Vell. Pat. 2. 56.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CAESAR V. M. ANTONIUS.

he publiſhed, addreſſed *two books to* CICERO, *on the Analogy of language*, or the art of ſpeaking and writing correctly [*a*]. He was a moſt liberal Patron of wit and learning, whereſoever they were found; and out of his love of thoſe talents, would readily pardon thoſe, who had employed them againſt himſelf; rightly judging, *that by* making ſuch men his friends, *he ſhould draw praiſes from the ſame fountain, from which he had been aſperſed.* His capital paſſions were *ambition, and love of pleaſure*; which he indulged in their turns to the greateſt exceſs: yet the firſt was always predominant; to which he could eaſily ſacrifice all the charms of the ſecond, and draw pleaſure even from toils and dangers, when they miniſtered to his glory. For *he thought Tyranny, as* CICERO ſays, *the greateſt of Goddeſſes*; and had frequently in his mouth a verſe of EURIPIDES, which expreſſed the image of his ſoul, *that if right and juſtice were ever to be violated, they were to be violated for the ſake of reigning.* This was the chief end and purpoſe of his life; the ſcheme that he had formed from his early youth; ſo that, as CATO truly declared of him, *he came with ſobriety and meditation to the ſubverſion of the Republic.* He uſed to ſay, *that there were two things neceſſary, to acquire and to ſupport power*; *ſoldiers and money*; which yet depended mutually on each other: with money therefore he provided ſoldiers; and with ſoldiers extorted money: and was of all men the moſt rapacious in plundering, both friends and foes; ſparing neither *Prince nor State, nor Temple, nor even private perſons*, who were known to poſſeſs any ſhare of treaſure. His great abilities would neceſſarily have made him one of the firſt

[*a*] It was in the dedication of this piece to CICERO, that CAESAR paid him the compliment, which PLINY mentions, of his having *acquired a laurel, ſuperior to that of all triumphs, as it was more glorious to extend the bounds of the* Roman *wit, than of their Empire.* Hiſt. N. 7. 30.

firſt Citizens of *Rome*; but diſdaining the condition of a ſubject, he could never reſt, till he had made himſelf *a Monarch.* In acting this laſt part, his uſual prudence ſeemed to fail him; as if the heigth, to which he was mounted, had turned his head, and made him giddy: for, by a vain oſtentation of his power, he deſtroyed the ſtability of it; and as men ſhorten life, by living too faſt, ſo by an intemperance of reigning, he brought his reign to a violent end [*b*].

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR V. M. ANTONIUS.

IT was a common queſtion after his death, and propoſed as a problem by LIVY, *whether it was of ſervice to the Republic, that he had ever been born* [*c*]. The queſtion did not turn on the ſimple merit of his acts, for that would bear no diſpute, but on the accidental effects of them; their producing the ſettlement under AUGUSTUS, and the benefits of that government; which was the conſequence of his Tyranny. SUETONIUS, who treats the characters of the CÆSARS, with that freedom, which the happy reigns, in which he lived, indulged, upon balancing the exact ſumm *of his virtues and vices*, declares him, on

[*b*] De Cæſare & ipſe ita judico—illum omnium fere Oratorum latinè loqui elegantiſſime—& id—multis litteris, & iis quidem reconditis & exquiſitis, ſummoque ſtudio ac diligentia eſt conſecutus.—[Brut. 370.] C. vero Cæſar ſi foro tantum vacaſſet, non alius ex noſtris contra Ciceronem nominaretur, tanta in eo vis eſt, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem animo dixiſſe, quo bellavit, appareat. [Quintil. x. 1.] C. Cæſar, in libris, quos ad M. Ciceronem de Analogia conſcripſit—[A. Gell. 19. 8.] Quin etiam in maximis occupationibus cum ad te ipſum, inquit, de ratione latine loquendi accuratiſſime ſcripſerit—[Brut. 370. vid. it. Sueton. 56.] in Cæſare hæc ſunt, mitis, clemenſque natura—accedit, quod mirifice ingeniis excellentibus, quale tuum eſt, delectatur—eodem fonte ſe hauſturum intelligit laudes ſuas, e quo ſit leviter aſperſus. [Ep. fam. 6. 6.] τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὡς ἔχειν τυραννίδα. [Ad Att. 7. 11.] ipſe autem in ore ſemper græcos verſus de Phœniſſis habebat—

Nam ſi violandum eſt jus, regnandi gratia
Violandum eſt: aliis rebus pietatem colas.
[Offic. 3. 21.]

Cato dixit, C. Cæſarem ad evertendam rempublicam, ſobrium acceſſiſſe. [Quintil. l. 8. 2.] Abſtinentiam neque in Imperiis neque in Magiſtratibus præſtitit—in Gallia fana, templaque Deum donis reſerta expilavit: urbes diruit, ſæpius ob prædam quam delictum—evidentiſſimis rapinis, ac Sacrilegiis onera bellorum civilium—ſuſtinuit. [Sueton. c. 54. vid. it. Dio. p. 208.].

[*c*] Vid. Senec. Natur. Quæſt. l. 5. 18. p. 766.

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on the whole, *to have been juſtly killed* [*d*]: which appears to have been the general ſenſe of the beſt, the wiſeſt, and the moſt diſintereſted in *Rome*, at the time when the fact was committed.

THE onely queſtion, which ſeemed to admit any diſpute, was, whether it ought to have been committed by thoſe, who were the leaders in it [*e*]; ſome of whom owed their lives to CÆSAR; and others had been loaded by him with honors, to a degree, that helped to encreaſe the popular odium; particularly D. BRUTUS, who was the moſt cheriſhed by him of them all, *and left by his will, the ſecond Heir of his Eſtate* [*f*]. For, of *the Two* BRUTUS's, it was not MARCUS, as it is commonly imagined, but DECIMUS, who was *the favorite, and whoſe part in the conſpiracy ſurprized people the moſt* [*g*]. But this circumſtance ſerved onely for a different handle to the different parties, for aggravating either their crime, or their merit. CÆSAR's friends charged them with *baſe ingratitude*, for killing their Benefactor, and abuſing the power which he had given, to the deſtruction of the giver. The other ſide gave a contrary turn to it; extolled the greater virtue of the men, for not being diverted by private conſiderations, from doing an act of public benefit: CICERO takes it always in this view, and ſays, "That the "Republic was the more indebted to them, for prefer-"ring the common good, to the friendſhip of any man "whatſoever; that as to the kindneſs of giving them "their lives, it was the kindneſs onely of a Robber, who "had

[*d*] Prægravant tamen cetera facta, dictaque ejus, ut & abuſus dominatione & jure cæſus exiſtimetur. Sueton. c. 76.

[*e*] Diſputari de M. Bruto ſolet, an debuerit accipere a D. Julio vitam, cum occidendum eum judicaret. Senec. de Benef. l. 2. 20.

[*f*] Appian. 2. 518.

[*g*] Etſi eſt enim Brutorum commune factum & laudis ſocietas æqua, Decimo tamen iratiores erant ii, qui id factum dolebant, quo minus ab eo rem illam dicebant fieri debuiſſe. Philip. x. 7.

" had firſt done them the greater wrong, by uſurping the
" power to take it: that, if there had been any ſtain of
" ingratitude in the act, they could never have acquired
" ſo much glory by it; and though he wondered indeed
" at ſome of them for doing it, rather than ever imagined,
" that they would have done it; yet he admired them ſo
" much the more, for being regardleſs of favors, that they
" might ſhew their regard to their Country [*b*]."

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SOME of CÆSAR's friends, particularly PANSA and HIRTIUS, adviſed him always to keep a ſtanding guard of Prætorian Troops, for the defence of his perſon; alledging, *that a power acquired by arms muſt neceſſarily be maintained by arms:* but his common anſwer was, *that he had rather die once by treachery, than live always in fear of it* [*i*]. He uſed to laugh at SYLLA for reſtoring the liberty of the Republic; and to ſay in contempt of him, *that he did not know his letters* [*k*]. But, as a judicious writer has obſerved, SYLLA *had learnt a better Grammar than he; which taught him to reſign his guards, and his government together: whereas* CÆSAR, *by diſmiſſing the one, yet retaining the other, committed a dangerous ſoleciſm in politics* [*l*]; for he ſtrengthened the popular odium, and conſequently his own danger, while he weakened his defence.

[*b*] Quod eſt aliud beneficium—latronum, niſi ut commemorare poſſint, iis ſe dediſſe vitam, quibus non ademerint? quod ſi eſſet beneficium, nunquam ii qui illum interfecerunt, a quo erant ſervati,—tantam eſſent gloriam conſecuti. Phil. 2. 3.

Quo etiam majorem ei Reſpub. gratiam debet, qui libertatem populi Romani unius amicitiæ præpoſuit, depulſorque dominatus quam particeps eſſe maluit—admiratus ſum ob eam cauſam, quod immemor beneficiorum, memor patriæ fuiſſet.—ib. 11.

[*i*] Laudandum experientiâ conſilium eſt Panſæ atque Hirtii: qui ſemper prædixerant Cæſari, ut principatum armis quæſitum armis teneret. Ille dictitans, mori ſe quam timeri malle. Vell. P. 2. 57.

Inſidias undique imminentes ſubire ſemel confeſſum ſatius eſſe, quam cavere ſemper. Sueton. c. 86.

[*k*] Nec minoris impotentiæ voces propalam edebat—Syllam neſciſſe litteras, qui Dictaturam depoſuerit. Sueton. 77.

[*l*] Vid. Sir H. Savile's Diſſertat. de *Militia Rom.* at the end of his tranſlation of *Tacitus*.

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HE made ſeveral good laws during his adminiſtration, all tending to enforce the public diſcipline, and extend the penalties of former laws. The moſt conſiderable, as well as the moſt uſefull of them was, *that no Prætor ſhould hold any Province more than one year, nor a Conſul more than two* [*m*]. This was a regulation, that *had been often wiſhed for*, as CICERO ſays, *in the beſt of times*; and what one of the ableſt *Dictators of the old Republic* had declared to be its chief ſecurity, *not to ſuffer great and arbitrary commands to be of long duration; but to limit them at leaſt in time, if it was not convenient to limit them in power* [*n*]. CÆSAR knew by experience, that the prolongation of theſe extraordinary commands, and the habit of ruling Kingdoms was the readieſt way, not onely to inſpire a contempt of the laws, but to give a man the power to ſubvert them; and he hoped therefore by this law, to prevent any other man from doing, what he himſelf had done, and to ſecure his own poſſeſſion from the attempts of all future invaders.

[*m*] Phil. 1. 8. Sueton. J. Cæſ. 42, 43.

[*n*] Quæ lex melior, utilior, optima etiam Repub. ſæpius flagitata, quam ne Prætoriæ provinciæ plus quam annum, neve plus quam biennium conſulares obtinerentur?—Phil. 1. 8. Mamercus Æmilius—maximam autem, ait, ejus cuſtodiam eſſe, ſi magna imperia diuturna non eſſent, & temporis modus imponeretur, quibus juris imponi non poſſet. Liv. l. 4. 24.



SECT.



SECT. IX.

CICERO was present at the death of CÆSAR in the Senate; *where he had the pleaſure*, he tells us, *to ſee the tyrant periſh as he deſerved* [o]. By this accident he was freed at once from all ſubjection to a ſuperior, and all the uneaſineſs and indignity of managing a power, which every moment could oppreſs him. He was now without competition the firſt Citizen in *Rome*; the firſt in that credit and authority both with the Senate and People, which illuſtrious merit and ſervices will neceſſarily give in a free City. The Conſpirators conſidered him as ſuch, and reckoned upon him as their ſure friend: A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

[o] Quid mihi attulerit iſta domini mutatio, præter lætitiam, quam oculis cepi, juſto inte- ritu Tyranni? Ad Att. 14. 14.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

for they had no ſooner finiſhed their work, than BRUTUS, *lifting up his bloody dagger, called out upon him by name, to congratulate with him on the recovery of their liberty* [p]: and when they all ran out preſently after into the Forum, with their daggers in their hands, proclaming liberty to the City, they proclamed at the ſame time *the name of* CICERO; in hopes to recommend the juſtice of their act, by the credit of his approbation [q].

THIS gave ANTONY a pretence to charge him afterwards in public, with *being privy to the conſpiracy, and the principal adviſer of it* [r]: but it is certain, that he was not at all acquainted with it: for though he had the ſtricteſt friendſhip with the chief actors, and they the greateſt confidence in him, yet his age, character, and dignity, rendered him wholly unfit, to bear a part in an attempt of that nature; and to embark himſelf in an affair ſo deſperate, with a number of men, who, excepting a few of their Leaders, were all either *too young* to be truſted, *or too obſcure*, even to be known by him [s]. He could have been of little or no ſervice to them in the execution of the act, yet of much greater in juſtifying it afterwards to the City, for having had no ſhare in it, nor any perſonal intereſt, to make his authority ſuſpected. Theſe were the true reaſons without doubt, why BRUTUS and CASSIUS did not impart the deſign to him: had it been from any other motive, as ſome writers have ſuggeſted, or had it admitted any interpretation injurious to his honor, he muſt have

[p] Cæſare interfecto—ſtatim cruentum alte extollens M. Brutus pugionem, *Ciceronem* nominatim exclamavit, atque ei recuperatam libertatem eſt gratulatus. Philip. 2. 12.

[q] Dio. p. 249.

[r] Cæſarem meo conſilio interfectum. [Phil. 2. 11.] Veſtri enim pulcherrimi facti ille furioſus me principem dicit fuiſſe. Utinam quidem fuiſſem, moleſtus nobis non eſſet. Ep. fam. 12. 3. it. 2.

[s] Quam veriſimile porro eſt, in tot hominibus partim obſcuris, partim adoleſcentibus, neminem occultantibus, meum nomen latere potuiſſe? Phil. 2. 11.

have been often reproached with it by ANTONY, and his other adverſaries of thoſe times, who were ſo ſtudious to invent and propagate every calumny that could depreſs his credit. I cannot however intirely acquit him of being in ſome degree acceſſory to the death of CÆSAR: for it is evident from ſeveral of his Letters, that he had an expectation of ſuch an attempt, and from what quarter it would come; and not onely expected, but wiſhed it: he propheſied very early, *that* CÆSAR*'s reign could not laſt ſix months, but muſt neceſſarily fall, either by violence, or of itſelf; and hoped to live to ſee it* [*t*]: he knew the diſaffection of the greateſt and beſt of the City; which they expreſſed with great freedom in their Letters, and with much more, we may imagine, in their private converſation: he knew the fierce and haughty ſpirit of BRUTUS and CASSIUS; and their impatience of a Maſter; and cultivated a ſtrict correſpondence with them both at this time, as if for the opportunity of exciting them to ſome act of vigor. On the news, that ATTICUS ſent him, *of* CÆSAR*'s image being placed in the Temple of* QUIRINUS, adjoining to that of *the Goddeſs* SALUS; *I had rather*, ſays he, *have him the Comrade of* ROMULUS, *than of the Goddeſs Safety* [*u*]: referring *to* ROMULUS*'s fate*, of being killed in the Senate. In another Letter it ſeems to be intimated, that ATTICUS and he had been contriving, or talking at leaſt together, how BRUTUS might be ſpirited up to ſome attempt of that kind, by ſetting before him the fame and glory of his Anceſtors: "Does BRUTUS then "tell us, ſays he, that CÆSAR brings with him glad tidings "to

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

[*t*] Jam intelliges id regnum vix ſemeſtre eſſe poſſe—nos tamen hoc confirmamus illo augurio, quo diximus; nec nos fallit, nec aliter accidet. Corruat iſte neceſſe eſt, aut per adverſarios, aut ipſe per ſe—id ſpero vivis nobis fore. Ad Att. x. 8.

[*u*] Eum σύναον Quirino malo, quam Saluti. Ad Att. 12. 15.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

" to honeſt men? where will he find them? unleſs he " hangs himſelf. But how ſecurely is he now intrenched " on all ſides? What uſe then of your fine invention; the " picture of old Brutus and Ahala with the verſes under, " which I ſaw in your Gallery? Yet what after all can " he do?" [x] One cannot help obſerving likewiſe, in his Pieces, addreſſed about this time to Brutus, how artfully he falls into a lamentation of the times, and of the particular unhappineſs of Brutus himſelf, in being deprived by them of all the hopes and uſe of his great talents; putting him in mind at the ſame time of *his double deſcent* from Anceſtors, who had acquired immortal glory *by delivering* Rome *from ſervitude.* Thus he concludes his treatiſe *on famous Orators*;

" When I look upon you, Brutus, I am grieved to " ſee your youth, running, as it were, in full career " through the midſt of glory, ſtopt ſhort by the wretched " fate of your Country. This grief ſits heavy upon me, " and on our common friend Atticus, the partner " of my affection, and good opinion of you: we hear- " tily wiſh you well; wiſh to ſee you reap the fruit of " your virtue; and to live in a Republic, that may give " you the opportunity, not onely to revive, but to in- " creaſe

[x] Itane nunciat Brutus, illum ad bonos viros εὐαγγέλια? ſed ubi eos? niſi forte ſe ſuſpendit? hic autem ut fultum eſt! ubi igitur φιλοτέχνημα illud tuum quod vidi in *Parthenone*, Ahalam & Brutum? ſed quid faciat? ad Att. 13. 40.

Parthenone is ſuppoſed to denote ſome room or gallery in Brutus's, or more probably in Atticus's houſe, adorned with the Images or Portraits of the great men of *Rome*, under each of which, as Cornelius Nepos tells us, [in vit. Att. c. 18.] Atticus had ſeverally deſcribed their principal acts and honors, in four or five verſes of his own compoſing: where the contemplation of theſe Figures of old Brutus and Ahala, joined together in one picture, with the verſes under, had given a handle perhaps to a converſation between Cicero and him, how Brutus might be incited by the example of thoſe great Anceſtors to diſſolve the tyranny of Caesar. It ſeems alſo very probable, that this very picture of Atticus's invention, as Cicero calls it, might give occaſion to the thought and coinage of that ſilver medal or *denarius*, which is ſtill extant, with the heads and names of thoſe two old Patriots; Brutus on the one ſide, Ahala on the other. Vid. Theſaur. Morell. in Fam. Junia. Tab. 1. 1.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

" creaſe the honor and memory of the two noble families,
" from which you deſcend----for the Forum was wholly
" yours; yours all that courſe of glory: you, of all the
" young pleaders, brought thither, not onely a tongue,
" ready formed by the exerciſe of ſpeaking, but had en-
" riched your Oratory by the furniture alſo of the ſeverer
" arts; and by the help of the ſame arts had joined to a
" perfection of eloquence the ornament of every virtue.
" We are doubly ſorry therefore on your account, that
" you want the benefit of the Republic; the Republic
" of you: but though this odious ruin of the City extin-
" guiſhes the uſe of your abilities, go on ſtill, Brutus,
" to purſue your uſual ſtudies, *&c.*"

These paſſages ſeem to give a reaſonable ground to believe, that Cicero, though a ſtranger to the particular counſils of the Conſpirators, had yet a general notion of their deſign, as well as ſome ſhare in promoting it. In his reply to Antony's charge, he does not deny his expectation of it, freely owns his joy for it, and thanks him for giving him an honor, which he had not merited, of bearing a part in it; he calls it, " the moſt glorious act,
" which had ever been done, not onely in that, but in
" any other City: in which men were more forward to
" claim a ſhare, which they had not, than to diſſemble
" that which they had; that Brutus's reaſon for calling
" out upon him, was to ſignify, that he was then emu-
" lating his praiſes, by an act, not unlike to what he had
" done: that if to wiſh Cæsar's death was a crime, to
" rejoice at it was the ſame; there being no difference
" between the adviſer and the approver; yet excepting
" Antony and a few more, who were fond of having a
" King, that there was not a man in *Rome*, who did not

" deſire

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

"deſire to ſee the fact committed; that all honeſt men, "as far as it was in their power, concurred in it; that "ſome indeed wanted the counſil, ſome the courage, "ſome the opportunity, but none the will to do it, "&c. [y]"

The news of this ſurpriſing fact raiſed a general conſternation through the City; ſo that the firſt care of the Conſpirators was to quiet the minds of the people, by proclaming peace and liberty to all, and declaring, that no farther violence was intended to any. They marched out therefore in a body, with *a Cap, as the enſign of liberty, carried before them on a Spear* [z]; and in a calm and orderly manner proceded through the Forum; where, in the firſt heat of joy for the death of the Tyrant, ſeveral of the young Nobility, who had born no part in the conſpiracy, joined themſelves to the company with ſwords in their hands, out of an ambition to be thought partners *in the act*; but they paid dear afterwards for that vanity, and without any ſhare of the glory, were involved in the ruin which it drew upon all the reſt. Brutus deſigned to have ſpoken to the Citizens from the *Roſtra*; but perceiving them to be in too great an agitation to attend to ſpeeches, and being uncertain what way the popular humor

[y] Ecquis eſt igitur, qui te excepto, & iis, qui illum regnare gaudebant, qui illud aut fieri noluerit, aut factum improbarit? omnes enim in culpa. Etenim omnes boni, quantum in ipſis fuit, Cæſarem occiderunt. Aliis conſilium, aliis animus, aliis occaſio defuit; voluntas nemini, &c. Phil. 2. 12.

[z] A *Cap* was always given to *Slaves*, when they were made free; whence it became *the Emblem of liberty*: to expoſe it therefore on a Spear, was a public invitation to the people, to embrace the liberty that was offered to them by the deſtruction of their Tyrant. There was a Medal likewiſe ſtruck on this occaſion with the ſame device, which is ſtill extant. The thought however was not new; for Saturninus, in his ſedition, when he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the Capitol, exalted *a Cap alſo on the top of a Spear*, as a token of liberty to all the Slaves, who would join with him: and though Marius, in his ſixth Conſulſhip, deſtroyed him for that act, by a decree of the Senate, yet he himſelf uſed the ſame expedient afterwards to invite the ſlaves to take arms with him againſt Sylla, who was marching with his army into the City to attack him. Val. Max. 8. 6.

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humor might turn, and knowing that there were great numbers of CÆSAR's *old ſoldiers in the City, who had been ſummoned from all parts to attend him to the* Parthian *war*, he thought proper, with his accomplices, under the guard of DECIMUS's Gladiators, to take refuge in the Capitol [*a*]. Being here ſecured from any immediate violence, he ſummoned the people thither in the afternoon; and in a ſpeech to them, which he had prepared, juſtified his act, and explaned the motives of it, and in a pathetic manner exhorted them to exert themſelves in the defence of their country, and maintain the liberty now offered to them, againſt all the abettors of the late tyranny. CICERO preſently followed them into the Capitol, with the beſt and greateſt part of the Senate, to deliberate on the proper means of improving this hopefull beginning, and eſtabliſhing their liberty on a ſolid and laſting foundation.

ANTONY in the mean while, ſhocked by the hardineſs of the act, and apprehending ſome danger to his own life, *ſtripped himſelf of his conſular robes, and fled home in diſguiſe; where he began to fortify his houſe, and kept himſelf cloſe all that day* [*b*]; till perceiving the pacific conduct of the conſpirators, he recovered his ſpirits, and appeared again the next morning in public.

WHILE things were in this ſituation, L. CORNELIUS CINNA, one of the Prætors, who was nearly allied to CÆSAR, made a ſpeech to the people in praiſe of the conſpirators; extolling their act, as highly meritorious, and exhorting the multitude to invite them down from the Capitol, and reward them with the honors due to the

[*a*] App. 2. p. 503. Dio. p. 250. Plut. in Cæſ. & Brut.

[*b*] Quæ tua fuga? quæ formido præclaro illo die? quæ propter conſcientiam ſcelerum deſperatio vitæ? cum ex illa fuga—clam te domum recepiſti. Phil. 2. 35. Vid. Dio. p. 259. App. 502, 503.

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deliverers of their country; then throwing off his *Prætorian robe*, he declared, that he would not wear it any longer, as being beſtowed upon him *by a Tyrant, and not by the laws*. But the next day, as he was going to the Senate, ſome of CÆSAR's Veteran ſoldiers, having gathered a mob of the ſame party, attacked him in the ſtreets with vollies of ſtones, and drove him into a houſe, which they were going preſently to ſet on fire, with deſign to have burnt him in it, if LEPIDUS had not come to his reſcue with a body of regular troops [*c*].

LEPIDUS was at this time in the ſuburbs of *Rome*, at the head of an army, ready to depart for the government of *Spain*, which had been aſſigned to him by CÆSAR, with a part of *Gaul*. In the night therefore, after CÆSAR's death, he filled the Forum with his troops, and finding himſelf ſuperior to any man in power, began to think of *making himſelf Maſter of the City, and taking immediate revenge on the Conſpirators*: but being a weak and vain man, ANTONY eaſily diverted him from that deſign, and managed him to his own views: "He repre-
" ſented the hazard and difficulty of the attempt, while
" the Senate, the City, and all *Italy* were againſt them;
" that the onely way to effect what they wiſhed, was to
" diſſemble their real purpoſe; to recommend pacific
" counſils, and lull their adverſaries aſleep, till they had
" provided a ſtrength ſufficient to oppreſs them; and that,
" as ſoon as things were ripe, he would join with him very
" heartily in avenging CÆSAR's death."--With theſe remonſtrances he pacified him; and to render their union the firmer, and to humor his vanity at the ſame time, *gave his Daughter in marriage to* LEPIDUS's *Son, and aſſiſted him to ſeize the*

[*c*] Plut. in Brut. App. p. 504.

the High Prieſthood, vacant by CÆSAR's death, without any regard to the ordinary forms of election [*d*]. Having thus gained LEPIDUS into his meaſures, he made uſe of his authority and his forces, to haraſs and terrify the oppoſite party, till he had driven the Conſpirators out of the City; and when he had ſerved his purpoſes with him at home, contrived to ſend him to his government, to keep the Provinces and the Commanders abroad in proper reſpect to them; and that, by ſitting down with his army in the neareſt part of *Gaul*, he might be ready for any event, which ſhould require his help in *Italy*.

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THE Conſpirators in the mean while had formed no ſcheme, *beyond the death of* CÆSAR; but ſeemed to be as much ſurprized and amazed at what they had done, as the reſt of the City: they truſted intirely to the integrity of their cauſe; fancying, that it would be ſufficient of itſelf to effect all that they expected from it, and draw an univerſal concurrence to the defence of their common liberty; and taking it for granted, that CÆSAR's fate, in the heigth of all his greatneſs, would deter any of his Partiſans from aiming at the ſame power: they placed withal a great confidence in CICERO's authority, of which they aſſured themſelves as their own, and were not diſappointed; for from this moment he reſolved at all adventures to ſupport the credit of the men, and their act, as the onely means left of recovering the Republic. He knew, that the people were all on their ſide; and, as long as force was removed, that they were Maſters of the City: his advice therefore was, to uſe their preſent advantage, and in the conſternation of CÆSAR's party, and the zeal and union of their own, *that* BRUTUS *and* CASSIUS, *as Prætors,*

[*d*] Dio. p. 249, 250, 257, 269.

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ſhould call the Senate into the Capitol, and procede to ſome vigorous decrees, for the ſecurity of the public tranquillity [*e*]. But BRUTUS was for marching calmly, and with all due reſpect to the authority of the Conſul; and having conceived hopes of ANTONY, propoſed *the ſending a deputation to him, to exhort him to meaſures of peace*: CICERO remonſtrated againſt it; nor would be prevailed with to bear a part in it: he told them plainly, "that there could "be no ſafe treaty with him; that as long as he was "afraid of them, he would promiſe every thing; but, "when his fears were over, would be like himſelf, and "perform nothing: ſo that while the other conſular Se-"nators were going forwards and backwards in this office "of mediation, he ſtuck to his point, and ſtaid with the "reſt in the Capitol, and did not ſee ANTONY for the "two firſt days [*f*]."

THE event confirmed what CICERO foretold: ANTONY had no thoughts of peace, or of any good to the Republic: his ſole view was, to ſeize the government to himſelf, as ſoon as he ſhould be in condition to do it; and then, on pretence of revenging CÆSAR's death, to deſtroy all thoſe, who were likely to oppoſe him: as his buſineſs therefore was, to gain time by diſſembling and deceiving the Republican party into a good opinion of him; ſo all his anſwers were mild and moderate; profeſſing a ſincere inclination to peace, and no other deſire, than to ſee the Republic ſettled again on it's old baſis. Two days paſſed in

[*e*] Meminiſti me clamare, illo ipſo primo Capitolino die, Senatum in Capitolium a Prætoribus vocari? Dii immortales, quæ tum opera effici potuerunt, lætantibus omnibus bonis, etiam ſat bonis, fractis latronibus? Ad Att. 14. 10.

[*f*] Dicebam illis in Capitolio liberatoribus noſtris, cum me ad te ire vellent, ut ad defendendam Rempub. te adhortarer, quoad metueres, omnia te promiſſurum, ſimul ac timere deſiiſſes, ſimilem te futurum tui. Itaque cum cæteri Conſulares irent, redirent, in ſententia manſi: neque te illo die, neque poſtero vidi. Phil. 2. 35.

in mutual aſſurances from both ſides, of their diſpoſition to concord and amity; and ANTONY ſummoned the Senate on the third, to adjuſt the conditions of it, and confirm them by ſome ſolemn act. Here CICERO, as the beſt foundation of a laſting quiet, moved the aſſembly in the firſt place, *after the example of* Athens, *to decree a general amneſty, or act of oblivion, for all that was paſſed*; to which they unanimouſly agreed. ANTONY ſeemed to be all goodneſs; talked of nothing, but healing meaſures; and, for a proof of his ſincerity, moved, *that the Conſpirators ſhould be invited, to take part in their deliberations, and ſent his Son as an Hoſtage for their ſafety*: upon which they all came down from the Capitol; and BRUTUS ſupped with LEPIDUS; CASSIUS with ANTONY; and the day ended to the univerſal joy of the City, who imagined, that their liberty was now crowned with certain peace [g].

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THERE were ſeveral things however very artfully propoſed and carried by ANTONY, on the pretence of public concord, of which he afterwards made a moſt pernicious uſe; particularly, a decree for *the confirmation of all* CÆSAR's *acts*: this motion was ſuſpected by many, who ſtuck upon it for ſome time, and called upon ANTONY to explane it, and ſpecify how far it was to extend: he aſſured them, "that no other acts were meant, than what "were known to every body; and entered publicly on "CÆSAR's

[g] In quo templo, quantum in me fuit, jeci fundamenta pacis, Athenienſiumque renovavi vetus exemplum: græcum etiam verbum uſurpavi, quo tum in ſedandis diſcordiis erat uſa civitas illa, atque omnem memoriam diſcordiarum oblivione ſempiterna delendam cenſui. Præclara tum oratio M. Antonii, egregia etiam voluntas: pax denique per eum & per liberos ejus cum præſtantiſſimis civibus confirmata eſt—Phil. 1. 1.

Quæ fuit oratio de concordia?—tuus parvulus filius in Capitolium a te miſſus pacis obſes fuit. Quo Senatus die lætior? quo populus Romanus?—tum denique liberati per viros fortiſſimos videbamur, quia, ut illi voluerant, libertatem pax ſequebatur. Ib. 13. Vid. Plutar. in Brut.—

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"CÆSAR's regiſter: they aſked, if any perſons were to "be reſtored from exil; he ſaid, one onely and no more: "whether any immunities were granted to Cities or Coun- "tries: he anſwered, none; and conſented, that it ſhould "paſs with a reſtriction, propoſed by SER. SULPICIUS; "that no grant, which was to take place after the Ides of "*March*, ſhould be ratified [*b*]:" this was generally thought ſo reaſonable, and ANTONY's ſeeming candor had made ſuch an impreſſion, that thoſe who ſaw the miſchief of it, durſt not venture to oppoſe it: eſpecially as there was a precedent for it in the caſe of SYLLA; and as it was ſuppoſed to relate chiefly to the veteran ſoldiers, whom it was not poſſible to oblige, or keep in good humor, without confirming the privileges and poſſeſſions, which CAESAR had granted to them. But BRUTUS and his friends had private reaſons for entertaining a better opinion of ANTONY, than his outward conduct would juſtify: CAESAR had uſed him roughly on ſeveral occaſions [*i*]; and they knew his reſentment of it; *and that he had been engaged with* TREBONIUS, *on* CÆSAR's *laſt return from* Spain, *in a deſign againſt his life:* and though he did not perform that engagement; yet they thought it an obligation, as well as a proof of his continuing in the ſame mind, *that he had not diſcovered it:* which was the reaſon *of their ſparing him, when* CÆSAR *was killed, and of* TREBONIUS's *taking him aſide*, on pretence of buſineſs, leſt his behaviour on that occaſion might provoke them to kill him too [*k*].

BUT,

[*b*] Summa conſtantia ad ea, quæ quæſita erant, reſpondebat: nihil tum, niſi quod erat notum omnibus, in C. Cæſaris commentariis reperiebatur: num qui exules reſtituti? unum aiebat, præterea neminem. Num immunitates datæ? nullæ, reſpondebat. Aſſentiri etiam nos Ser. Sulpicio voluit, ne qua tabula poſt Idus Martias ullius decreti Cæſaris aut beneficii figeretur. Phil. 1. 1.

[*i*] Philip. 2. 29.

[*k*] Quanquam ſi interfici Cæſarem voluiſſe crimen eſt, vide quæſo, Antoni, quid tibi futurum ſit, quem & Narbone hoc conſilium cum C. Trebonio cepiſſe notiſſimum eſt, & ob ejus conſilii ſocietatem, cum interficeretur Cæſar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus ſevocari. Ib. 14.

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BUT, as CICERO often laments, they had already ruined their cauſe, by giving ANTONY leiſure to recollect himſelf, and gather troops about him, by which he forced upon them ſeveral other decrees againſt their will; one of them in favor of *the veteran ſoldiers*, whom he had drawn up for that purpoſe in arms about the Senate [*l*]; and another ſtill worſe, for the allowance *of a public funeral to* CÆSAR; *which* ATTICUS *had been remonſtrating againſt both to* CICERO *and* BRUTUS, *as pernicious to the peace of the City*; but it was too late to prevent it; ANTONY was reſolved upon it; and had provided all things for it, as the beſt opportunity of inflaming the ſoldiers and the populace, and raiſing ſome commotions to the diſadvantage of the Republican cauſe; in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that BRUTUS and CASSIUS had no ſmall difficulty *to defend their lives and houſes from the violence of his mob* [*m*]. In this tumult, HELVIUS CINNA, one of the Tribuns, and a particular friend of CÆSAR, was torn in pieces by the rabble; being miſtaken unluckily for the Prætor of that name, who, as it is ſaid above, *had extolled the act of killing* CÆSAR *in a ſpeech from the Roſtra*: this ſo alarmed all thoſe, who had any ſimilitude of name with any of the Conſpirators, that CAIUS CASCA, another Senator, thought fit *by a public advertiſement, to ſignify the diſtinction of his perſon and principles from* PUBLIUS CASCA, *who gave the firſt blow to* CÆSAR [*n*].

[*l*] Nonne omni ratione veterani, qui armati aderant, cum præſidii nos nihil haberemus, defendendi fuerunt?—Ad Att. 14. 14.

[*m*] Meminiſtine te clamare, cauſam periiſſe, ſi funere elatus eſſet? at ille etiam in foro combuſtus, laudatuſque miſerabiliter; ſervique & egentes in tecta noſtra cum facibus immiſſi. Ad Att. 14. 10, 14. Plutar. in Brut.

[*n*] C. Helvius Cinna Trib. pl. ex funere C. Cæſaris domum ſuam petens, populi manibus diſcerptus eſt, pro Cornelio Cinna, in quem ſævire ſe exiſtimabat; iratus ei, quod cum affinis eſſet Cæſaris, adverſus eum nefarie raptum, impiam pro Roſtris orationem habuiſſet.—Val. Max. 9. 9. vid. Dio. p. 267, 268. it. Plut. in Cæſ. & Brut.

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WE are not to imagine however, as it is commonly believed, that theſe violences were owing to the general indignation of the Citizens, againſt the murtherers of CÆSAR; excited either by the ſpectacle of his body, or the eloquence of ANTONY, who made the funeral oration: for it is certain, that CÆSAR, through his whole reign, could never draw from the people any public ſignification of their favor; but on the contrary, was conſtantly mortified, by the perpetual demonſtrations of their hatred and diſſaffection to him. The caſe was the ſame after his death: the memory of his tyranny was odious, and BRUTUS and CASSIUS the real favorites of the City; as appeared on all occaſions, where-ever their free and genuin ſenſe could be declared, in *the public Shews and Theaters* [o]; which CICERO frequently appeals to, as a proper encouragement to all honeſt men, to act with ſpirit and vigor, in the defence of their common liberty. What happened therefore at the funeral was the effect of artifice and faction; the work of a mercenary rabble; the greateſt part ſlaves and ſtrangers, liſted and prepared for violence, againſt a party unarmed, and purſuing pacific counſils, and placing all their truſt and ſecurity in the juſtice of their cauſe. CICERO calls it *a Conſpiracy of* CÆSAR's *freedmen* [p], who were the chief managers of the tumult: in which the *Jews* ſeem to have born a conſiderable part; who, out of hatred to POMPEY, for his affront to their City and Temple, were zealouſly attached to CÆSAR, and, above all the other Foreigners in *Rome*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves, by the expreſſions

[o] Omnes enim jam cives de Reipub. ſalute una & mente & voce conſentiunt. Phil. 1. 9. Quid enim gladiatoribus clamores innumerabilium civium? quid populi verſus? quid Pompeii ſtatuæ plauſus infinitus? quid iis Tribunis plebis, qui vobis adverſantur? parumne hæc ſignificant, incredibiliter conſentientem populi Romani voluntatem? &c. ib. 15. Ad Att. 14. 2.

[p] Nam iſta quidem libertorum Cæſaris conjuratio facile opprimeretur, ſi recte ſaperet Antonius. Ad Att. 14. 5.

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ſions of their grief for his death; *ſo as to ſpend whole nights at his monument, in a kind of religious devotion to his memory* [q].

THIS firſt taſt of ANTONY's perfidy was a clear warning to the Conſpirators, what little reaſon they had to depend upon him; or to expect any ſafety in the City, where he had the ſoverein command, without *a guard for their defence*; which, *though* D. BRUTUS *demanded for them*, they could not obtain: whilſt ANTONY, to alarm them ſtill the more, took care to let them know, *that the ſoldiers and the populace were ſo enraged, that he did not think it poſſible for any of them to be ſafe* [r]. They all therefore quitted *Rome*: TREBONIUS ſtole away privately for *Aſia*, to take poſſeſſion of that province, which had before been aſſigned to him; being afraid of being prevented by the intrigues of ANTONY: D. BRUTUS, for the ſame reaſon, poſſeſſed himſelf of *the Ciſalpine or Italic Gaul*, which had been conferred upon him likewiſe by CÆSAR, in order to ſtrengthen himſelf there againſt all events, and by his neighbourhood to *Rome*, to encourage and protect all the friends of liberty: M. BRUTUS, accompanied by CASSIUS, retired to one of his villa's near *Lanuvium*, to deliberate about their future conduct, and to take ſuch meaſures, as the accidents of the times and the motions of their enemies ſhould make neceſſary.

BUT as ſoon as the Conſpirators were gone, ANTONY reſumed his Maſk, and as if the late violences had been

[q] In ſummo publico luctu exterarum gentium, multitudo circulatim, ſuo quæque more, lamentata eſt, præcipueque Judæi, qui etiam noctibus continuis buſtum frequentarunt. Sueton. J. Cæſ. 84.

[r] Heri apud me Hirtius fuit; qua mente Antonius eſſet, demonſtravit, peſſima ſcilicet & infideliſſima. Nam ſe neque mihi provinciam dare poſſe aiebat, neque arbitrari, tuto in urbe eſſe quemquam noſtrum, adeo eſſe militum concitatos animos & plebis. Quorum utrumque eſſe falſum puto vos animadvertere—placitum eſt mihi poſtulare, ut liceret nobis eſſe Romæ publico præſidio: quod illos nobis conceſſuros non puto—Ep. fam. xi. 1.

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accidental onely, and the ſudden tranſport of a vile mob, profeſſed the ſame moderation as before, and affected to ſpeak with the greateſt reſpect of Brutus and Cassius; and by ſeveral ſeaſonable acts, propoſed by him to the Senate, appeared to have nothing ſo much at heart, as the public concord: among other decrees he offered one, which was prepared and drawn up by himſelf, *to aboliſh for ever the name and office of Dictator*: this ſeemed to be a ſure pledge of his good intentions, and gave an univerſal ſatisfaction to the Senate; who paſſed it, as it were, by acclamation, without putting it even to the vote; and decreed the thanks of the houſe for it to Antony, who, as Cicero afterwards told him, *had fixed an indelible infamy by it on* Cæsar, *in declaring to the world, that for the odium of his government, ſuch a decree was become both neceſſary and popular* [*s*].

Cicero alſo left *Rome* ſoon after Brutus and Cassius [*t*], not a little mortified to ſee things take ſo wrong a turn, by the indolence of their friends; which gave him frequent occaſion to ſay, *that the Ides of* March *had produced nothing, which pleaſed him, but the fact of the day; which was executed indeed with manly vigor, but ſupported by childiſh counſils* [*u*]. As he paſſed through the country, he found nothing but mirth and rejoicing in all the Great Towns, on the account of Cæsar's death: "it is "impoſſible to expreſs, ſays he, what joy there is every "where:

[*s*] Dictaturam, quæ vim jam regiæ poteſtatis obſederat, funditùs e Repub. ſuſtulit. De qua ne ſententias quidem diximus—eique ampliſſimis verbis per S. C. gratias egimus—maximum autem illud, quod Dictaturæ nomen ſuſtuliſti: hæc inuſta eſt a te—mortuo Cæſari nota ad ignominiam ſempiternam, &c. Phil. 1. 1, 13.

[*t*] Itaque cum teneri urbem a parricidis viderem, nec te in ea, nec Caſſium tuto eſſe poſſe, eamque armis oppreſſam ab Antonio, mihi quoque ipſi eſſe excedendum putavi. Ad Brut. 15.

[*u*] Sed tamen adhuc me nihil delectat præter Idus martias. [Ad Att. 14. 6, 21.] itaque ſtulta jam Iduum martiarum eſt conſolatio. Animis enim uſi ſumus virilibus; conſiliis, mihi crede, puerilibus. Ib. 15. 4.

" where: how all people flock about me: how greedy A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.
" they are to hear an account of it from me: yet what
" ſtrange politics do we purſue? What a ſoleciſm do we
" commit? To be afraid of thoſe, whom we have ſub-
" dued; to defend his acts, for whoſe death we rejoice;
" to ſuffer Tyranny to live, when the Tyrant is killed;
" and the Republic to be loſt, when our liberty is reco-
" vered [*x*]."

ATTICUS ſent him word of ſome remarkable applauſe, which was given *to the famed Comedian*, PUBLIUS, for what he had ſaid upon the ſtage, in favor of the public liberty; and that L. CASSIUS, *the brother of the Conſpirator, then one of the Tribuns, was received with infinite acclamations upon his entrance into the Theater* [*y*]: which convinced him onely the more of the miſtake of their friends in ſitting ſtill, and truſting to the merit of their cauſe, while their enemies were uſing all arts to deſtroy them. This general inclination, which declared itſelf ſo freely on the ſide of liberty, obliged ANTONY to act with caution, and as far as poſſible, to perſuade the City, that he was on the ſame ſide too: for which end he did another thing at this time both prudent and popular, in putting to death the *Impoſtor* MARIUS, who was now returned to *Rome*, to revenge, as he gave out, the death of his kinſman CÆSAR: where ſignalizing himſelf at the head of the mob, he was the chief Incendiary at the Funeral, and the ſubſequent riots, and threatened nothing leſs *than deſtruction*

[*x*] Dici enim non poteſt quantopere gaudeant, ut ad me concurrant, ut audire cupiant verba mea ea de re—ſic enim πεπολίτευμεθα, ut victos metueremus—nihil enim tam σόλοικον, quam τυραννοκτόνους in cœlo eſſe, Tyranni facta defendi—Ad Att. 14. 6.

O Dii boni! vivit tyrannis, tyrannus occidit. Ejus interfecti morte lætamur, cujus facta defendimus—ib. 9.

[*y*] Ex priore Theatrum, Publiumque cognovi, bona ſigna conſentientis multitudinis. Plauſus vero, L. Caſſio datus facetus mihi quidem viſus eſt. Ad Att. 14. 2.

Infinito fratris tui plauſu dirumpitur. Ep. fam. 12. 2.

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to the whole Senate: but Antony, having ſerved his main purpoſe with him, of driving Brutus and the reſt out of the City, ordered him *to be ſeized and ſtrangled, and his body to be dragged through the Streets* [z]: which gave him freſh credit with the Republicans; ſo that Brutus, together with Cassius and other friends, had *a perſonal conference* with him about this time, which paſſed to mutual ſatisfaction [a].

By theſe arts Antony hoped to amuſe the Conſpirators, and induce them to lay aſide all vigorous counſils; eſpecially, what he moſt apprehended, that of leaving *Italy*, and ſeizing ſome provinces abroad, furniſhed with troops and money; which might put them into a condition to act offenſively: with the ſame view, he wrote an artful Letter to Cicero, to deſire his conſent to the reſtoration of S. Clodius, the chief agent of P. Clodius, who had been ſeveral years in baniſhment, for outrages committed in the City; chiefly againſt Cicero himſelf, on whoſe account he was condemned. Antony, by his marriage with Fulvia, the widow of P. Clodius, became the protector of all that family, and the Tutor of young Publius, her ſon; which gave him a decent pretence of intereſting himſelf in this affair. He aſſures Cicero, "that he had procured a pardon for S. Clodius from "Cæsar; but did not intend to have made uſe of it, "till he had obtained his conſent; and though he thought "himſelf now obliged to ſupport all Cæsar's acts; yet "he would not inſiſt on this againſt his leave----that it "would be an obligation to young Publius, a youth of "the greateſt hopes, to let him ſee, that Cicero did not

"extend

[z] Uncus impactus eſt fugitivo illi, qui C. Marii nomen invaſerat. Phil. 1. 2.

[a] Antonii colloquium cum noſtris Heroibus pro re nata non incommodum. Ad Att. 14. 6.

" extend his revenge to his Father's friends----permit me, " ſays he, to inſtill theſe ſentiments into the boy; and to " perſuade his tender mind, that quarrels are not to be " perpetuated in families: and though your condition, " I know, is ſuperior to all danger; yet you would chuſe, " I fancy, to enjoy a quiet and honorable, rather than a " turbulent old age---laſtly, I have a ſort of right to aſk " this favor of you; ſince I never refuſed any thing to " you: if I do not however prevail with you, I will not " grant it to CLODIUS; that you may ſee how great your " authority is with me: ſhew yourſelf the more placable " on that account [*b*]."

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CICERO never heſitated about giving his conſent, to what ANTONY *could and would have done without it:* " the thing itſelf, he knew, was ſcandalous; and the " pardon ſaid to be granted by CÆSAR, a forgery; and " that CÆSAR would never have done it, or ſuffered it to " be done; and ſo many forgeries of that kind began to " be publiſhed every day from CÆSAR's books, that he " was almoſt tempted, he ſays, to wiſh for CÆSAR " again [*c*]." He anſwered him however with great civility; and in a ſtrain of complaiſance, which correſponded but little with his real opinion of the man: but ANTONY's public behaviour had merited ſome compliments: and under the preſent ſtate of his power, and the uncertain condition of their own party, CICERO reſolved to obſerve *all the forms of an old acquaintance with him*; till

[*b*] Ad Att. 14. after Letter the 13th.

[*c*] Antonius ad me ſcripſit de reſtitutione S. Clodii: quam honorifice quod ad me attinet, ex ipſius litteris cognoſces—quam diſſolute, quam turpiter, quamque ita pernicioſe, ut nonnunquam etiam Cæſar deſiderandus eſſe videatur, facile exiſtimabis: quæ enim Cæſar nunquam neque feciſſet, neque paſſus eſſet, ea nunc ex falſis ejus commentariis proferuntur. Ego autem Antonio facillimum me præbui. Etenim ille, quoniam ſemel induxit in animum ſibi licere quod vellet, feciſſet nihilo minus me invito. Ad Att. 14. 13.

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till by ſome *overt act againſt the public intereſt, he ſhould be forced to conſider him as an enemy* [d].

ANTONY made him but a cold reply; having heard perhaps, in the mean time, of ſomething which did not pleaſe him in his conduct. He told him onely, *that his eaſineſs and clemency were agreeable to him, and might hereafter be a great pleaſure to himſelf* [e].

CLEOPATRA, *the Queen of* Egypt, *was in* Rome *when* CÆSAR *was killed*; but being terrified by that accident, and the ſubſequent diſorders of the City, ſhe ran away preſently with great precipitation. Her authority and credit with CÆSAR, in whoſe houſe ſhe was lodged, made her inſolence intolerable to the *Romans*; whom ſhe ſeems to have treated on the ſame foot with her own *Egyptians*; as the ſubjects of abſolute power, and the ſlaves of a Maſter, whom ſhe commanded. CICERO *had a conference with her in* CÆSAR's *gardens*; *where the haughtineſs of her behaviour gave him no ſmall offence.* Knowing his taſt and character, ſhe made him the promiſe of ſome preſent, very agreeable, but diſobliged him the more by not performing it: he does not tell us, what it was; but from the hints, which he drops, it ſeems to have been *ſtatues or curioſities from* Egypt, *for the ornament of his Library*; a ſort of furniture, which he was peculiarly fond of. But her pride being mortified by CÆSAR's fate, ſhe was now forced to apply to him by her Miniſters for his aſſiſtance in a particular ſuit, that ſhe was recommending to the Senate, in which he refuſed to be concerned. The affair ſeems to have

[d] Ego tamen Antonii inveteratam ſine ulla offenſione amicitiam retinere ſane volo. Ep. fam. 16. 23.

Cui quidem ego ſemper amicus fui, antequam illum intellexi non modo aperte, ſed etiam libenter cum Repub. bellum gerere. Ib. xi. 5.

[e] Antonius ad me tantum de Clodio reſcripſit, meam lenitatem & clementiam & ſibi eſſe gratam, & mihi magnæ voluptati fore. Ad Att. 14. 19.

have related *to her Infant Son*, whom ſhe pretended to be CÆSAR's, and called by his name; and was laboring to get him *acknowledged as ſuch at* Rome, *and declared the Heir of her Kingdom*; as he was the year following, both *by* ANTONY *and* OCTAVIUS; though CÆSAR's friends were generally ſcandalized at it, and OPPIUS thought it worth while to write a book, to prove, *that the child could not be* CÆSAR's [*f*]. CLEOPATRA had been waiting to accompany CÆSAR into the Eaſt, in order to preſerve her influence over him, which was very great: for after his death, HELVIUS CINNA, one of the Tribuns, owned, *that he had a law ready prepared and delivered to him by* CÆSAR, *with orders to publiſh it, as ſoon as he was gone, for granting to him the liberty of taking what number of wives, and of what condition he thought fit, for the ſake of propagating children* [*g*]. This was contrived probably to ſave CLEOPATRA's honor, and to legitimate his iſſue by her; ſince polygamy, and the marriage of a ſtranger, were prohibited by the laws of *Rome*.

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CICERO touches theſe particulars in ſeveral places, though darkly and abruptly, according to the ſtile of his Letters to ATTICUS. "The flight of the Queen, ſays he, "gives me no pain. I ſhould be glad to hear, what far- "ther news there is of her, and her young CÆSAR. I "hate the Queen: her Agent, AMMONIUS, the witneſs and "ſponſor of her promiſes to me, knows, that I have rea- "ſon: they were things onely proper for a man of letters, "and ſuitable to my character; ſo that I ſhould not ſcru- "ple to proclame them from the Roſtra. Her other "Agent,

[*f*] Quorum C. Oppius, quaſi plane defenſione ac patrocinio res egeret, librum edidit, non eſſe Cæſaris filium, quem Cleopatra dicat. Sueton. J. Cæſ. 52. vid. Dio. p. 227, 345.

[*g*] Helvius Cinna—confeſſus eſt, habuiſſe ſe ſcriptam paratamque legem, quam Cæſar ferre juſſiſſet cum ipſe abeſſet, ut uxores liberorum quærendorum cauſa, quas & quot ducere vellet, liceret. Suet. ib. Dio. 243.

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" Agent, Sara, is not onely a raſcal, but has been rude " to me. I never ſaw him at my Houſe but once; and " when I aſked him civilly, what commands he had for " me, he ſaid, that he came to look for Atticus. As " to the pride of the Queen, when I ſaw her in the Gar- " dens, I can never think of it without reſentment: I " will have nothing therefore to do with them: they take " me to have neither ſpirit, nor even feeling left [*b*]."

Antony having put his affairs into the beſt train, that he could, and appointed *the firſt of* June for a meeting of the Senate, in order to deliberate on the ſtate of the Republic, took the opportunity of that interval to make a progreſs through *Italy*, for the ſake of viſiting the quarters of the veteran ſoldiers, and engaging them to his ſervice, by all ſorts of bribes and promiſes. He left the government of the City to Dolabella, whom Cæsar, upon his intended expedition to *Parthia*, had deſigned and nominated to the Conſulſhip: and though Antony had proteſted againſt that deſignation, and reſolved to obſtruct it's effect, yet after Cæsar's death, when Dolabella, by the advantage of the general confuſion, *ſeized the enſigns of the office, and aſſumed the habit and character of the Conſul*, Antony *quietly received, and acknowledged him as ſuch at the next meeting of the Senate* [*i*].

Cicero

[*b*] Reginæ fuga mihi non moleſta. [Ad Att. 14. 8.] de Regina velim, atque etiam de Cæſare illo. [ib. 20.] Reginam odi. Me jure facere ſcit ſponſor promiſſorum ejus Ammonius; quæ quidem erant φιλόλογα, & dignitatis meæ, ut vel in concione dicere auderem. Saram autem, præterquam quod nefarium hominem cognovi, præterea in me contumacem. Semel eum omnino domi meæ vidi. Cum φιλοφρόνως ex eo quærerem, quid opus eſſet, Atticum ſe dixit quærere. Superbiam autem ipſius Reginæ, cum eſſet trans Tiberim in hortis, commemorare ſine magno dolore non poſſum. Nihil igitur cum iſtis: nec tam animum me, quam vix ſtomachum habere arbitrantur. Ib. 15. 15.

[*i*] Tuum Collegam, depoſitis inimicitiis, oblitus auſpicia, te ipſo Augure nunciante, illo primo die Collegam tibi eſſe voluiſti—Phil. 1. 13.

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CICERO had always kept up a fair correſpondence with his ſon in law, though he had long known him to be void of all virtue and good principles: but he had now greater reaſon than ever for inſinuating himſelf, as far as he was able, into his confidence; in order to engage him, if poſſible, to the intereſts of the Republic, and uſe him as a check upon the deſigns of his collegue ANTONY; in which he had the greater proſpect of ſucceſs, on the account of their declared enmity to each other. DOLABELLA greatly confirmed theſe hopes; and as ſoon as ANTONY had left the City, made all honeſt men think themſelves ſure of him, by exerting a moſt ſevere, as well as ſeaſonable act of diſcipline, upon the diſturbers of the public tranquillity. For the mob, headed by *the Impoſtor* MARIUS, *and the freedmen of* CAESAR, *had erected an altar in the Forum, on the ſpot where* CAESAR's *body was burnt; with a Pillar of* Numidian *Marble, twenty feet high, inſcribed* TO THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. Here they performed *daily ſacrifices and divine rites*; and the humor of worſhipping at this new altar began to ſpread itſelf ſo faſt among the meaner ſort, and the ſlaves, *as to endanger the peace and ſafety of the City:* for the multitudes, which flocked to the place, fired with a kind of enthuſiaſtic rage, ran furious about the ſtreets committing all ſorts of outrage and violence againſt the ſuppoſed friends of liberty. But DOLABELLA put an end to the evil at once, *by demoliſhing the Pillar, and the Altar, and ſeizing the authors of the diſorders; and cauſing ſuch of them, as were free, to be thrown down the* Tarpeian *Rock, and the ſlaves to be crucified.* This gave an univerſal joy to the City: the whole body of the people *attended the Conſul to his houſe; and in the Theaters*

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gave him the uſual teſtimony of their thanks, by the loudeſt acclamations [*k*].

Cicero was infinitely pleaſed with this act, and enjoyed ſome ſhare of the praiſe, ſince it was generally imputed to the influence of his counſils: in a Letter upon it to Atticus; "O my admirable Dolabella! ſays he, I now "call him mine; for, believe me, I had ſome doubt of "him before: the fact affords matter of great ſpecula- "tion: *to throw them down the Rock*; *to crucify*; "*demoliſh the Pillar*; *pave the area*; in ſhort, it is "heroic. He has extinguiſhed all appearance of that "regret for Cæsar, which was ſpreading every day ſo "faſt, that I began to apprehend ſome danger to our "Tyrant-killers: but I now agree with you, and conceive "better hopes, &c. [*l*]. Again; O the brave act of Do- "labella! what a proſpect does it give us? I never "ceaſe praiſing and exhorting him-----our Brutus, I "dare ſay, might now walk ſafely through the Forum, "with a crown of gold upon his head: for who dares "moleſt him, when *the rock or the croſs* is to be their "fate? and when the very loweſt of the people give ſuch "proofs of their applauſe and approbation [*m*]?" He wrote at the ſame time from *Baiæ* the following Letter to Dolabella himſelf.

Cicero

[*k*] Plebs—poſtea ſolidam columnam prope viginti pedum lapidis Numidici in Foro ſtatuit, ſcripſitque Parenti Patriæ, apud eandem longo tempore ſacrificare, vota ſuſcipere, controverſias quaſdam, interpoſito per Cæſarem jurejurando, diſtrahere perſeveravit. Suet. J. Cæſ. 85.

Manabat enim illud malum urbanum, & ita corroborabatur quotidie, ut ego quidem & urbi & otio diffiderem urbano. Ep. fam. 12. 1.

Nam cum ſerperet in urbe infinitum malum—& quotidie magis magiſque perditi homines, cum ſui ſimilibus ſervis, tectis & templis urbis minarentur; talis animadverſio fuit Dolabellæ, cum in audaces ſceleratoſque ſervos, tum in impuros & nefarios cives, taliſque everſio illius execratæ columnæ, &c. Phil. 1. 2.—recordare, quæſo, Dolabella, conſenſum illum theatri—vid. ib. 12.

[*l*] Ad Att. 14. 15.

[*m*] O Dolabellæ noſtri ἀρετὴν! quanta eſt ἀναθεώρησις? equidem laudare eum & hortari non deſiſto—mihi quidem videtur Brutus noſter jam vel coronam auream per forum ferre poſſe: quis enim audeat violare, propoſita cruce aut ſaxo? præſertim tantis plauſibus, tanta approbatione infimorum? ib. 16.

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CICERO to DOLABELLA Conſul.

" THOUGH I was content, my DOLABELLA, with your " glory, and reaped a ſufficiency of pleaſure from it, yet " I cannot but own, that it gives me an inexpreſſible joy, " to find the world aſcribing to me alſo ſome ſhare in your " praiſes. I have met with no body here, though I ſee ſo " much company every day, (for there are many worthy " men now at this place for the ſake of their health, and " many of my acquaintance from the great towns) who, " after extolling you to the ſkies, does not give thanks " preſently to me; not doubting, as they all ſay, but it " is by my precepts and advice, that you now ſhew your- " ſelf to be this admirable Citizen, and ſingular Conſul: " and though I could aſſure them with great truth, that " what you are doing flows wholly from yourſelf and " your own judgement, and that you want not the advice " of any one; yet I neither wholly aſſent, leſt I ſhould " derogate from your merit, by making it ſeem to pro- " cede from my counſil; nor do I ſtrongly deny it, " being myſelf perhaps more greedy of glory, than I ought " to be. But that can never be a diminution to you, which " was an honor even to AGAMEMNON, the King of Kings, " to have a NESTOR for his counſellor; while it will be " glorious to me, to ſee a young Conſul, the ſcholar, as " it were, of my diſcipline, floriſhing in the midſt of " applauſe. L. CÆSAR, when I viſited him lately ſick " at *Naples*, though oppreſſed with pain in every part of " his body, yet before he had even ſaluted me, could not " forbear crying out, O my CICERO! I congratulate with " you on account of the authority, which you have with " DOLABELLA; for if I had the ſame credit with my Siſter's

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" Son, Antony, we ſhould all now be ſafe: but as to your
" Dolabella, I both congratulate with him, and thank
" him; ſince from the time of your Conſulſhip, he is the
" onely one, whom we can truly call a Conſul: he then
" enlarged upon your act, and the manner of it; and
" declared, that nothing was ever greater, nothing nobler,
" nothing more ſalutary to the ſtate: and this indeed is
" the common voice of all. Allow me therefore, I beg
" of you, to take ſome ſhare, though it be a falſe one,
" in the poſſeſſion of another man's glory; and admit
" me in ſome degree into a partnerſhip of your praiſes.
" But to be ſerious, my Dolabella, for hitherto I have
" been joking, I would ſooner transfer all the credit, that
" I have, to you, if I really have any, than rob you of
" any part of yours: for as I have always had that ſincere
" affection for you, to which you have been no ſtranger,
" ſo now I am ſo charmed by your late conduct, that no
" love was ever more ardent. For, believe me, there is
" nothing after all more engaging, nothing more beauti-
" ful, nothing more lovely, than virtue. I have ever
" loved M. Brutus, you know, for his incomparable
" parts, ſweet diſpoſition, ſingular probity, and firmneſs
" of mind: yet on the Ides of *March*, ſuch an acceſſion
" was made to my love, that I was ſurprized to find any
" room for increaſe in that, which I had long ago taken
" to be full and perfect. Who could have thought it poſ-
" ſible, that any addition could be made to my love of you?
" Yet ſo much has been added, that I ſeem but now at
" laſt to love, before, to have onely eſteemed you. What
" is it therefore, that I muſt now exhort you to? Is it to
" purſue the path of dignity and glory? And as thoſe do,
" who uſe to exhort, ſhall I propoſe to you the examples

" of

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" of eminent men? I can think of none more eminent
" than yourſelf. You muſt imitate therefore yourſelf;
" contend with yourſelf; for after ſuch great things done,
" it would be a diſgrace to you, not to be like yourſelf.
" Since this then is the caſe, there is no occaſion to exhort,
" but to congratulate with you: for that has happened
" to you, which ſcarce ever happened to any man, that
" by the utmoſt ſeverity of puniſhing, inſtead of acquir-
" ing odium, you are become popular; and not onely
" with the better ſort, but the very meaneſt of the City.
" If this was owing to fortune, I ſhould congratulate your
" felicity; but it was owing to the greatneſs of your
" courage, as well as of your parts and wiſdom. For I
" have read your ſpeech to the people: nothing was ever
" more prudent: you enter ſo deliberately and gradually
" into the reaſon of your act, and retire from it ſo art-
" fully, that the caſe itſelf, in the opinion of all, appears
" to be ripe for puniſhment. You have freed us therefore
" both from our danger and our fears, and have done an
" act of the greateſt ſervice, not onely to the preſent times,
" but for the example of it alſo, to poſterity. You are to
" conſider, that the Republic now reſts upon your ſhoul-
" ders; and that it is your part, not onely to protect, but
" to adorn thoſe men, from whom we have received this
" beginning of our liberty: but of this we ſhall talk
" more fully, when we meet again, as I hope we ſhall
" ſhortly: in the mean while, ſince you are now the
" common guardian both of the Republic and of us all,
" take care, my dear Dolabella, that you guard more
" eſpecially your own ſafety [*n*]."

In

[*n*] Ep. fam. 9. 14.

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IN this retreat from *Rome* he had a mind to make an excurſion to *Greece*, and pay a viſit to his Son at *Athens*, whoſe conduct did not pleaſe him, and ſeemed to require *his preſence to reform and ſet it right* [*o*]. But the news of DOLABELLA's behaviour, and the hopes, which it gave, of gaining the *onely thing that was wanted, a Head and Leader of their cauſe*, armed with the authority of the ſtate, made him reſolve to ſtay at leaſt, till after *the firſt of* June, leſt his abſence ſhould be interpreted as a kind of deſertion: nor did he ever intend indeed to leave *Italy*, till he could do it without cenſure, *and to the full ſatisfaction of* BRUTUS, *whom he was determined never to deſert on any occaſion* [*p*].

HE had frequent meetings and conferences all this while with his old friends of the oppoſite party; the late Miniſters of CÆSAR's power; PANSA, HIRTIUS, BALBUS, MATIUS, *&c.* but CÆSAR's death, on which their ſentiments were very different from his, had in great meaſure broken their former confidence: and though the popularity of the act made them ſomewhat ſhy of ſpeaking their minds freely about it, yet he eaſily perceived, that they were utterly diſpleaſed with it, and ſeemed to want an occaſion of revenging it. PANSA and HIRTIUS, as has been ſaid, were nominated by CÆSAR to the conſulſhip of the next year; and as CÆSAR's acts were ratified by the Senate, were to ſuccede to it of courſe. This made BRUTUS and CASSIUS preſs CICERO earneſtly to gain them, if poſſible, to the Republican ſide; but eſpecially HIRTIUS, whom

[*o*] Quod ſentio valde eſſe utile ad confirmationem Ciceronis, me illuc venire. [Ad Att. 14. 13.] magni intereſt Ciceronis, vel mea potius, vel mehercule utriuſque, me intervenire diſcenti. Ib. 16.

[*p*] Nunc autem videmur habituri ducem, quod unum Municipia, bonique deſiderant. Ib. 20.

Nec vero diſcedam, niſi cum tu me id honeſte putabis facere poſſe. Bruto certe meo nullo loco deero. Ib. 15.—vid. 16, 13.

whom they moſt ſuſpected. But CICERO ſeems to have had little hopes of ſucceſs; his account of them to ATTICUS is, "That there was not one of them who did not "dread peace, more than war; that they were perpetually "lamenting the miſerable end of ſo great a man; and "declaring, that the Republic was ruined by it; that all "his acts would be made void, as ſoon as people's fears "were over; and that clemency was his ruin; ſince, if "it had not been for that, he could not have periſhed in "ſuch a manner: and of HIRTIUS in particular; he "warmly loves him, ſays he, whom BRUTUS ſtabbed: "as to their deſiring me to make him better, I am doing "my endeavour: he talks very honeſtly, but lives with "BALBUS; who talks honeſtly too: how far they are to "be truſted, you muſt conſider [q]."

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BUT of all this ſet of men, MATIUS was the moſt open and explicit, in condemning the act of the Conſpirators, ſo as to put CICERO out of humor with him, as a man irreconcileable to the liberty of the Republic. CICERO called upon him on his way from *Rome* into the Country, and found him ſullen, deſponding, and foreboding nothing but wars and deſolation, as the certain conſequence of CAESAR's death. Among other particulars of their converſation, MATIUS told him ſomething which CÆSAR had lately ſaid both of him and BRUTUS; that he uſed to ſay of BRUTUS, "it was of great conſequence which way he "ſtood inclined, ſince whatever he had a mind to, he "purſued

[q] Minime enim obſcurum eſt, quid iſti moliantur: meus vero diſcipulus, qui hodie apud me cœnat, valde amat illum, quem Brutus noſter ſauciavit, & ſi quæris, perſpexi enim plane, timent otium. ὑπόθεσιν autem hanc habent, eamque præ ſe ferunt, virum clariſſimum interfectum, totam Rempub. illius interitu perturbatam: irrita fore, quæ ille egiſſet, ſimul ac deſiſtemus timere. Clementiam illi malo fuiſſe: qua ſi uſus non eſſet, nihil illi tale accidere potuiſſe. Ad Att. 14. 22.

Quod Hirtium per me meliorem fieri volunt, do equidem operam, & ille optime loquitur, ſed vivit habitatque cum Balbo: qui item bene loquitur. Quid credas videris. Ib. 20. 21.

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" purſued with an impetuous eagerneſs: that he had " remarked this of him more eſpecially, in his pleading " for Deiotarus at *Nicæa*; where he ſpoke with a ſur- " prizing vehemence and freedom: and of Cicero, that " when he was attending Cæsar, in the cauſe of Sestius, " Cæsar perceiving him ſitting in the room, and wait- " ing till he was called, ſaid; can I doubt of my being " extremely odious, when Cicero ſits waiting, and cannot " get acceſs to me: yet if any man be eaſy enough to " forgive it, it is he, though I do not queſtion, but that " he really hates me [*r*]."

There were ſeveral reaſons however, which made it neceſſary to theſe men, to court Cicero at this time as much as ever: for if the Republic happened to recover itſelf, he was of all men the moſt capable to protect them on that ſide: if not, the moſt able to aſſiſt them againſt Antony, whoſe deſigns and ſucceſs they dreaded ſtill more: for if they muſt have a new maſter, they were diſpoſed, for the ſake of Cæsar, to prefer his Heir and Nephew Octavius. We find Hirtius and Pansa therefore very aſſiduous in their obſervance of him: they ſpent a great part of the ſummer with him at different times in his Villa's, giving him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their good intentions, and diſpoſition to peace, *and that he ſhould be the Arbiter of their future Conſulſhip:* and though he continued ſtill *to have ſome diſtruſt of* Hirtius, *yet* Pansa *wholly perſuaded him, that he was ſincere* [*s*].

Brutus

[*r*] De Bruto noſtro—Cæſarem ſolitum dicere. Magni refert hic quid velit: ſed quicquid vult, valde vult. Idque eum animadvertiſſe cum pro Deiotaro Niceæ dixerit, valde vehementer eum viſum, & libere dicere. Atque etiam proxime cum Seſtii rogatu apud eum fuiſſem, expectaremque ſedens quoad vocarer. dixiſſe eum; ego dubitem quin ſummo in odio ſim, cum M. Cicero ſedeat, nec ſuo commodo me convenire poſſit? Atqui ſi quiſquam eſt facilis, hic eſt: tamen non dubito, quin me male oderit. Ad Att. 14. 1.

[*s*] Cum Panſa vixi in Pompeiano. Is plane mihi probabat, ſe bene ſentire & cuperę pacem, &c. Ad Att. 14. 20. it. 15. 1.

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Brutus and Cassius continued ſtill near *Lanuvium*, in the neighbourhood of Cicero's *Villa at Aſtura*, of which, at Cicero's deſire, they ſometimes made uſe [*t*]: being yet irreſolute, what meaſures they ſhould take; they kept themſelves quiet and retired, expecting what time and chance would offer; and waiting particularly to ſee what humor the Conſuls would be in at the next meeting of the Senate, with regard to themſelves and the Republic: and ſince they were driven from the diſcharge of their Prætorſhip in the City, they contrived to put the people in mind of them from time to time by their edicts, in which they made the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of their pacific diſpoſition, and declared, "that their conduct ſhould give no handle "for a civil war; and that they would ſubmit to a per-"petual exil, if it would contribute in any manner to the "public concord, being content with the conſciouſneſs of "their act, as the greateſt honor which they could "enjoy [*u*]." Their preſent deſign was to come to *Rome on the firſt of* June, and take their places in the Senate, if it ſhould be thought adviſeable; or to preſent themſelves at leaſt in the *Roſtra*, and try the affections of the people, for whom Brutus was preparing a ſpeech. They ſent to know Cicero's opinion of this project, with the copy alſo of that ſpeech *which* Brutus *made in the Capitol on the day of* Cæsar's *death, begging his reviſal and correction of it, in order to it's being publiſhed.* Cicero, in his account of it to Atticus, ſays, "the "Oration is drawn with the utmoſt elegance both of ſen-

[*t*] Velim mehercule Aſturæ Brutus. [Ad Att. 14. 11.] Brutum apud me fuiſſe gaudeo: modo & libenter fuerit & ſat diu. Ib. 15. 3.

[*u*] Teſtati edictis, libenter ſe vel in perpetuo exilio victuros, dum Reipub. conſtaret concordia, nec ullam belli civilis præbituros materiam, plurimum ſibi honoris eſſe in conſcientia facti ſui, &c. [Vell. P. 2. 62.] Edictum Bruti & Caſſii probo. [Ad Att. 14. 20.] De quibus tu bonam ſpem te habere ſignificas propter edictorum humanitatem. Ib. 15, 1.

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" timents and ſtile; yet were I to handle the ſubject, I " ſhould work it up with more fire. You know the " character of the ſpeaker: for which reaſon I could not " correct it. For in the ſtile, in which our friend would " excell, and according to the idea, which he has formed " of the beſt manner of ſpeaking, he has ſucceded ſo well, " that nothing can be better: but whether I am in the " right or the wrong, I am of a quite different taſt. I " wiſh however, that you would read it, if you have not " already, and let me know what you think of it: though " I am afraid, leſt through the prejudice of your name, " you ſhould ſhew too much of the *Attic* in your judge- " ment: yet if you remember the thunder of DEMOST- " HENES, you will perceive, that the greateſt force may " conſiſt with the perfection of *Attic* elegance [*x*]."

ATTICUS did not like the ſpeech; he thought the manner too cold and ſpiritleſs for ſo great an occaſion; and begged of CICERO to draw up another to be publiſhed *in* BRUTUS's *name:* but CICERO would not conſent to it, thinking the thing itſelf improper, and knowing, *that* BRUTUS *would take it ill* [*y*]. In one of his Letters on the ſubject, " Though you think me in the wrong, ſays " he, to imagine, that the Republic depends on BRUTUS, " the fact is certainly ſo: there will either be none at " all, or it will be ſaved by him and his accomplices. As " to your urging me to write a ſpeech for him, take it " from me, my ATTICUS, as a general rule, which by " long experience I have found to be true, that there never " was a Poet or Orator, who thought any one preferable " to himſelf: this is the caſe even with bad ones: what " ſhall we think then of BRUTUS, who has both wit and " learning?

[*x*] Ad Att. 15. 1. [*y*] Ib. 3, 4.

" learning? eſpecially after the late experiment of him, " in the caſe of the edict: I drew up one for him at your " deſire: I liked mine; he his: beſides, when at his " earneſt ſollicitation I addreſſed to him my Treatiſe on the " *beſt manner of ſpeaking*, he wrote word, not onely to " me, but to you too, that the kind of eloquence, which " I recommended, did not pleaſe him. Let every one " therefore compoſe for himſelf----I wiſh onely, that it " may be in his power to make a ſpeech at all; for if " ever he can appear again with ſafety at *Rome*, we have " gained the victory [z]."

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

IN this interval, a new Actor appeared on the ſtage, who, though hitherto but little conſidered, ſoon made the firſt figure upon it, and drew all people's eyes towards him, *the young* OCTAVIUS, who was left by his uncle CÆSAR, the heir of his name and eſtate. He had been ſent a few months before to *Apollonia*, a celebrated Academy, or ſchool of learning in *Macedonia*, there to wait for his uncle on his way to the *Parthian* war, in which he was to attend him: but the news of CÆSAR's death ſoon brought him back to *Italy*, to try what fortunes he could carve for himſelf, by the credit of his new name, and the help of his uncle's friends. He arrived at *Naples on the eighteenth of* April, whither BALBUS went the next morning to receive him, and returned the ſame day to CICERO near *Cumæ*, having firſt conducted OCTAVIUS *to the adjoining Villa of his Father in law* PHILIP: HIRTIUS and PANSA were with CICERO at the ſame time, to whom they immediately preſented OCTAVIUS with the ſtrongeſt pro-

[z] Ad Att. 14. 20.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

ſeſſions on the part of the young man, *that he would be governed intirely by his direction* [a].

The ſole pretenſion, which he avowed at preſent, was, to aſſert his right to the ſucceſſion of his uncle's eſtate, and to claim the poſſeſſion of it: but this was thought an attempt too hardy and dangerous for a mere boy, ſcarce yet above *eighteen years* old: for the Republican party had great reaſon to be jealous of him, leſt with the inheritance of the Eſtate, he ſhould graſp at the power of his uncle; and Antony ſtill more, who had deſtined that ſucceſſion to himſelf, and already ſeized the effects, leſt, by the advantage of all that wealth, Octavius might be in a condition to make head againſt him. The mother therefore and her huſband Philip, out of concern for his ſafety, preſſed him *to ſuſpend his claim for a while, and not aſſume an invidious name*, before he could ſee what turn the public affairs would take: but he was of too great a ſpirit to reliſh any ſuggeſtions of caution; declaring it *baſe and infamous to think himſelf unworthy of a name, of which* Cæsar *had thought him worthy* [b]: and there were many about him conſtantly puſhing him on, to throw himſelf upon the affections of the City, and the army, before his enemies had made themſelves too ſtrong for him; ſo that he was on fire to be at *Rome*, and to enter into action; being determined to riſk all his hopes on the credit of his name, and the friends and troops of his uncle.

[a] Octavius Neapolim venit a. d. XIIII Kal. ibi eum Balbus mane poſtridie; eodemque die mecum in Cumano. [Ad Att. 14. 10.] Hic mecum Balbus, Hirtius, Panſa. Modo venit Octavius, & quidem in proximam villam Philippi, mihi totus deditus. Ib. 11.

[b] Non placebat Atiæ matri, Philippoque vitrico, adiri nomen invidioſæ fortunæ Cæſaris. —ſprevit cœleſtis animus humana conſilia— dictitans nefas eſſe, quo nomine Cæſari dignus eſſet viſus, ſibimet ipſum videri indignum. Vell. P. 2. 60.

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Before he left the country, Cicero ſpeaking of him to Atticus ſays, "Octavius is ſtill with us, and treats "me with the greateſt reſpect and friendſhip: his domeſtics "give him the name of Cæsar: Philip does not; nor "for that reaſon do I. It is not poſſible for him, in my "opinion, to make a good Citizen; there are ſo many "about him, who threaten the death of our friends: they "declare, that what they have done can never be forgiven. "What will be the caſe, think you, when the boy comes "to *Rome*, where our deliverers cannot ſhew their heads? "who yet muſt ever be famous, nay happy too, in the "conſciouſneſs of their act: but as for us, unleſs I am "deceived, we ſhall be undone. I long therefore to go "abroad, where I may hear no more of theſe *Pelopidæ*, "*&c.* [*c*]."

As ſoon as Octavius came to *Rome*, he was produced to the people by one of the Tribuns, and made a ſpeech to them from *the Roſtra*, which was now generally poſſeſſed by the enemies of Brutus, who were perpetually making uſe of the advantage, to inflame the mob againſt him: "Remember, ſays Cicero, what I tell you: this cuſtom "of ſeditious harangues is ſo much cheriſhed, that thoſe "*Heroes of ours, or rather Gods*, will live indeed in "immortal glory, yet not without envy, and even danger: "their great comfort however is, the conſciouſneſs of a "moſt glorious act: but what comfort for us, who when

" our

[*c*] Nobiſcum hic perhonorifice & amice Octavius: quem quidem ſui Cæſarem ſalutabant, Philippus non; itaque ne nos quidem: quem nego poſſe bonum civem, ita multi circumſtant, qui quidem noſtris mortem minitantur. Negant hæc ferri poſſe. Quid cenſes, cum Romam puer venerit, ubi noſtri liberatores tuti eſſe non poſſunt? qui quidem ſemper erunt clari; conſcientia vero facti ſui etiam beati: ſed nos, niſi me fallit, jacebimus. Itaque aveo exire, ubi nec Pelopidarum—ad Att. 14. 12.

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" our King is killed, are not yet free? But fortune " muſt look to that, ſince reaſon has no ſway----[*d*]."

OCTAVIUS ſeconded his ſpeech, by what was like to pleaſe the inferior part of the City much better; the repreſentation *of public ſhews and plays, in honor of his Uncle's victories.* CÆSAR had promiſed and prepared for them in his life time; but thoſe, whom he had entruſted with the management, durſt not venture to exhibit them after his death, till OCTAVIUS, *as his heir and repreſentative, undertook the affair, as devolved of courſe upon himſelf* [*e*]. In theſe ſhews OCTAVIUS brought out *the Golden Chair*, which among the other honors, decreed to CÆSAR, when living, was ordered *to be placed in the Theaters and Circus, as to a Deity*, on all ſolemn occaſions [*f*]. But the *Tribuns ordered the Chair to be taken away*, upon which the body of the Knights teſtified their applauſe by a general clap. ATTICUS ſent an account of this to CICERO, which was very agreeable to him [*g*]: but he was not at all pleaſed with OCTAVIUS's conduct, ſince it indicated a ſpirit, determined to revive the memory, and to avenge the death of CÆSAR: and he was the leſs pleaſed to hear alſo, *that* MATIUS *had taken upon him the care of theſe ſhews* [*h*]; ſince it confirmed the ſuſpicion, which he had before conceived of MATIUS; and made him apprehenſive, that he would be an ill Counſellor to young OCTAVIUS, in which light he ſeems to have repreſented him to BRUTUS. MATIUS was

[*d*] Sed memento, ſic alitur conſuetudo perditarum concionum, ut noſtri illi non Heroes, ſed Dii, futuri quidem in gloria ſempiterna ſint, ſed non ſine invidia, ne ſine periculo quidem: verum illis magna conſolatio, conſcientia maximi & clariſſimi facti: nobis quæ, qui interfecto Rege liberi non ſumus? Sed hæc fortuna viderit, quoniam ratio non gubernat. Ad Att. 14. 11.

[*e*] Ludos autem victoriæ Cæſaris non audentibus facere, quibus obtigerat id munus, ipſe edidit—Suet. Aug. x. Dio. p. 272.

[*f*] Dio. 44. 243.

[*g*] De Sella Cæſaris, bene Tribuni, Præclaros etiam xiv. ordines. Ad Att. 15. 3.

[*h*] Ludorum ejus apparatus, & Matius ac Poſtumius procuratores non placent. Ad Att. 15. 2.

was informed of theſe ſuſpicions, and complained to their common friend TREBATIUS, of CICERO's unkind opinion and unfriendly treatment of him, which gave occaſion to the following apology from CICERO, and the anſwer to it from MATIUS; which is deſervedly valued, not onely for the beauty of it's ſentiments and compoſition, but for preſerving to us a name and character, which was almoſt loſt to Hiſtory, of a moſt eſteemed and amiable perſon, who lived in the firſt degree of confidence with CÆSAR, and for parts, learning, and virtue, was ſcarce inferior to any of that age.

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CICERO takes pains to perſuade MATIUS, that he had ſaid nothing of him, but what was conſiſtent with the ſtricteſt friendſhip; and to gain the eaſier credit with him, prefaces his apology with a detail and acknowledgement of MATIUS's perpetual civilities, and obſervance of him through life, even when in the heigth of his power and credit with CÆSAR: but when he comes to the point of the complaint, he touches it very tenderly, and obſerves onely in general, "That as MATIUS's dignity expoſed every "thing which he did to public notice, ſo the malice of the "world interpreted ſome of his acts more hardly than they "deſerved: that it was his care always to give the moſt "favorable turn to them----but you, ſays he, a man of "the greateſt learning, are not ignorant; that, if CÆSAR "was in fact a King, as I indeed look upon him to have "been, there are two ways of conſidering the caſe of "your duty: either that, which I commonly take, of "extolling your fidelity and humanity, in ſhewing ſo "much affection even to a dead friend; or the other, which "ſome people uſe; that the liberty of our Country ought "to be preferred to the life of any friend. I wiſh, that

"you

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

" you had heard, with what zeal I uſed to defend you in
" theſe converſations: but there are two things eſpecially,
" that make the principal part of your praiſe, which no
" man ſpeaks of more frequently or more freely than I;
" that you, of all CAESAR's friends, were the moſt active
" both in diſſuading the civil war, and in moderating
" the victory; in which I have met with no body, who
" does not agree with me, &c. [i]."

MATIUS to CICERO.

" Your Letter gave me great pleaſure, by letting me ſee,
" that you retain ſtill that favorable opinion of me, which
" I had always hoped and wiſhed; and though I had
" never indeed any doubt of it, yet for the high value,
" that I ſet upon it, I was very ſollicitous, that it ſhould
" remain always inviolable: I was conſcious to myſelf,
" that I had done nothing which could reaſonably give
" offence to any honeſt man; and did not imagine there-
" fore, that a perſon of your great and excellent accom-
" pliſhments could be induced to take any without reaſon,
" eſpecially againſt one, who had always profeſſed, and
" ſtill continued to profeſs, a ſincere good will to you.
" Since all this then ſtands juſt as I wiſh it, I will now
" give an anſwer to thoſe accuſations, from which you,
" agreeably to your character, out of your ſingular good-
" neſs and friendſhip, have ſo often defended me. I am
" no ſtranger to what has been ſaid of me by certain per-
" ſons, ſince CAESAR's death: they call it a crime in me,
" that I am concerned for the loſs of an intimate friend,
" and ſorry, that the man, whom I loved, met with ſo
" unhappy a fate: they ſay, that our Country ought to
" be

[i] Ep. fam. xi. 27.

" be preferred to any friendſhip, as if they had already made it evident, that his death was of ſervice to the Republic: but I will not deal craftily: I own myſelf not to be arrived at that degree of wiſdom; nor did I yet follow CÆSAR in our late diſſenſions, but my friend; whom, though diſpleaſed with the thing, I could not deſert: for I never approved the civil war, or the cauſe of it; but took all poſſible pains to ſtifle it in it's birth. Upon the victory therefore of a familiar friend, I was not eager either to advance, or to enrich myſelf: an advantage, which others, who had leſs intereſt with him than I, abuſed to great exceſs. Nay, my circumſtances were even hurt by CÆSAR's law, to whoſe kindneſs the greateſt part of thoſe, who now rejoice at his death, owed their very continuance in the City. I ſollicited the pardon of the vanquiſhed with the ſame zeal, as if it had been for myſelf. Is it poſſible therefore for me, who labored to procure the ſafety of all, not to be concerned for the death of him, from whom I uſed to procure it? eſpecially when the very ſame men, who were the cauſe of making him odious, were the authors alſo of deſtroying him. But I ſhall have cauſe, they ſay, to repent, for daring to condemn their act. Unheard of inſolence! that it ſhould be allowed to ſome to glory in a wicked action, yet not to others, even to grieve at it without puniſhment. But this was always free even to ſlaves, to fear, rejoice, and grieve by their own will, not that of another; which yet theſe men, who call themſelves the authors of liberty, are endeavouring to extort from us by the force of terror. But they may ſpare their threats: for no danger ſhall terrify me from performing my duty and

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

" the offices of humanity: ſince it was always my opi-
" nion, that an honeſt death was never to be avoided,
" often even to be ſought. But why are they angry with
" me, for wiſhing onely, that they may repent of their
" act? I wiſh, that all the world may regret CÆSAR's
" death. But I ought, they ſay, as a member of civil
" ſociety, to wiſh the good and ſafety of the Republic.
" If my paſt life and future hopes do not already prove,
" that I wiſh it, without my ſaying ſo, I will not pre-
" tend to evince it by argument. I beg of you there-
" fore in the ſtrongeſt terms, to attend to facts rather
" than to words; and if you think it the moſt uſefull to
" one in my circumſtances, that what is right ſhould take
" place; never imagine, that I can have any union or
" commerce with ill-deſigning men. I acted the ſame
" part in my youth, where to miſtake would have been
" pardonable; ſhall I then undo it all again, and renounce
" my principles in my declining age? No; it is my reſolu-
" tion to do nothing, that can give any offence; except
" it be, when I lament the cruel fate of a dear friend and
" illuſtrious man. If I were in different ſentiments, I
" would never diſown what I was doing; leſt I ſhould
" be thought, not onely wicked for purſuing what
" was wrong, but falſe and cowardly for diſſembling
" it. But I undertook the care of the ſhews, which young
" CÆSAR exhibited for the victory of his uncle: this was
" an affair of private, not of public duty: it was, what
" I ought to have performed to the memory and honor
" of my dead friend; and what I could not therefore
" deny to a youth of the greateſt hopes, and ſo highly
" worthy of CÆSAR. But I go often alſo to the Conſul
" ANTONY's, to pay my compliments: yet you will find
" thoſe

" thoſe very men go oftner, to aſk and receive favors, A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.
" who reflect upon me for it, as diſaffected to my Coun-
" try. But what arrogance is this? When CÆSAR never
" hindered me from viſiting whom I would; even thoſe,
" whom he did not care for; that they, who have de-
" prived me of him, ſhould attempt by their cavils to
" debar me from placing my eſteem where I think proper.
" But I am not afraid, that either the modeſty of my life
" ſhould not be ſufficient to confute all falſe reports of
" me for the future, or that they, who do not love me
" for my conſtancy to CÆSAR, would not chuſe to have
" their friends reſemble me, rather than themſelves. For
" my own part, if I could have my wiſh, I would ſpend
" the remainder of my days in quiet at *Rhodes*: but if
" any accident prevent me, will live in ſuch a manner at
" *Rome*, as always to deſire, that what is right may pre-
" vail. I am greatly obliged to our friend TREBATIUS,
" for giving me this aſſurance of your ſincere and friendly
" regard for me, and for making it my duty to reſpect
" and obſerve a man, whom I had eſteemed always before
" with inclination. Take care of your health, and pre-
" ſerve me in your affection----[*k*]."

ANTONY all this while was not idle; but puſhed on his deſigns with great vigor and addreſs: in his progreſs through *Italy*, his buſineſs was to gather up CÆSAR's *old ſoldiers* from the ſeveral colonies and quarters in which they were ſettled; and by large bribes, and larger promiſes to

[*k*] Ep. fam. xi. 28. This CN. MATIUS lived long afterwards in ſuch favor and familiarity with AUGUSTUS, as to be diſtinguiſhed by the title of AUGUSTUS's *friend*. Yet he ſeems to have declined all public honors and buſineſs, and to have ſpent the remainder of his days in an elegant and pleaſurable retreat; employing his time and ſtudies in the improvements of gardening and planting, as well as in refining the delicacy of a ſplendid and luxurious life, which was the general taſt of that age. For he firſt taught how *to inoculate and propagate ſome of their curious and foreign fruits*; and introduced the way of *cutting trees and groves into regular forms*: on which ſubjects he publiſhed ſeveral books, which are mentioned by the later writers. Vid. Columel. de re ruſt. l. 12. c. 44. init. Plin. Hiſt. l. 12. 2: 15. 14.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

attach them to his intereſts, and draw great bodies of them towards *Rome* to be ready for any purpoſe, that his affairs ſhould require. In the City likewiſe he neglected no means, which his Conſular authority offered, how unjuſt or violent ſoever, of ſtrengthening his power; and let all people now ſee, for what ends he had provided *that decree*, to which the Senate had conſented for the ſake of peace, *of confirming* Cæsar's *acts*: for being the maſter both of Cæsar's *papers, and of his ſecretary* Faberius, by whoſe hand they were written [*l*], he had an opportunity of forging and inſerting at pleaſure whatever he found of uſe to him; which he practiſed without any reſerve or management; ſelling publicly for money, whatever immunities were deſired, by Countries, Cities, Princes, or private Men, on pretence, *that they had been granted by* Cæsar, *and entered into his books.* This alarmed and ſhocked all honeſt men, who ſaw the miſchief, but knew no remedy: Antony had the power, and their own decree had juſtified it: Cicero complains of it heavily, in many of his Letters, and declares it, *a thouſand times better to die, than to ſuffer it* [*m*]. "Is it ſo then? ſays he; is all, that "our Brutus has done, come to this, that he might live "at laſt at *Lanuvium*? That Trebonius might ſteal "away through private roads to his province? That all "the acts, writings, ſayings, promiſes, thoughts of Cæsar "ſhould have greater force now, than when he himſelf "was living?" All which he charges to that miſtake of the firſt day, in *not ſummoning the Senate into the Capitol*, where they might have done what they pleaſed, when their

[*l*] τὰ ὑπομνήματα τῶν βιβλευμένων ὁ Αὐλώριος ἴχων, ᾗ τὸν γραμματέα τῦ Καίσαρος Φαβίριον, ἐς πάντα ὁι πιθόμενον. App. l. 3. 529.

[*m*] Ep. fam. 12. 1. Ad Att. 14. 9.

their own party was uppermoſt, and *theſe Robbers*, as he calls them, *diſperſed and dejected* [*n*]. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

Among the other acts, which Antony confirmed, on the pretence of their being ordered by Cæsar, *he granted the freedom of the City to all* Sicily, *and reſtored to King* Deiotarus *all his former dominions.* Cicero ſpeaks of this with great indignation; "O my Atticus, ſays he, "*the Ides of* March have given us nothing, but the joy "of revenging ourſelves on him, whom we had reaſon to "hate——it was a brave act, but left imperfect——you "know what a kindneſs I have for the *Sicilians*; that I "eſteem it an honor to be their Patron: Cæsar granted "them many privileges, which I did not diſlike; though "his giving them *the rights of* Latium was intolerable: "yet that was nothing to what Antony has done, who "for a large ſumm of money has publiſhed a law, pre-"tended to be made by the Dictator, in an aſſembly of "the people, though we never heard a ſyllable of it in "his life time, which makes them all Citizens of *Rome*. "Is not Deiotarus's caſe juſt the ſame? He is worthy "indeed of any Kingdom; but not by the grant of Ful-"via: there are a thouſand inſtances of the ſame ſort [*o*]." When this laſt act was hung up as uſual *in the Capitol*, among the public monuments of the City, the forgery appeared ſo groſs, that the people, in the midſt of their concern, could not help laughing at it; knowing, *that* Cæsar *hated no man ſo much as* Deiotarus. But the bargain was made in Fulvia's *apartments, for the ſumm of eighty thouſand pounds*, by the King's agents at *Rome*, without

[*n*] Itane vero? hoc meus & tuus Brutus egit, ut Lanuvii eſſet? ut Trebonius itineribus deviis proficiſceretur in provinciam? ut omnia facta, ſcripta, dicta, promiſſa, cogitata Cæſaris plus valerent, quam ſi ipſe viveret? &c. Ad Att. 14. 10.

[*o*] Ad Att. 14. 12.

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without conſulting CICERO, or any other of their Maſter's friends: yet the old King, it ſeems, was beforehand with them, and no ſooner heard *of* CÆSAR's death, than he ſeized upon his dominions again by force. "He knew "it, ſays CICERO, to be an univerſal right, that what Ty- "rants had forcibly taken away, the true owners might "recover whenever they were able:---he acted like a "man, but we contemptibly; who whilſt we hate the "author, yet maintain his acts [*p*]." By theſe methods ANTONY preſently amaſſed infinite ſums of money; for though at the time of CÆSAR's death, he owed, as CICERO told him, *above three hundred thouſand pounds, yet within leſs than a fortnight after it, he had paid off the whole debt* [*q*].

THERE was another inſtance of his violence, which gave ſtill greater offence to the City; *his ſeizing the public treaſure*, which CÆSAR had depoſited for the occaſions of the government, *in the Temple of* Opis, amounting to *above five millions and a half of our money*; beſides what CALPURNIA, CÆSAR's *wife, from his private treaſure*, had delivered into his hands, computed at *about another million*. This was no extraordinary ſumm, if we conſider the vaſtneſs of the mine, from which it was drawn, the extent of the *Roman* Empire; and that CÆSAR was of all men the moſt rapacious in extorting it: CICERO, alluding to the manner, in which it was raiſed, calls it *a bloody and deadly treaſure*, gathered from the ſpoils and ruin of the ſubjects;

[*p*] Syngrapha H. S. centies per legatos,—ſine noſtra, ſine reliquorum hoſpitum Regis ſententia, facta in gynæceo: quo in loco plurimæ res venierunt, & veneunt—Rex enim ipſe ſua ſponte, nullis commentariis Cæſaris, ſimul atque audivit ejus interitum, ſuo marte res ſuas recuperavit. Sciebat homo ſapiens, jus ſemper hoc fuiſſe, ut, quæ Tyranni eripuiſſent, ea Tyrannis interfectis, ii quibus erepta eſſent, recuperarent—Ille vir fuit, nos quidem contemnendi, qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus. Phil. 2. 37.

[*q*] Tu autem quadringenties H. S. quod Idibus martiis debuiſti, quonam modo ante Kalendas Aprilis debere deſiſti?—Phil. 2. 37.

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ſubjects; *which, if it were not reſtored, as it ought to be, to the true owners, might have been of great ſervice to the public, towards eaſing them of their taxes* [r].

But Antony, who followed Cæsar's maxims, took care to ſecure it to himſelf: the uſe of it was to purchaſe ſoldiers; and he was now in condition to outbid any Competitor: but the firſt purchaſe, that he made with it, was of *his Collegue* Dolabella, who had long been oppreſſed with the load of his debts, and whom, by a part of this money, and the promiſe of a farther ſhare in the plunder of the Empire, he drew intirely from Cicero and the Republican party, into his own meaſures. This was an acquiſition worth any price to him: the general inclination both of the City and the Country was clearly againſt him: the Town of *Puteoli*, one of the moſt conſiderable of *Italy*, had lately choſen *the Two* Brutus's *and* Cassius *for their Patrons* [s], and there wanted nothing but a Leader to arm the whole Empire in that cauſe: Dolabella ſeemed to be that very perſon, *till bribed*, as Cicero ſays, *by force of money, he not onely deſerted, but overturned the Republic* [t].

These procedings, which were preparatory to the appointed meeting of the Senate *on the firſt of* June, began to open Brutus's eyes, and convince him of the miſtake of his pacific meaſures, and favorable thoughts of Antony: he now ſaw that there was no good to be expected from him, or from the Senate itſelf, under his influence: and thought it time therefore, in concert with Cassius, to require

[r] Ubi eſt ſepties millies H. S. quod in tabulis, quæ ſunt ad Opis patebat? funeſtæ illius quidem pecuniæ, ſed tamen, ſi iis, quorum erat, non redderetur, quæ nos a tributis poſſet vindicare. Phil. 2. 37. it. Phil. 1. 7. it. Plutarch. in Ant.

[s] Vexavit Puteolanos, quod Caſſium & Brutos Patronos adoptaſſent. Phil. 2. 41.

[t] Ut illum oderim, quod cum Rempub. me auctore defendere cœpiſſet, non modo deſeruerit, emptus pecunia, ſed etiam quantum in ipſo fuit, everterit. Ad Att. 16. 15.

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require an explicit account of his intentions, and to expoſtulate with him gently in the following Letter.

Brutus and Cassius Prætors, to M. Antonius Conſul.

" If we were not perſuaded of your ſincerity and good " will to us, we ſhould not have written this to you; " which, out of the kind diſpoſition that you bear to us, " you will take without doubt in good part. We are " informed, that a great multitude of *Veteran Soldiers* is " already come to *Rome*, and a much greater expected there " on the firſt of *June*. If we could harbour any ſuſpicion " or fear of you, we ſhould be unlike ourſelves: yet " ſurely, after we had put ourſelves into your power, and " by your advice diſmiſſed the friends, whom we had about " us from the great Towns, and that not onely by public " Edict, but by private Letters, we deſerve to be made " acquainted with your deſigns; eſpecially in an affair, " which relates to ourſelves. We beg of you therefore, to " let us know what your intentions are with regard to " us. Do you think, that we can be ſafe in ſuch a croud " of *Veterans?* Who have thoughts, we hear, even " of rebuilding the Altar; which no man can deſire or " approve, who wiſhes our ſafety and honor. That we " had no other view from the firſt but peace, nor fought " any thing elſe but the public liberty, the event ſhews. " No body can deceive us, but you; which is not cer- " tainly agreeable to your virtue and integrity: but no " man elſe has it in his power to deceive us. We truſted " and ſhall truſt to you alone. Our friends are under the " greateſt apprehenſions for us: for though they are per- " ſuaded of your integrity, yet they reflect, that a multi- " tude of *Veterans* may ſooner be puſhed on to any vio-

" lence

" lence by others, than reſtrained by you. We deſire an
" explicit anſwer to all particulars: for it is ſilly and tri-
" fling to tell us, that the Veterans are called together, be-
" cauſe you intend to move the Senate in their favor in
" *June*: for who, do you think, will hinder it; when it
" is certain, that we ſhall not? No body ought to think
" us too fond of life, when nothing can happen to us,
" but with the ruin and confuſion of all things [*u*]."

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DURING CICERO's ſtay in the Country, where he had a perpetual reſort of his friends to him, and where his thoughts ſeemed to be always employed on the Republic, yet he found leiſure to write ſeveral of thoſe *Philoſophical pieces*, which ſtill ſubſiſt both to the pleaſure and benefit of mankind. For he now compoſed *his Treatiſe on the Nature of the Gods, in three books, addreſſed to* BRUTUS; containing the opinions of all the Philoſophers, who had ever written any thing on that argument: to which he beſpeaks the attention of his readers, as to a ſubject of the laſt importance; which would inform them, *what they ought to think of religion, piety, ſanctity, ceremonies, faith, oaths, temples*, &c. *ſince all theſe were included in that ſingle queſtion of the Gods* [*x*]. He drew up likewiſe his diſcourſe on *Divination, or the foreknowledge and prediction of future events, and the ſeveral ways, by which it was ſuppoſed to be acquired or communicated to man*: where he explanes in two books whatever could be ſaid for and againſt the actual exiſtence of the thing itſelf. Both theſe pieces are written in the way of dialogue; of which he gives the following account. " Since CARNEADES, ſays
" he, has argued both acutely and copiouſly againſt *Di-*
" *vination*, in anſwer to the *Stoics*, I am now inquiring

[*u*] Ep. fam. xi. 2. [*x*] De Nat. Deor. 1. 6.

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" what judgement we ought to form concerning it: and " for fear of giving my aſſent raſhly to a thing, either " falſe in itſelf, or not ſufficiently underſtood, I think it " beſt to do, what I have already done, in my *three* " *books on the nature of the Gods*, weigh and compare " diligently all the arguments with each other: for as " raſhneſs of aſſent and error is in all caſes ſhamefull, ſo " moſt of all in that, where we are to judge what ſtreſs " is to be laid on *auſpices, and things of a divine and reli-* " *gious nature*; for the danger is, leſt either by neglect- " ing them, we involve ourſelves in an impiety, or by " embracing them, in an old woman's ſuperſtition [*y*]." He now alſo wrote his piece *on the advantages of old age*, called CATO, from the chief ſpeaker in the Dialogue: he addreſſed it to ATTICUS, as a lecture of common comfort to them both, in that gloomy ſcene of life on which they were entring; *having found ſo much pleaſure*, he ſays, *in writing it, that it not onely eaſed him of all the complaints of age, but made age itſelf even agreeable and chearfull to him* [*z*]. He added ſoon after another preſent of the ſame kind to ATTICUS, *a Treatiſe on friendſhip: a ſubject*, he ſays, *both worthy to be known to all, and peculiarly adapted to the caſe of their particular intimacy: for as I have already written of age, an old man to an old man; ſo now in the perſon of a ſincere friend, I write on friendſhip to my friend.* This is written alſo in Dialogue, the chief ſpeaker of which is LÆLIUS; who in a converſation with his two ſons in law, FANNIUS and SCÆVOLA, upon the death of P. SCIPIO and the memorable friendſhip,

[*y*] De Divin. 1. 4.

[*z*] Mihi quidem ita jucunda hujus libri confectio fuit, ut non modo omnes abſterſerit ſenectutis moleſtias, ſed effecerit mollem etiam & jucundam ſenectutem. Cato. 1.

ſhip, that had ſubſiſted between them, took occaſion, at their deſire, to explane to them the nature and benefits of true friendſhip. SCÆVOLA, who lived to a great age, and loved to retail his old ſtories to his ſcholars, uſed to relate to them with pleaſure all the particulars of this Dialogue, which CICERO having committed to his memory, dreſſed up afterwards in his own manner, into the preſent form [*a*]. Thus this agreeable book, which when conſidered onely as an invention or eſſay, is one of the moſt entertaining pieces in antiquity, muſt needs affect us more warmly, when it is found at laſt to be a Hiſtory, or a picture drawn from the life, exhibiting the real characters and ſentiments of the beſt and greateſt men of *Rome*. He now alſo wrote his diſcourſe *on Fate*; which was the ſubject of a converſation with HIRTIUS, in his Villa near *Puteoli*, where they ſpent ſeveral days together in *May*: and he is ſuppoſed to have finiſhed about the ſame time *a Tranſlation of* PLATO's famous Dialogue, called *Timæus, on the Nature and Origin of the Univerſe*.

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BUT he was employing himſelf alſo upon a work of a different ſort, which had been long upon his hands; *A Hiſtory of his own times*, or rather of his own conduct; full of free and ſevere reflections on thoſe, who had abuſed their power to the oppreſſion of the Republic, eſpecially CÆSAR and CRASSUS. This he calls his *Anecdote*; a work not to be publiſhed, but to be ſhewn onely to a few friends, in the manner of THEOPOMPUS, an Hiſtorian, famed for his ſevere and invective ſtile [*b*]. ATTICUS was urging him to put the laſt hand to it, and to continue it down

[*a*] Digna mihi res tum omnium cognitione, tum noſtra familiaritate viſa eſt—ſed ut tum ad ſenem ſenex de Senectute, ſic hoc libro ad amicum amiciſſimus de amicitia ſcripſi—& cum Scævola—expoſuit nobis ſermonem Lælii de amicitia, habitum ab illo ſecum, & cum altero genero C. Fannio, &c.—de Amicit. 1.

[*b*] Ad Att. 2. 6. Dionyſ. Halic. Proœm. 1.

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through CÆSAR's government: but he choſe to reſerve this laſt part for a diſtinct hiſtory, in which he deſigned to vindicate at large *the juſtice of killing a Tyrant*. We meet with ſeveral hints of this deſign in his Letters: in one to ATTICUS, he ſays, "I have not yet poliſhed my "*Anecdote* to my mind: as to what you would have me "add, it will require a ſeparate volume: but believe "me, I could ſpeak more freely and with leſs danger "againſt that deteſted party, whilſt the Tyrant himſelf "was alive, than now, when he is dead. For he, I know "not why, indulged me wonderfully: but now, which "way ſoever we ſtir, we are called back, not onely to "CÆSAR's acts, but to his very thoughts. Again; I do "not well underſtand, what you would have me write: "is it, that the Tyrant was killed according to the ſtrict "laws of Juſtice? Of that, I ſhall both ſpeak and write "my thoughts fully on another occaſion [*c*]." His other friends alſo ſeem to have had ſome notice of this work; for *Trebonius*, in a Letter to him from *Athens*, after reminding him of his promiſe to give him a place in ſome of his writings, adds, *I do not doubt, but that, if you write any thing on the death of* CÆSAR, *you will give me not the leaſt ſhare, both of that act, and of your affection* [*d*]. DION CASSIUS ſays, *that he delivered this book ſealed up to his ſon, with ſtrict orders, not to read or publiſh it, till after his death*: but from this time he never ſaw his

[*c*] Librum meum illum ἀνέκδοτον nondum, ut volui, perpolivi. Iſta vero, quæ tu contexi vis, aliud quoddam ſeparatum volumen exſpectant. Ego autem, credas mihi velim, minore periculo exiſtimo contra illas nefarias partes vivo tyranno dici potuiſſe, quam mortuo. Ille enim neſcio quo pacto ferebat me quidem mirabiliter. Nunc quacunque nos commovimus, ad Cæſaris non modo acta, verum etiam cogitata revocamur. [Ad Att. 14. 17.] Sed parum intelligo quid me velis ſcribere—an ſic ut in tyrannum jure optimo cæſum? multa dicentur, multa ſcribentur a nobis, ſed alio modo ac tempore. Ib. 15. 3.

[*d*] Namque illud non dubito, quin, ſi quid de interitu Cæſaris ſcribas, non patiaris me minimam partem & rei & amoris tui ferre. Epiſtam. 12. 16.

his ſon, and left the piece probably unfiniſhed; though ome copies of it afterwards got abroad, from which his commentator, ASCONIUS, has quoted ſeveral particulars [*e*]. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

IN the end of *May* he began to move towards *Rome*, in order to aſſiſt at the Senate *on the firſt of* June, and propoſed to be at *Tuſculum* on the twenty ſixth, of which he gave ATTICUS notice. There paſſed all the while a conſtant commerce of Letters between him and BRUTUS, who deſired *a perſonal conference with him at* Lanuvium; in which CICERO reſolved to humor him, though he did not think it prudent at that time, when without any particular uſe, it would onely give jealouſy to ANTONY. But the nearer he came to the City, the more he was diſcouraged from the thoughts of entring it: he underſtood, *that it was filled with ſoldiers*; *that* ANTONY *came thither attended by a ſtrong body of them*; *that all his views were bent on war*; *and that he deſigned to transfer the Province of* Gaul *from* D. BRUTUS *to himſelf, by a vote of the people* [*f*]. HIRTIUS diſſuaded his going, and reſolved to ſtay away himſelf; VARRO ſent him word, *that the Veterans talked deſperately againſt all thoſe, who did not favor them*: GRÆCEIUS alſo admoniſhed him, on the part of C. CASSIUS, *to be upon his guard, for that certain armed men were provided for ſome attempt at* Tuſculum. All theſe informations determined him at laſt not to venture to the Senate; but to withdraw himſelf from that City, where *he had not onely floriſhed*, he ſays, *with the greateſt, but lived*

[*e*] Vid. Dio. p. 96. it. Aſcon. in Tog. candid.

[*f*] Puto enim nobis Lanuvium eundum, non ſine multo ſermone.—Bruto enim placere, ſe a me conveniri. O rem odioſam & inexplicabilem! puto me ergo iturum—Antonii conſilia narras turbulenta—ſed mihi totum ejus conſilium ad bellum ſpectare videtur, ſi quidem D. Bruto provincia eripitur. Ad Att. 15. 4.

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lived even a ſlave, with ſome dignity [*g*]. The major part of the Senate followed his example, and *fled out of the City, for fear of ſome violence*, leaving the Conſuls with a few of their Creatures, to make what decrees they thought fit [*h*].

THIS turn of affairs made CICERO reſolve to proſecute, what he had long been projecting, his voyage to *Greece*, to ſpend a few months *with his ſon at* Athens. He deſpaired of any good from theſe Conſuls, and intended to ſee *Rome* no more, till their ſucceſſors entered into office; in whoſe adminiſtration he began to place all his hopes. He wrote therefore to DOLABELLA to procure him the grant of *an Honorary Lieutenancy*; and leſt ANTONY, *an angry man*, as he calls him, *ſhould think himſelf ſlighted*, he wrote to him too on the ſame ſubject. DOLABELLA immediately named him for one *of his own Lieutenants*, which anſwered his purpoſe ſtill better, for without obliging him to any ſervice, or limiting him to any time, it left him at full liberty to go where-ever he pleaſed: ſo that he readily accepted it, and prepared for his journey [*i*]. He heard in the mean while from BALBUS, that the Senate would be held again *on the fifth*; when commiſſions would be granted ſeverally to BRUTUS and CASSIUS, *to buy up corn in* Aſia *and* Sicily, *for the uſe of the Republic: and that*

[*g*] Hirtius jam in Tuſculano eſt; mihique, ut abſim, vehementer auctor eſt; & ille quidem periculi cauſa—Varro autem noſter ad me epiſtolam miſit—in qua ſcriptum erat, veteranos eos, qui rejiciantur—improbiſſime loqui; ut magno periculo Romæ ſint futuri, qui ab eorum partibus diſſentire videantur. Ib. 5.

Græceius ad me ſcripſit, C. Caſſium ad ſe ſcripſiſſe, homines comparari, qui in Tuſculanum armati mitterentur. — Id quidem mihi non videbatur; ſed cavendum tamen. Ib. 15. 8.

Mihi vero deliberatum eſt, ut nunc quidem eſt, abeſſe ex ea urbe, in qua non modo florui cum ſumma, verum etiam ſervivi cum aliqua dignitate. Ib. 5.

[*h*] Kalendis Juniis cum in Senatum, ut erat conſtitutum, venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffugimus. Philip. 2. 42.

[*i*] Etiam ſcripſi ad Antonium de legatione, ne, ſi ad Dolabellam ſolum ſcripſiſſem, iracundus homo commoveretur—[Ad Att. 15. 8.] Sed heus tu,—Dolabella me ſibi legavit, &c. ib. 11.

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that it would be decreed alſo at the ſame time, that Provinces ſhould be aſſigned to them, with the other Prætors, at the expiration of the year [*k*].

THEIR caſe at this time was very remarkable; it being wholly new in *Rome* to ſee *Prætors* driven out of the City, where their reſidence was abſolutely neceſſary, and could not legally be diſpenſed with for above *ten days* in the year: but ANTONY readily procured a decree to abſolve them from the laws [*l*]; being glad to ſee them in a ſituation ſo contemptible; ſtript of their power, and ſuffering a kind of exil, and depending, as it were, upon him for their protection: their friends therefore at *Rome* had been ſolliciting the Senate for ſome extraordinary employment to be granted to them, to cover the appearance of a flight, and the diſgrace of living in baniſhment, when inveſted with one of the firſt Magiſtracies of the Republic [*m*].

THIS was the ground of the commiſſion juſt mentioned *to buy corn*; which ſeemed however to be below their character, and contrived as an affront to them by ANTONY, who affected ſtill to ſpeak of them always *with the greateſt reſpect* [*n*]. But their friends thought any thing better for them, than to ſit ſtill in *Italy*; where their perſons were expoſed to danger, from *the veteran ſoldiers*, who were all now in motion; and that this employment would be a ſecurity to them for the preſent, as well as an opportunity of providing for their future ſafety, by enabling them

[*k*] A BALBO redditæ mihi litteræ, fore Nonis Senatum, ut BRUTUS in Aſia, CASSIUS in Sicilia, frumentum emendum & ad urbem mittendum curarent. O rem miſeram! ait, eodem tempore decretum iri, uti is & reliquis Prætoriis provinciæ decernantur. Ib. 9.

[*l*] Cur M. Brutus, te referente, legibus eſt ſolutus, ſi ab urbe pluſquam decem dies abfuiſſet? Phil. 2. 13.

[*m*] Καὶ αὐλοῖς εἰς εὐπρέπειαν ἡ βελὴ σίτου φρυλίσαι προσέταξεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ διάστημα φεύγειν νομίζοιντο. Appian. Bell. Civ. l. 4. 622. it. l. 3. 530.

[*n*] Frumentum imponere—quod munus in Rep. ſordidius? [Ad Att. 15. x.] Patriæ liberatores urbe carebant—quos tamen ipſi Conſules & in concionibus & in omni ſermone laudabant. Phil. 1. 2.

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them to execute, what they were now meditating, a deſign of ſeizing ſome Provinces abroad, and arming themſelves in defence of the Republic: which was what their enemies were moſt afraid of, and charged them with publicly, in order to make them odious. Cicero in the mean time, at their deſire, had again recommended their intereſts to Hirtius, who gave him the following anſwer.

"I wiſh, that Brutus and Caſſius could be prevailed "with by you as eaſily, to lay aſide all crafty counſils, "as they can obtain by you from me, whatever they "deſire. They were leaving *Italy*, you ſay, when they "wrote to you: whither? or wherefore? do not let "them go, I beſeech you, my dear Cicero: nor ſuffer "the Republic to be wholly loſt; though overwhelmed "indeed already by theſe rapines, burnings, murthers. "If they are afraid of any thing, let them be upon their "guard; but act nothing offenſively: they will not, I "am confident, gain a tittle the more, by the moſt vigo- "rous, than the moſt pacific meaſures, if they uſe but "caution. The things, which are now ſtirring, cannot "laſt long; but if made the ſubject of war, will acquire "preſent ſtrength to hurt. Let me know your opinion "of what may be expected from them."---Cicero ſent him word, *that he would be anſwerable for their attempting nothing deſperate*; and was informed at the ſame time by Balbus, *that* Servilia, Brutus's *mother*, *had undertaken, that they ſhould not leave* Italy [o].

Servilia, though ſiſter to Cato, had been one of Cæsar's *Miſtreſſes*, and next to Cleopatra, the moſt beloved of them all: in the civil war he gave her ſeveral rich

[o] Cui reſcripſi nihil illos callidius cogitare, confirmare non diſceſſuros. Ad Att. 15. 6. idque confirmavi—Balbus ad me—Serviliam

rich farms out of his *Pompeian* confiſcations; and is ſaid to have bought a ſingle jewel for her at the price of about 50,000 l. [*p*]. She was a woman of ſpirit and intrigue, in great credit with *the* CÆSAREAN *party*, and at this very time poſſeſſed *the Eſtate and Villa of* PONTIUS AQUILA, *one of the Conſpirators*, which had been confiſcated and granted to her by CÆSAR. CICERO reckons it among *the ſolæciſms of the times, that the mother of the Tyrant-killer ſhould hold the eſtate of one of her ſon's accomplices* [*q*]: yet ſhe had ſuch a ſhare in all the counſils of BRUTUS, that it made CICERO the leſs inclined to enter into them, or to be concerned with one, whom he could not truſt: *When he is influenced ſo much*, ſays he, *by his mother's advice, or at leaſt her entreaties, why ſhould I interpoſe myſelf* [*r*]?

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AT their deſire however he went over to them at *Antium*, to aſſiſt at a ſelect council of friends, called to deliberate on what was proper for them to do, with regard to this new commiſſion. There were preſent among others, FAVONIUS, SERVILIA, PORCIA, BRUTUS's *wife, and his Siſter* TERTULLA, the wife of CASSIUS: BRUTUS was much pleaſed at his coming, and after the firſt compliments, begged him to deliver his opinion to the company on the ſubject of their meeting. Upon which he preſently adviſed, what he had been conſidering on the road, "that "BRUTUS ſhould go to *Aſia*, and undertake the affair of "the corn; that the onely thing to be done at preſent "was, to provide for their ſafety; that their ſafety was "a certain benefit to the Republic----here CASSIUS inter-

[*p*] Ante alias dilexit M. BRUTI matrem SERVILIAM,—cui Sexagies H. S. margaritam mercatus eſt, &c. Suet. J. Cæſ. 50.

[*q*] Quin etiam hoc ipſo tempore multa ὑποσόλοικα: PONTII Neapolitanum a matre Tyrannoctoni poſſideri. Ad Att. 14. 21.

[*r*] Matris conſilio cum utatur, vel etiam precibus, quid me interponam? Ad Att. 15. x.

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" rupted him, and, with great fierceneſs in his looks, " proteſted, that he would not go to *Sicily*, nor accept " as a favor, what was intended as an affront; but would " go to *Achaia*---BRUTUS ſaid, that he would go to " *Rome*, if CICERO thought it proper for him---but CICERO " declared it impoſſible for him to be ſafe there---but ſup- " poſing, ſays he, that I could be ſafe: why then, ſays " CICERO, I ſhould adviſe it by all means, as the beſt " thing, which you could do, and better than any Pro- " vince----after much diſcourſe and complaining for the " loſs of their opportunities, for which CASSIUS laid all " the blame on D. BRUTUS, CICERO ſaid, that though " that was true, yet it was in vain to talk of what was " paſt; and as the caſe then ſtood, he ſaw nothing left, " but to follow his advice---to which they all at laſt ſeemed " to agree, eſpecially, when SERVILIA undertook by her " mediation, to get the affair of the corn left out of their " commiſſion: and BRUTUS conſented, that the Plays " and Shews, with which he was to entertain the City " ſhortly as Prætor, ſhould be given by proxy in his " abſence----CICERO took his leave, pleaſed with nothing " in the conference, but the conſciouſneſs of having done " his duty: for as to the reſt, he gave all, he ſays, for " loſt; found the veſſel, not onely broken, but ſhattered " to pieces; and neither prudence, reaſon, or deſign in " what they were doing: ſo that if he had any doubt " before, he had none now, but longed to get abroad as " ſoon as poſſible---[*s*]."

OCTAVIUS, upon his coming to *Rome*, was very roughly received by ANTONY: who deſpiſing his age and want of experience, was ſo far from treating him as CÆSAR's *heir*,

[*s*] Ad Att. 15. 11, 12.

heir, or giving him poſſeſſion of his eſtate, that he openly threatened and thwarted him in all his pretenſions, nor would ſuffer him to *be choſen Tribun*, to which he aſpired, with the ſeeming favor of the people, in the room of that CINNA, who was killed at CÆSAR's funeral [*t*]. This neceſſarily drew the regard of the Republican party towards him; and CICERO began to take the more notice of him in proportion, as ANTONY grew more and more formidable: at preſent, he gives the following account of him. "OCTAVIANUS, I perceive, has parts and ſpirit, and ſeems "to be affected, as we could wiſh, towards our Heroes: "but how far we may truſt his age, name, ſucceſſion, "education, is a matter of great deliberation: his Father "in law, who came to ſee me at *Aſtura*, thinks not at "all. He muſt be cheriſhed however, if for nothing "elſe, yet to keep him at a diſtance from ANTONY. "MARCELLUS acts nobly, if he inſtills into him a good "diſpoſition towards our friends: he ſeemed to be much "influenced by him, but to have no confidence in PANSA "and HIRTIUS: his natural diſpoſition is good, if it does "but hold [*u*]."

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IN the midſt of theſe affairs, with which his mind, as he complains, was much diſtracted, he purſued his literary ſtudies with his uſual ardor; and to avoid *the great reſort of Company*, which interrupted him, *at his houſe near* Baiæ, he removed to his *Pompeian Villa*, on the ſouth ſide of *Naples*. Here he began *his book of Offices*, for the uſe and inſtruction of his ſon, *deſigned*, he ſays, *to be the fruit of this excurſion*: he compoſed alſo *an Oration*,

[*t*] In locum Tribuni pl. forte demortui candidatum petitorem ſe oſtendit—ſed adverſante conatibus ſuis M. Antonio Conſule—Sueton. Auguſt. x. Dio. 272. App. 506.

[*u*] Ad Att. 15. 12.

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adapted to the ſtate of the times, and ſent it to ATTICUS, *to be ſuppreſſed or publiſhed at his diſcretion*; promiſing him withal to finiſh and ſend him in a ſhort time, *his ſecret Hiſtory or Anecdote, in the manner of* HERACLIDES, to be kept cloſe in his Cabinet [*x*].

BEFORE he could leave *Italy*, he was obliged to return to *Tuſculum*, to ſettle his private affairs, and provide his Equipage; and wrote to DOLABELLA, to give orders *for the mules and other neceſſaries*, which the government uſed to furniſh to thoſe, who went abroad with a public character [*y*]. Here ATTICUS and he took leave of each other, with all poſſible marks of the moſt ſincere and tender affection. The unſettled condition of the times, and the uncertainty when, or in what circumſtances they ſhould meet again, raiſed ſeveral melancholy reflections in them both, which, as ſoon as they parted, *drew many tears from* ATTICUS, of which he gave CICERO an account in his next Letter, with a promiſe to follow him into *Greece*: CICERO anſwered him with equal tenderneſs; "it moved me, ſays he, to hear of the tears which you "ſhed after you left me: had you done it in my pre-"ſence, I ſhould have dropt perhaps all thoughts of my "journey. That part however pleaſes me, where you "comfort yourſelf with the hopes of our meeting again "ſhortly: which expectation indeed is what chiefly ſup-"ports me: I will write to you perpetually; give you "an account of every thing, which relates to BRUTUS; "ſend

[*x*] Nos hic φιλοσοφήμενα (quid enim aliud?) & ταῦ περὶ τῦ καθήκονῦ magnifice explicamus, προσφωνῦμενque Ciceroni; qua de re enim potius pater filio? Deinde alia. Quid quæres? Extabit opera peregrinationis hujus.—Ego autem in Pompeianum properabam, non quod hoc loco quidquam pulchrius, ſed interpellatores illic minus moleſti—

Orationem tibi miſi. Ejus cuſtodiendæ & proferendæ arbitrium tuum——jam probo Ἡρακλείδιον, præſertim cum tu tantopere delectere—enitar igitur—Ad Att. 15. 13. it. 14.

[*y*] Ib. 18.

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" ſend you very ſhortly *my Treatiſe on Glory*; and finiſh " for you the other work, to be locked up with your " treaſure, &c. [z].

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THESE little paſſages from familiar Letters, illuſtrate more effectually the real characters of men, than any of their more ſpecious and public acts. It is commonly thought the part of a ſtateſman, to diveſt himſelf of every thing natural, and baniſh every paſſion that does not ſerve his intereſt or ambition: but here we ſee a quite different character; one of the greateſt ſtateſmen of the world, cheriſhing and cultivating in himſelf the ſoft and ſocial affections of love and friendſhip; as knowing them to be deſigned equally by nature for the comfort, as well of public as private life.

ATTICUS likewiſe, whoſe philoſophy was as incompatible as ambition with all affections, that did not terminate in himſelf, was frequently drawn by the goodneſs of his nature, to correct the viciouſneſs of his principle. He had often reproved CICERO for an exceſs of love to his daughter

[z] Te, ut a me diſceſſeras, lacrymaſſe, moleſte ferebam. Quod ſi me præſente feciſſes, conſilium totius itineris fortaſſe mutaſſem. Sed illud præclare, quod te conſolata eſt ſpes brevi tempore congrediendi: quæ quidem exſpectatio me maxime ſuſtentat. Meæ tibi litteræ non deerunt. De Bruto ſcribam ad te omnia. Librum tibi celeriter mittam de *gloria*. Excudam aliquid Ἡρακλείδιον, quod lateat in theſauris tuis. Ib. 27.

N. B. The Treatiſe here mentioned *on Glory*, which he ſent ſoon after to ATTICUS, and publiſhed in two books, was actually preſerved, and ſubſiſting, long after the invention of printing, yet happened to periſh unhappily for want of being produced into public light, by the help of that admirable art—*Raimundus Superantius* made a preſent of it to *Petrarch*, who, as he tells the ſtory in one of his epiſtles, lent it to his Schoolmaſter, who, being old and poor, pawned it for the relief of his neceſſities into ſome unknown hand, whence *Petrarch* could never recover it, upon the old man's death. About two centuries after, it appeared to have been in the poſſeſſion of *Bernardus Juſtinianus*, and was mentioned in the Catalogue of his books, which he bequeathed to a Monaſtery of Nuns; but when it could not be found in that monaſtery after the ſtricteſt ſearch, it was genarally believed, that PETRUS ALCYONIUS, who was Phyſician to that Houſe, and had the free uſe of the library, had ſtolen it; and after tranſcribing as much of it as he could, into his own writings, had deſtroyed the original for fear of a diſcovery; it being obſerved by the Critics, that in his book *de Exilio*, there were many bright paſſages, not well connected with the reſt of the work, which ſeemed to be above his taſt and genius. Vid. Petrarch. Epiſt. l. 15. 1. Rer. Senilium. Paull. Manut. Not. Ad Att. 15. 27. Bayle Dict. in Alcionius. Menagiana. Vol. IV. p. 86.

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daughter Tullia, yet he no ſooner got a little *Attica* of his own, than he began to diſcover the ſame fondneſs; which gave Cicero occaſion to repay his raillery with great politeneſs. "I rejoice, ſays he, to perceive that you take "ſo much delight in your little girl. I love her already "myſelf, and know her to be amiable, though I have "never ſeen her. Adieu then to *Patro*, and all your "Epicurean School. In another Letter; I am mightily "pleaſed with the fondneſs that you expreſs for your "little daughter; and to ſee you feel at laſt, that the "love of our children does not flow from habit or faſhion, "but from nature: for if that be not ſo, there can be no "natural conjunction between one man and another, "without which all ſociety muſt neceſſarily be diſ-"ſolved [*a*]."

There was now great expectation of the *ſhews and plays*, which Brutus, as Prætor of the City, was going to exhibit, according to annual cuſtom, in honor of Apollo, *on the third of* July; and all people were attentive and impatient to ſee, in what manner they would be received. Brutus wrote to Cicero, to beg, *that he would grace them with his preſence:* but Cicero thought the requeſt abſurd, nor at all agreeable to Brutus's uſual prudence. His anſwer was, "that he was got too far upon his journey, to have "it now in his power; and that it would be very im-"proper for him, who had not been in *Rome*, ſince it was "filled with ſoldiers, not ſo much out of regard to his "danger, as his dignity, to run thither on a ſudden to ſee "plays: that in ſuch times as theſe, though it was repu-"table for thoſe to give plays, whoſe office required it, "yet

[*a*] Filiolam tibi jam Romæ jucundam eſſe gaudeo; eamque, quam nunquam vidi, tamen & amo, & amabilem eſſe certo ſcio. Etiam atque etiam valete Patron & tui condiſcipuli. Ad Att. 5. 19.—it. 7. 20.

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" yet for his ſeeing them, as it was not neceſſary, ſo " neither would it be thought decent---[*b*]." He was heartily ſollicitous however, that they might meet with all imaginable encouragement, and charged Atticus to ſend him a particular account of what paſſed on each day from their firſt opening.

The ſucceſs of them anſwered all their hopes, for they were received with an incredible applauſe by all ranks, though Antony's *brother* Caius, as the next Prætor in office, preſided at them: one of the plays was, *Tereus*, a *Tragedy of* Accius; which having many ſtrokes in it on the characters and acts of Tyrants, was infinitely clapped by the people. Atticus performed his part to Cicero, and ſent him a punctual account of what paſſed every day; which he conſtantly communicated to Brutus, who was now in his neighbourhood; in *Neſis*, a little Iſle on the *Campanian* ſhore, the ſeat of *young* Lucullus---In his anſwer to Atticus, " Your Letters, ſays he, were " very acceptable to Brutus: I ſpent ſeveral hours with " him, ſoon after I received them: he ſeemed to be de- " lighted with the account of Tereus; and thought " himſelf more obliged to the Poet Accius, who made " it, than to the Prætor Antony, who preſided at it. " But the more joy you ſend us of this ſort, the more " indignation it gives me, to ſee the *Roman* people employ " their hands in clapping plays, not in defending the " Republic. This perhaps may provoke our enemies to " diſcover themſelves, before they intended it; yet if they be

[*b*] In quibus unum alienum ſumma ſua prudentia, id eſt illud, ut ſpectem ludos ſuos. Reſcripſi ſcilicet, primum me jam profectum, ut non integrum ſit. Dein ἀλοιτώλεαλον eſſe, me, qui Romam omnino poſt hæc arma non acceſſerim, neque id tam periculi mei cauſa fecerim, quam dignitatis, ſubito ad ludos venire. Tali enim tempore ludos facere illi honeſtum eſt, cui neceſſe eſt: ſpectare mihi, ut non eſt neceſſe, ſic ne honeſtum quidem eſt. Equidem illos celebrari, & eſſe quam gratiſſimos mirabiliter cupio—Ad Att. 15. 26.

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"be but mortified, I care not by what means [c]." In a ſpeech made afterwards to the Senate, he urges this judgement of the City, as a proper leſſon to ANTONY, to teach him the way to glory. *O happy* BRUTUS, ſays he, *who when driven from* Rome, *by force of arms, reſided ſtill in the hearts and bowels of his Citizens, who made themſelves amends for the abſence of their deliverer, by their perpetual applauſes and acclamations* [d].

BUT there was one thing, which through the inadvertency of BRUTUS's managers, or the contrivance of the Prætor ANTONY, gave BRUTUS ſome uneaſineſs; that *in the Edict* for proclaming his ſhews, *the month, inſtead of* Quintilis, *was ſtiled* July, by it's new name, lately given to it in honor of CÆSAR: for it raiſed great ſpeculation, and was thought ſtrange, that BRUTUS by Edict, ſhould acknowledge and confirm an act, contrived to perpetuate the honor of Tyranny. This little circumſtance greatly diſturbed him, imagining, that it would be reflected upon as a mean condeſcenſion; and ſince it could not be remedied as to the plays, he reſolved to correct it for the reſt of the ſhews; and gave immediate orders, *that the huntings of the wild beaſts, which were to follow, ſhould be proclaimed for the thirteenth of* Quintilis [e].

WHILE

[c] Bruto tuæ litteræ gratæ erant. Fui enim apud illum multas horas in Neſide, cum paullo ante tuas litteras accepiſſem. Delectari mihi Tereo videbatur; & habere majorem Accio, quam Antonio, gratiam. Mihi autem quo lætiora ſunt, eo plus ſtomachi & moleſtiæ eſt, populum Romanum manus ſuas, non in defendenda Repub. ſed in plaudendo conſumere. Mihi quidem videntur, iſtorum animi incendi etiam ad repræſentandam improbitatem ſuam. Sed tamen dum modo doleant aliquid, doleant quodlibet. Ad Att. 16. 2.

[d] Quid? Apollinarium ludorum plauſus, vel teſtimonia potius, & judicia populi Romani parum magna videbantur? O beatos illos, qui cum adeſſe ipſis propter vim armorum non licebat, aderant tamen, & in medullis populi Romani ac viſceribus hærebant! niſi forte Accio tum plaudi—& non Bruto putabatis, &c. Phil. 1. 15.

[e] Quam ille doluit de Nonis Juliis! mirifice eſt conturbatus. Itaque ſeſe ſcripturum aiebat, ut venationem etiam, quæ poſtridie ludos Apollinares futura eſt, proſcriberent, III Id. Quintil.—Ad Att. 16. 4.

WHILE CICERO continued in theſe parts, he ſpent the greateſt ſhare of his time with BRUTUS; and as they were one day together, L. LIBO came to them, with Letters juſt received from young S. POMPEY, his ſon in law, with propoſals of an accommodation, addreſſed to the Conſuls, on which he deſired their opinion. CICERO thought them drawn with great gravity and propriety of expreſſion, excepting a few inaccuracies, and adviſed only to change the addreſs; *and, inſtead of the Conſuls, to whom alone they were directed, to add the other Magiſtrates, with the Senate and people of* Rome, *leſt the Conſuls ſhould ſuppreſs them, as belonging onely to themſelves.* Theſe Letters brought in ſubſtance, "That POMPEY was now Maſter of ſeven "Legions; that as he had juſt ſtormed a Town called "*Borea*, he received the news of CÆSAR's death; which "cauſed a wonderful joy, and change of affairs through "the Province of *Spain*, and a concourſe of people to "him from all parts. The ſumm of his demands was, "that all, who had the command of armies ſhould diſmiſs "them; but to LIBO he ſignified, that unleſs his Father's "Eſtate and Houſe at *Rome*, which ANTONY now poſſeſſed, "were reſtored to him, he would agree to nothing [*f*].

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THIS overture from POMPEY was procured chiefly by the management of LEPIDUS [*g*]: who having the Province of *Spain* aſſigned to him, where POMPEY was very ſtrong, had no mind to be engaged in a war at ſuch a diſtance from *Rome*, and drawn off from attending to the main point in view, the event of affairs in *Italy*: for which purpoſe, on pretence of the public quiet, he made the offer of a treaty and honorable terms to POMPEY, and "that, on "condition of laying down his arms, and quitting the

[*f*] Ibid. [*g*] Philip. 5. 13, 14, &c. it. Phil. 13, 4, 5, &c.

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" Province, he ſhould be reſtored to all his eſtates and " honors, and have the command of the whole naval " power of *Rome*, in the ſame manner as his Father had " it before him: all which was propoſed and recommended " to the Senate by ANTONY himſelf [*b*]. Where to preſerve a due reſpect to CÆSAR's *Acts*, by which POMPEY's eſtates had been confiſcated, it was decreed, *that the ſame ſumm, for which they had been ſold, ſhould be given to him by the public, to enable him to purchaſe them again*: This amounted to above *five millions and a half of our money, excluſive of his Jewels, Plate, and furniture; which being wholly embezzled, he was content to loſe* [*i*]. On theſe terms, ratified by the authority of the Senate, POMPEY *actually quitted* Spain, *and came to* Marſeilles. The project was wiſely concerted by LEPIDUS and ANTONY; for while it carried a ſhew of moderation, and diſpoſition to peace, it diſarmed a deſperate enemy, who was in condition to give a great obſtruction to their deſigns, and diverſion to their arms, at a time, when the neceſſity of their intereſts required their preſence and whole attention at home, to lay a firm foundation of their power, in the heart and center of the Empire.

THERE happened an incident at this time of a domeſtic kind, which gave ſome pleaſure both to CICERO and ATTICUS; the unexpected converſion of their Nephew QUINTUS. He had long ago deſerted his Father and Uncle, and attached himſelf wholly to CÆSAR, who ſupplied

[*b*] App. p. 528. Dio. l. 45. 275.

[*i*] Salvis enim actis Cæſaris, quæ concordiæ cauſa defendimus, Pompeio ſua domus patebit, eamque non minoris, quam Antonius emit, redimet—decreviſtis tantam pecuniam Pompeio, quantam ex bonis patriis in prædæ diſſipatione inimicus victor redegiſſet—nam argentum, veſtem, ſupellectilem, vinum amittet æquo animo, quæ ille helluo diſſipavit—atque illud ſepties millies, quod adoleſcenti, Patres conſcripti, ſpopondiſtis, ita deſcribetur, ut videatur a vobis CN. POMPEII filius in patrimonio ſuo collocatus. Philip. 13. 5.

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ſupplied him liberally with money: on Cæsar's death he adhered ſtill to the ſame cauſe, and was in the utmoſt confidence with Antony; and, as Atticus calls him, *his right hand* [*k*]; or the miniſter of all his projects in the City: but upon ſome late diſguſt, he began to make overtures to his friends, of coming over to Brutus, pretending to have conceived an abhorrence of Antony's deſigns; and ſignifying to his Father, *That* Antony *would have engaged him to ſeize ſome ſtrong poſt in the City, and declare him Dictator, and, upon his refuſal, was become his enemy* [*l*]. The Father, overjoyed at this change, carried his ſon to Cicero, to perſuade him of his ſincerity, and to beg his interceſſion alſo with Atticus, to be reconciled to him: but Cicero, who knew the fickleneſs and perfidy of the youth, gave little credit to him; taking the whole for a contrivance onely to draw money from them; yet in compliance with their requeſt, he wrote what they deſired to Atticus; but ſent him another Letter at the ſame time with his real thoughts on the matter.

"Our Nephew Quintus, ſays he, promiſes to be a "very Cato. Both his Father and he have been preſ-"ſing me, that I would undertake for him to you; yet "ſo, that you ſhould not believe him, till you yourſelf "had ſeen the effects of it. I ſhall give him therefore "ſuch a Letter to you, as he would have; but let it not "move you, for I have written this, leſt you ſhould "imagine, that I am moved myſelf. The Gods grant, "that he may perform what he promiſes; for it will be

[*k*] Quintus filius, ut ſcribis, Antonii eſt dextella. Ad Att. 14. 20.

[*l*] Quintus Pater exultat lætitia. Scripſit enim filius, ſe idcirco profugere ad Brutum voluiſſe, quod cum ſibi negotium daret Antonius, ut eum Dictatorem efficeret, præſidium occuparet, id recuſaſſet; recuſaſſe autem ſe, ne patris animum offenderet; ex eo ſibi illum hoſtem.—Ad Att. 15. 21.

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" a common joy to us all. I will ſay nothing more of it " at preſent, &c. [m]."

But young Quintus got the better at laſt of all Cicero's ſuſpicions; and, after ſpending ſeveral days with him, convinced him by his whole behaviour and converſation, that he was in earneſt: ſo that he not onely recommended him very affectionately to Atticus, but preſented him alſo to Brutus, to make the offer of his ſervice to him in perſon: " If he had not wholly perſuaded me, ſays he, " that what I am ſaying of him is certainly true, I ſhould " not have done, what I am going to tell you: for I car- " ried the youth with me to Brutus, who was ſo well " ſatisfied with him, that he gave him full credit, without " ſuffering me to be his ſponſor: in commending him, " he mentioned you in the kindeſt manner, and at part- " ing, embraced and kiſſed him. Wherefore, though " there is reaſon rather to congratulate, than to entreat " you, yet I beg, that whatever he may have done " hitherto, through the weakneſs of age, with more " levity than became him, you would believe it all to be " now over, &c. [n]."

Quintus kept his word with them; and to give proof of his zeal and ſincerity, was ſo hardy, before the end of the year, as to undertake *to accuſe* Antony *to the people, for plundering the Temple of* Opis [o]. But this accident of

[m] Quintus filius mihi pollicetur ſe Catonem. Egit autem & Pater & Filius, ut tibi ſponderem: ſed ita, ut tum crederes, cum ipſe cognoſces. Huic ego litteras ipſius arbitratu dabo. Eæ ne te moverint; has ſcripſi in eam partem, ne me motum putares. Dii faxint, ut faciat ea, quæ promittit. Commune enim gaudium. Sed ego nihil dico amplius. Ad Att. 16. 1.

[n] Quod niſi fidem mihi feciſſet, judicaſſemque hoc quod dico firmum fore, non feciſſem id, quod dicturus ſum. Duxi enim mecum adoleſcentem ad Brutum: ſic ei probatum eſt, quod ad te ſcribo, ut ipſe crediderit, me ſponſorem accipere noluerit. Eumque laudans amiciſſime tui mentionem fecerit. Complexus, oſculatuſque dimiſerit. Ad Att. 16. 5.

[o] Quintus ſcribit, ſe ex Nonis iis, quibus nos magna geſſimus, Ædem Opis explicaturum, idque ad populum. Ibid. 14.

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of changing his party, which gave ſo much joy at preſent to the whole family, though owing rather to a giddineſs of temper, than any good principle, proved fatal not long after both to the young man and his Father; as it ſeems to have been the moſt probable cauſe of their being proſcribed and murthered the year following, by ANTONY's order, together with CICERO himſelf.

CICERO was now ready for his voyage; and had provided *three little Yatchts or Galleys* to tranſport himſelf and his attendants: but as there was a report of Legions arriving daily from abroad, and of Pirates alſo at ſea, he thought it would be ſafer to ſail in company with BRUTUS and CASSIUS, who had drawn together a fleet of good force, which now lay upon the coaſt [*p*]. He gave *ſeveral hints of this deſign to* BRUTUS, who received it more coldly than he expected; and ſeemed uncertain and irreſolute about the time of his own going. He reſolved therefore to embark without farther delay, though in ſome perplexity to the laſt, about the expediency of the voyage, and jealous of it's being cenſured, as a deſertion of his country: but ATTICUS kept up his Spirits, by aſſuring him conſtantly in his Letters, *that all people approved it at* Rome, *provided that he kept his word, of returning by the firſt of the new Year* [*q*].

HE

[*p*] Legiones enim adventare dicuntur. Hæc autem navigatio habet quaſdam ſuſpiciones periculi. Itaque conſtituebam uti ὁμοπλοία. Paratiorem offendi Brutum, quam audiebam.—— Nam Caſſii claſſem, quæ plane bella eſt, non numero ultra fretum. Ib. 16. 4.

[*q*] Bruto cum ſæpe injeciſſem de ὁμοπλοία, non perinde atque ego putaram, arripere viſus eſt—[ib. 5.] Conſilium meum quod ais quotidie magis laudari, non moleſte fero; expectabamque, ſi quid ad me ſcriberes. Ego enim in varios ſermones incidebam. Quin etiam idcirco trahebam, ut quam diutiſſime integrum eſſet. [ib. 2.] it. Ep. fam. xi. 29.] Scribis enim in cœlum ferri profectionem meam, ſed ita, ſi ante Kal. Jan. redeam. Quod quidem certe enitar. [ib. 6.] Ea mente diſceſſi, ut adeſſem Kalendis Jan. quod initium cogendi Senatus fore videbatur. Philip. 1. 2.

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He ſailed ſlowly along the coaſt towards *Rhegium*, going aſhore every night to lodge with ſome Friend or Client: he ſpent one day at *Velia*, the native place of Trebatius; whence he wrote a kind Letter to him, dated *the nineteenth of* July; adviſing him by no means *to ſell that family eſtate*, as he then deſigned, *ſituated ſo healthfully and agreeably, and affording a convenient retreat from the confuſion of the times, among a people, who intirely loved him* [r]. At this place he began his *Treatiſe of Topics*, or the art of finding arguments on any queſtion: it was an abſtract of Aristotle's *piece* on the ſame ſubject; which Trebatius happening once to meet with in Cicero's *Tuſculan Library*, had begged of him to explane. But Cicero never found leiſure for it till this voyage, in which he was reminded of the taſk *by the ſight of* Velia; and though he had neither Aristotle, nor any other book to help him, he drew it up from his memory, and finiſhed it as he ſailed, before he came to *Rhegium*; whence he ſent it to Trebatius, with a Letter dated *the twenty ſeventh*. He excuſes *the obſcurity of it*, from the nature of the argument, requiring great attention to underſtand, and great application to reduce it to practice: in which however he promiſes to aſſiſt him, *if he lived to return, and found the Republic ſubſiſting* [s].

In the ſame voyage, happening to be looking over his Treatiſe *on the Academic Philoſophy*, he obſerved *the Preface of the third book* to be the ſame that he had prefixed to *his book on Glory*, which he had lately ſent to Atticus. *It was his cuſtom*, it ſeems, *to prepare at leiſure a number of*

[r] Ep. fam. 7. 20.

[s] Itaque ut primum Velia navigare cœpi, inſtitui Topica Ariſtotelea conſcribere, ab ipſa urbe commonitus, amantiſſima tui. Eum librum tibi miſi Rhegio, ſcriptum quam pleniſſime illa res ſcribi potuit, &c. Ep. fam. 7. 19.

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of different proems, adapted to the general view of his ſtudies, and ready to be applied to any of his works, which he ſhould afterwards publiſh; ſo that by miſtake he had uſed this preface *twice*, without remembering it: he compoſed a new one therefore on ſhip-board, for *the piece on Glory*; and ſent it to ATTICUS, with orders, *to bind it up with his copy in the place of the former preface* [*t*]. So wonderfull was his induſtry and love of letters, that neither the inconvenience of ſailing, which he always hated, nor the buſy thoughts, which muſt needs intrude upon him, on leaving *Italy* in ſuch a conjuncture, could diſturb the calm and regular purſuit of his ſtudies.

FROM *Rhegium*, or rather *Leucopetra*, a promontory cloſe by it, he paſſed over to *Syracuſe on the firſt of* Auguſt: where he ſtaid but one night, though in a City particularly devoted to him, and under his ſpecial protection: but he was unwilling to give umbrage or ſuſpicion to thoſe at *Rome*, *of having any views abroad, which concerned the public* [*u*]: he ſet ſail therefore again the next morning towards

[*t*] Nunc negligentiam meam cognoſce. De Gloria librum ad te miſi, at in eo proœmium id eſt, quod in Academico tertio. Id evenit ob eam rem, quod habeo volumen proœmiorum: ex eo eligere ſoleo, cum aliquod σύγγραμμα inſtitui. Itaque jam in Tuſculano, qui non meminiſſem me abuſum iſto proœmio, conjeci id in eum librum, quem tibi miſi. Cum autem in navi legerem Academicos, agnovi erratum meum, itaque ſtatim novum proœmium exaravi; tibi miſi—Ad Att. 16. 6.

N. B. A Collection of *Prefaces* prepared beforehand, and calculated indifferently for any treatiſe, will be thought perhaps a ſtrange and fantaſtical way of compoſing: but though they had no neceſſary connection with the ſubject of any particular work, they were yet adapted to the general view of his writings, and contrived ſeverally to ſerve the different ends, which he propoſed by the publication of them. Thus in ſome he takes occaſion to celebrate the praiſes of his principal friends, to whom they were addreſſed; in others, to enter into a general defence of Philoſophy, in anſwer to thoſe who cenſured him for ſpending ſo much time upon it: in ſome, he repreſents the miſerable ſtate of the times, and ſubverſion of the Republic, in a manner proper to alarm his Citizens, and rouſe them to aſſert their ancient liberty: in others, he contrives to give a beautifull deſcription of ſome of his *Villas or gardens*, where the ſcene of the dialogue was laid: all which the reader will find very agreeably executed in the Prefaces of his Philoſophical pieces; which are yet connected ſo artfully with the treatiſes that follow them, and lead us ſo naturally into the argument, as if they had been originally contrived for the ſake of introducing it. Vid. Tuſc. Diſp.—Init. de Div. 2. 1. de Fin. 1. 1. de Legib. 2. 1.

[*u*] Kalendis ſextil. veni Syracuſas—quæ tamen urbs mihi conjunctiſſima, plus una me nocte cupiens retinere non potuit. Veritus ſum, ne meus repentinus ad meos neceſſarios adventus ſuſpicionis aliquid afferret, ſi eſſem commoratus. Phil. 1. 3.

towards *Greece*; but was driven back by contrary winds to *Leucopetra*; and after a ſecond attempt with no better ſucceſs, was forced to repoſe himſelf *in the Villa of his friend* VALERIUS, and wait for the opportunity of a fair wind [*x*].

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HERE the principal inhabitants of the Country came to pay him their compliments; ſome of them freſh from *Rome*, who brought great news of an unexpected turn of affairs there towards a general pacification; "That ANTONY ſeemed diſpoſed to liſten to reaſon, to deſiſt from "his pretenſions to *Gaul*; ſubmit to the authority of the "Senate; and make up matters with BRUTUS and CASSIUS; who had written circular Letters to all the principal Senators, to beg their attendance in the Senate on "the firſt of *September*; and that CICERO's abſence was "particularly regretted, and even blamed at ſuch a "criſis [*y*]." This agreeable account of things made him preſently drop all thoughts of purſuing his voyage; in which he was confirmed likewiſe by Letters from ATTICUS, who, contrary to his former advice, preſſed him now in ſtrong and pathetic terms, *to come back again to* Rome.

HE returned therefore by the ſame courſe, which he had before taken, and came back to *Velia* on the *ſeventeenth of* Auguſt: BRUTUS lay within three miles of it with his fleet, and hearing of his arrival, *came immediately on foot to ſalute him*: "he declared himſelf excedingly pleaſed "with CICERO's return; owned, that he had never ap-"proved, though he had not diſſuaded the voyage; think-"ing

[*x*] Cum me ex Sicilia ad Leucopetram, quod eſt promontorium agri Rhegini, venti detuliſſent; ab eo loco conſcendi, ut tranſmitterem; nec ita multum provectus, rejectus auſtro ſum in eum ipſum locum—[ibid.] ibi cum ventum expectarem: erat enim villa Valerii noſtri, ut familiariter eſſem, & libenter—Ad Att. 16. 7.

[*y*] Rhegini quidam, illuſtres homines eo venerunt, Roma ſane recentes—hæc afferebant, Edictum BRUTI & CASSII; & fore frequentem Senatum Kal. a Bruto & Caſſio litteras miſſas ad Conſulares & Prætorios; ut adeſſent, rogare. Summam ſpem nunciabant, fore, ut Antonius cederet, res conveniret, noſtri Romam redirent. Addebant etiam me deſiderari, ſubaccuſari, &c.—Ad Att. ibid.

" ing it indecent, to give advice to a man of his experience; A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.
" but now told him plainly, that he had eſcaped two
" great imputations on his character; the one, of too
" haſty a deſpair and deſertion of the common cauſe;
" the other, of the vanity of going to ſee the *Olympic*
" *games.* This laſt, as Cicero ſays, would have been
" ſhamefull for him, in any ſtate of the Republic, but
" in the preſent, unpardonable; and profeſſes himſelf
" therefore greatly obliged to the winds, for preſerving
" him from ſuch an infamy, and like good Citizens,
" blowing him back to the ſervice of his country [z]."

Brutus informed him likewiſe of what had paſſed in the Senate, on *the firſt of* Auguſt; and how Piso had ſignalized himſelf by a brave and honeſt ſpeech, and ſome vigorous motions in favor of the public liberty, *in which no body had the courage to ſecond him:* he produced alſo Antony's *Edict, and their anſwer to it, which pleaſed* Cicero *very much:* but on the whole, though he was ſtill ſatisfied with his reſolution of returning, yet he found no ſuch reaſon for it, as his firſt intelligence had ſuggeſted, nor any hopes of doing much ſervice at *Rome*; where there was not *one Senator, who had the courage to ſupport* Piso, *nor* Piso *himſelf the reſolution to appear in the Senate again the next day* [a].

This was the laſt conference, that he ever had with Brutus; who together with Cassius left *Italy* ſoon after it: they were both to ſuccede of courſe, as all Prætors did at the expiration of their office, to the government of ſome

[z] Nam. xvi Kal. Sept. cum veniſſem Veliam, Brutus audivit, erat enim cum ſuis navibus apud Heletem fluvium citra Veliam millia paſſuum III. pedibus ad me ſtatim. Dii immortales, quam valde ille reditu, vel potius reverſione mea lætatus eſt? Effudit illa omnia, quæ tacuerat—ſe autem lætari quod effugiſſem duas maximas vituperationes, &c.—Ad Att. 16. 7. Vid. it. Ep. fam. 12. 25, it. ad Brut. 15.

[a] Vid. Ad Att. ibid. Phil. 1. 4, 5. Ep. fam. 12. 2.

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Province, which was aſſigned to them either by lot, or by an extraordinary decree of the Senate. CÆSAR had intended *Macedonia* for the one, and *Syria* for the other; but as theſe were two of the moſt important commands of the Empire, and would throw a great power into their hands, at a time, when their enemies were taking meaſures to deſtroy them, ſo ANTONY contrived to get two other Provinces decreed to them of an inferior kind, *Crete* to BRUTUS, and *Cyrene* to CASSIUS; and by a law of the people, procured *Macedonia* and *Syria* to be conferred upon himſelf, and his Collegue DOLABELLA; in conſequence of which, he ſent his Brother CAIUS in all haſt to poſſeſs himſelf of the firſt, and DOLABELLA to ſecure the ſecond, before their rivals could be in condition to ſeize them by force, of which they were much afraid; taking it for granted, that this was the project, which BRUTUS and CASSIUS were now meditating. CASSIUS had acquired a great reputation in the Eaſt, by his conduct in the *Parthian* war, and BRUTUS was highly honored in *Greece*, for his eminent virtue and love of Philoſophy: they reſolved therefore to ſlight the petty Provinces, which were granted to them, and to try their fortunes in the more powerfull ones, that CÆSAR had promiſed them; and with that view had provided the fleets abovementioned, to tranſport themſelves to thoſe countries, which they had deſtined for the ſcene of action; BRUTUS, to *Macedonia*, CASSIUS, to *Syria*; where we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to give a farther account of their ſucceſs [*b*].

CICERO in the mean while purſued his journey towards *Rome*, where he arrived on the laſt of the month: on his approach to the City, ſuch multitudes flocked out to meet him,

[*b*] Plutar. in Brut. App. 527, 533. Phil. 2. 13, 38.

him, that the whole day was ſpent in receiving *the compliments and congratulations of his friends*, as he paſſed along to his Houſe [*c*]. The Senate met the next morning, to which he was particularly ſummoned by ANTONY, but excuſed himſelf by a civil meſſage, *as being too much indiſpoſed by the fatigue of his journey*. ANTONY took this as an affront, and in great rage threatened openly in the Senate, *to order his houſe to be pulled down, if he did not come immediately; till by the interpoſition of the aſſembly he was diſſuaded from uſing any violence* [*d*].

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THE buſineſs of the day was, to decree ſome new and extraordinary honors to the memory of CÆSAR, *with a religious ſupplication to him, as to a Divinity:* CICERO was determined not to concur in it, yet knew, that an oppoſition would not onely be fruitleſs, but dangerous; and for that reaſon ſtaid away. ANTONY, on the other hand, was deſirous to have him there, fancying, that he would either be frightened into a compliance, which would leſſen him with his own party, or by oppoſing what was intended, make himſelf odious to the ſoldiery; but as he was abſent, the decree paſſed without any contradiction.

THE Senate met again the next day, when ANTONY thought fit to abſent himſelf, and leave the ſtage clear to CICERO [*e*]; who accordingly appeared, and delivered the firſt of thoſe ſpeeches, which, in imitation of DEMOSTHENES, were called afterwards *his Philippics*---he opens it with a particular account of the motives of his late voyage, and ſudden return; of his interview with BRUTUS, and his regret at leaving him: "At *Velia*, ſays he, I ſaw

[*c*] Plutar. in Cicer.

[*d*] Cumque de via languerem, mihique diſplicerem, miſi pro amicitia qui hoc ei diceret, at ille, vobis audientibus, cum fabris ſe domum meam venturum eſſe dixit, &c. Phil. 1. 5.

[*e*] Veni poſtridie, ipſe non venit. Phil. 5. 7.

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" BRUTUS: with what grief I ſaw him, I need not tell " you: I could not but think it ſcandalous for me, to " return to a City, from which he was forced to retire, " and to find myſelf ſafe in any place, where he could " not be ſo: yet BRUTUS was not half ſo much moved " with it, as I, but ſupported by the conſciouſneſs of his " noble act, ſhewed not the leaſt concern for his own " caſe, while he expreſſed the greateſt for yours."---He then declares, " that he came to ſecond PISO; and in caſe " of any accidents, of which many ſeemed to ſurround " him, to leave that day's ſpeech as a monument of his " perpetual fidelity to his country [*f*]. Before he enters " upon the ſtate of the Republic, he takes occaſion to " complain of the unprecedented violence of ANTONY's " treatment of him the day before, who would not have " been better pleaſed with him, had he been preſent; for " he ſhould never have conſented to pollute the Republic " with ſo deteſtable a religion, and blend the honors of " the Gods with thoſe of a dead man: he prays the Gods " to forgive both the Senate and the People for their " forced conſent to it----that he would never have de- " creed it, though it had been to old BRUTUS himſelf, " who firſt delivered *Rome* from Regal Tyranny, and, at " the diſtance of five centuries, had propagated a race " from the ſame ſtock, to do their country the ſame ſer- " vice [*g*]. He returns thanks to PISO, for what he had " ſaid in that place the month before; wiſhes, that he " had been preſent to ſecond him; and reproves the other " Conſulars, for betraying their dignity by deſerting " him.---As to the public affairs, he dwells chiefly on " ANTONY's abuſe of their decree, to confirm CÆSAR's " acts;

[*f*] Philip. 1. 4. [*g*] Ibid. 5, 6.

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" acts; declares himſelf ſtill for the confirmation of them,
" not that he liked them, but for the ſake of peace; yet
" of the genuin acts onely, ſuch as CÆSAR himſelf had
" completed; not the imperfect notes and memorandums
" of his pocket books; not every ſcrap of his writing; or what
" he had not even written, but ſpoken onely, and that,
" without a voucher----he charges ANTONY with a ſtrange
" inconſiſtency, in pretending ſuch a zeal for CÆSAR's
" *acts*, yet violating the moſt ſolemn and authentic of
" them, *his laws*; of which he gives ſeveral examples:
" thinks it intolerable, to oblige them to the performance
" of all CÆSAR's promiſes, yet annull ſo freely what ought
" to be held the moſt ſacred and inviolable of any thing
" that he had done:" he addreſſes himſelf pathetically to both the Conſuls, though DOLABELLA onely was preſent; tells them, " that they had no reaſon to reſent his ſpeak-
" ing ſo freely on the behalf of the Republic: that he
" made no perſonal reflections; had not touched their
" characters, their lives, and manners: that, if he offended
" in that way, he deſired no quarter [*b*]: but if, accord-
" ing to his cuſtom, he delivered himſelf with all
" freedom on public affairs, he begged in the firſt place,
" that they would not be angry; in the next, that if
" they were, they would expreſs their anger, as became
" Citizens, by civil, not military methods: that he had
" been admoniſhed indeed, not to expect, that the ſame
" liberty would be allowed to him, the enemy of CÆSAR,
" which had been indulged to PISO, his Father in law;
" that ANTONY would reſent whatever was ſaid againſt
" his will, though free from perſonal injury: if ſo, he
" muſt bear it, as well as he could----then after touch-
" ing on their plundering the Temple of *Opis*, of thoſe
" ſumms,

[*b*] Ibid. 7, 11.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

" ſumms, which might have been of great ſervice to the " ſtate, he obſerves, that whatever the vulgar might " think, money was not the thing, which they aimed " at; that their ſouls were too noble for that, and had " greater deſigns in view [*i*]: but they quite miſtook the " road to glory, if they thought it to conſiſt in a ſingle " man's having more power, than a whole people---that " to be dear to our Citizens, to deſerve well of our Coun- " try, to be praiſed, reſpected, beloved, was truly glori- " ous; to be feared and hated, always invidious, deteſta- " ble, weak and tottering----that CÆSAR's fate was a warn- " ing to them, how much better it was to be loved, than " to be feared: that no man could live happy, who held " life on ſuch terms, that it might be taken from him, " not onely with impunity, but with praiſe [*k*]. He puts " them in mind, of the many public demonſtrations of the " people's diſaffection to them, and their conſtant ap- " plauſes and acclamations to thoſe, who oppoſed them, " to which he begs them to attend with more care, in " order to learn the way how to be truly great and glori- " ous.----He concludes, by declaring, that he had now " reaped the full fruit of his return, by giving this public " teſtimony of his conſtant adherence to the intereſts of " his Country: that he would uſe the ſame liberty oftener, " if he found that he could do it with ſafety; if not, would " reſerve himſelf, as well as he could, to better times, not " ſo much out of regard to himſelf, as to the Republic."

IN ſpeaking afterwards of this day's debate, he ſays, " that whilſt the reſt of the Senate behaved like ſlaves, he " alone ſhewed himſelf to be free; and though he ſpoke " indeed with leſs freedom, than it had been his cuſtom " to

[*i*] Ibid. 12. [*k*] Ibid. 14.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

" to do, yet it was with more, than the dangers, with " which he was threatened, ſeemed to allow [*l*]." Antony was greatly enraged at his ſpeech, and ſummoned another meeting of the Senate for the *nineteenth*, where he again required Cicero's attendance, being reſolved to anſwer him in perſon, and juſtify his own conduct: for which end he employed himſelf during the interval in preparing the materials of a ſpeech, and declaming againſt Cicero in his Villa near *Tibur*. The Senate met on the appointed day, *in the Temple of Concord*, whither Antony came with a ſtrong guard, and in great expectation of meeting Cicero, whom he had endeavoured by artifice to draw thither: but though Cicero himſelf was ready and deſirous to go, yet his friends over-ruled and kept him at home, *being apprehenſive of ſome deſign intended againſt his life* [*m*].

Antony's ſpeech confirmed their apprehenſions, in which he poured out the overflowings of his ſpleen with ſuch fury againſt him, that Cicero, alluding to what he had done a little before in public, ſays, *that he ſeemed once more rather to ſpew, than to ſpeak* [*n*]. He produced Cicero's *Letter to him, about the reſtoration of* S. Clodius, in which Cicero acknowledged him, not onely *for his friend, but a good Citizen*; as if the Letter was a confutation of his ſpeech, and Cicero had other reaſons for quarrelling with him now, than the pretended ſervice of the public [*o*]. But the chief thing, with which he urged him,

[*l*] Locutus ſum de Repub. minus equidem libere, quam mea conſuetudo, liberius tamen quam periculi minæ poſtulabant. Philip. 5. 7.

In ſumma reliquorum ſervitute liber unus fui. Ep. fam. 12. 25.

[*m*] Quo die, ſi per amicos mihi cupienti, in ſenatum venire licuiſſet, cædis initium feciſſet a me. Phil. 5. 7.

Meque cum elicere vellet in cædis cauſam, tum tentaret inſidiis. Ep. fam. 12. 25.

[*n*] Itaque omnibus eſt viſus, ut ad te antea ſcripſi, vomere ſuo more, non dicere. Ib. 2.

[*o*] Atque etiam litteras, quas me ſibi miſiſſe diceret, recitavit, &c. Phil. 2. 4.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

him, was, his being *not onely privy to the murther of* Cæsar, *but the Contriver of it, as well as the author of every ſtep, which the Conſpirators had ſince taken*: by this he hoped to inflame the ſoldiers to ſome violence, whom he had planted for that purpoſe *about the avenues of the Temple, and within hearing even of their debates.* Cicero in his account of it to Cassius, ſays, *that he ſhould not ſcruple to own a ſhare in the act, if he could have a ſhare in the glory: but that, if he had really been concerned in it, they ſhould never have left the work half finiſhed* [p].

He had reſided all this while in *Rome*, or the neighbourhood; but as a breach with Antony was now inevitable, he thought it neceſſary for his ſecurity, to remove to a greater diſtance; to ſome of his Villas near *Naples*. Here he compoſed *his ſecond Philippic*, by way of reply to Antony; not delivered in the Senate, as the tenor of it ſeems to imply, but finiſhed in the country, nor intended to be publiſhed, till things were actually come to extremity, and the occaſions of the Republic made it neceſſary to render Antony's character and deſigns as odious as poſſible to the people. The oration is a moſt bitter invective on his whole life, deſcribing it as a perpetual ſcene of lewdneſs, faction, violence, rapine, heigthened with all the colors of wit and eloquence----it was greatly admired by the ancients, and ſhews, that in the decline of life, Cicero had loſt no ſhare of that fire and ſpirit, with which his earlier productions are animated: but he never had a cauſe more intereſting, or where he had greater reaſon to exert himſelf: he knew, that in caſe of a rupture, for which alone the piece was calculated, either Antony *or the Republic*

[p] Nullam aliam ob cauſſam me auctorem fuiſſe Cæſaris interficiendi criminatur, niſi ut in me veterani incitentur. Ep. fam. 12. 2. vid. 3, 4.

Republic muſt periſh; and he was determined to riſk his own life upon the quarrel, nor bear the indignity of outliving a ſecond time the liberty of his country. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

He ſent a copy of this ſpeech to Brutus and Cassius, who were infinitely pleaſed with it: they now at laſt clearly ſaw, that Antony meditated nothing but war, and that their affairs were growing daily more and more deſperate; and being reſolved therefore to leave *Italy*, they took occaſion, a little before their departure, to write the following Letter in common to Antony.

Brutus and Cassius Prætors to Antony Conſul.

"If you are in good health, it is a pleaſure to us. We "have read your Letter, exactly of a piece with your "Edict, abuſive, threatening, wholly unworthy to be ſent "from you to us. For our part, Antony, we have never "done you any injury; nor imagined, that you would "think it ſtrange, that Prætors and men of our rank "ſhould require any thing by Edict of a Conſul: but if "you are angry, that we have preſumed to do it, give us "leave to be concerned, that you would not indulge that "privilege at leaſt to Brutus and Cassius: for as to our "raiſing troops, exacting contributions, ſolliciting armies, "ſending expreſſes beyond ſea; ſince you deny, that you "ever complained of it, we believe you; and take it as "a proof of your good intention: we do not indeed own "any ſuch practices; yet think it ſtrange, when you ob-"jected nothing of that kind, that you could not contain "yourſelf, from reproaching us with the death of Cæsar. "Conſider with yourſelf, whether it is to be endured, that "for the ſake of the public quiet and liberty, Prætors "cannot depart from their rights by Edict, but the Conſul

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

" muſt preſently threaten them with arms. Do not think
" to frighten us with ſuch threats: it is not agreeable to
" our character to be moved by any danger: nor muſt
" ANTONY pretend to command thoſe, by whoſe means
" he now lives free. If there were other reaſons to diſpoſe
" us to raiſe a civil war, your Letter would have no effect
" to hinder it: for threats can have no influence on thoſe,
" who are free. But you know very well, that it is not
" poſſible for us, to be driven to any thing againſt our
" will; and for that reaſon perhaps you threaten, that
" whatever we do, it may ſeem to be the effect of fear.
" Theſe then are our ſentiments: we wiſh to ſee you live
" with honor and ſplendor in a free Republic; have no
" deſire to quarrel with you; yet value our liberty, more
" than your friendſhip. It is your buſineſs to conſider
" again and again, what you attempt, and what you can
" maintain; and to reflect, not how long CÆSAR lived,
" but how ſhort a time he reigned: we pray the Gods,
" that your counſils may be ſalutary, both to the Republic
" and to yourſelf; if not, wiſh at leaſt, that they may hurt
" you as little, as may conſiſt with the ſafety and dignity
" of the Republic [q]."

OCTAVIUS perceived by this time, that there was nothing to be done for him in the City againſt a Conſul, armed with ſupreme power both civil and military; and was ſo far provoked by the ill uſage, which he had received, that, in order to obtain by ſtratagem what he could not gain by force, *he formed a deſign againſt* ANTONY's *life, and actually provided certain ſlaves to aſſaſſinate him, who were diſcovered and ſeized with their poignards in* ANTONY's *houſe*, as they were watching an opportunity to execute their

[q] Ep. fam. xi. 3.

their plot. The ſtory was ſuppoſed by many *to be forged by* ANTONY *to juſtify his treatment of* OCTAVIUS, *and his depriving him of the eſtate of his uncle: but all men of ſenſe*, as CICERO ſays, *both believed and applauded it*; and the greateſt part of the old writers treat it as an undoubted fact [*r*]. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

THEY were both of them equally ſuſpected by the Senate; but ANTONY more immediately dreaded on the account of his ſuperior power, and ſuppoſed credit with the ſoldiers, whom he had ſerved with through all the late wars, and on ſeveral occaſions commanded. Here his chief ſtrength lay; and to ingratiate himſelf the more with them, he began to declare himſelf more and more openly every day againſt the Conſpirators; threatening them in *his Edicts*, and diſcovering a reſolution to revenge the death of CÆSAR; to whom he erected *a ſtatue in the Roſtra*, and inſcribed it, *to the moſt worthy parent of his Country*. CICERO ſpeaking of this in a Letter to CASSIUS, ſays, "Your friend ANTONY grows every day more furious, as "you ſee from the inſcription of his ſtatue; by which he "makes you, not onely murtherers, but Parricides. But "why do I ſay you, and not rather us? for the madman "affirms me to be the author of your noble act. I wiſh "that I had been, for if I had, he would not have been ſo "troubleſome to us as at this time [*s*]."

[*r*] De quo multitudini fictum ab Antonio crimen videtur, ut in pecuniam adoleſcentis impetum faceret. Prudentes autem & boni viri & credunt factum & probant. [Ep. fam. 12. 23.] Inſidiis M. Antonii Conſulis latus petierat. [Sen. de Clem. l. 1. 9.]

Hortantibus itaque nonnullis percuſſores ei ſubornavit. Hac fraude deprehenſa, &c. Sueton. Auguſt. x. Plutar. in Anton.

[*s*] Auget tuus amicus furorem indies, primum in Statua, quam poſuit in Roſtris, inſcripſit, PARENTI OPTIME MERITO. Ut non modo ſicarii, ſed jam etiam Parricidæ judicemini. Quid dico judicemini? judicemur potius. Veſtri enim pulcherrimi facti ille furioſus me principem dicit fuiſſe. Utinam quidem fuiſſem, moleſtus non eſſet. Ep. fam. 12. 3.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

Octavius was not leſs active in ſolliciting his Uncle's ſoldiers, ſparing neither pains nor money, that could tempt them to his ſervice; and by outbidding Antony in all his offers and bribes to them, met with greater ſucceſs than was expected, ſo as to draw together in a ſhort time, a firm and regular army of Veterans, completely furniſhed with all neceſſaries for preſent ſervice. But as he had no public character to juſtify this conduct, which in regular times would have been deemed treaſonable, ſo he paid the greater court to the Republican Chiefs, in hopes to get his proceedings authorized by the Senate; and by the influence of his troops, procure the command of the war to himſelf: he now therefore was continually preſſing Cicero by Letters and friends to come to *Rome*, and ſupport him with his authority againſt their common enemy, Antony; *promiſing to govern himſelf in every ſtep by his advice.*

But Cicero could not yet be perſuaded to enter into his affairs: he ſuſpected his youth and want of experience, and that he had not ſtrength enough to deal with Antony; and above all, that he had no good diſpoſition towards the Conſpirators: he thought it impoſſible that he ſhould ever be a friend to them, and was perſuaded rather, that if ever he got the upper hand, *his Uncle's acts would be more violently enforced, and his death more cruelly revenged, than by* Antony *himſelf* [t]. Theſe conſiderations withheld him from an union with him, till the exigencies of the Republic made it abſolutely neceſſary; nor did he conſent at laſt, without making it an expreſs condition, that Octavius ſhould employ all his forces in defence of the common liberty, and particularly of Brutus *and his*

[t] Valde tibi aſſentior, ſi multum poſſit Octavianus, multo firmius acta Tyranni comprobatum iri, quam in Telluris, atque id contra Brutum fore—ſed in iſto Juvene quanquam animi ſatis, auctoritatis parum eſt. Ad Att. 16. 14.

his accomplices: where his chief care and caution ſtill was, to arm him onely with a power ſufficient to oppreſs ANTONY, yet ſo checked and limited, that he ſhould not be able to oppreſs the Republic. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

THIS is evident from many of his Epiſtles to ATTICUS; "I had a Letter, ſays he, from OCTAVIANUS on the firſt "of *November*: his deſigns are great: he has drawn over "all the Veterans of *Caſilinum* and *Calatia*: and no "wonder, he gives ſixteen pounds a man. He propoſes "to make the tour of the other colonies: his view plainly "is, to have the command of the war againſt ANTONY; "ſo that we ſhall be in arms in a few days. But which "of them ſhall we follow?---Conſider his name, his "age: he begs to have a private conference with me at "*Capua*, or near it: 'tis childiſh to imagine, that it could "be private: I gave him to underſtand, that it was "neither neceſſary, nor practicable. He ſent to me one "CÆCINA of *Volaterræ*, who brought word, that ANTONY was coming towards the City, with the Legion of "the *Alaudæ* [*u*]: that he raiſed contributions from all "the great Towns, and marched with colors diſplayed: "he aſked my advice, whether he ſhould advance before "him to *Rome*, with three thouſand Veterans, or keep "the poſt of *Capua*, and oppoſe his progreſs there, or go "to the three *Macedonian* Legions, who were marching "along the upper coaſt, and are, as he hopes, in his in-"tereſt

[*u*] THIS Legion of the *Alaudæ* was firſt raiſed by J. CÆSAR, and compoſed of the Natives of *Gaul*, armed and diſciplined after the *Roman* manner, to which he gave the freedom of *Rome*. He called it by a *Gallic* name, *Alaudæ*; which ſignified a kind of Lark, or little bird with a tuft or creſt riſing upon it's head; in imitation of which, this Legion wore a creſt of feathers on the helmet; from which origin the word was adopted into the *Latin* tongue. ANTONY, out of compliment to theſe troops, and to aſſure himſelf of their fidelity, had lately made a *judiciary law*, by which he erected a third Claſs of Judges, to be drawn from the Officers of this Legion, and added to the other two *of the Senators and Knights*; for which CICERO often reproaches him as a moſt infamous proſtitution of the dignity of the Republic—Phil. 1. 8.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA,

" tereſt----they would not take ANTONY's money, as this
" CÆCINA ſays, but even affronted and left him, while he
" was ſpeaking to them. In ſhort, he offers himſelf for
" our Leader, and thinks that we ought to ſupport him.
" I adviſed him to march to *Rome*: for he ſeems likely
" to have the meaner people on his ſide; and if he makes
" good what he promiſes, the better ſort too. O BRUTUS,
" where art thou? What an opportunity doſt thou loſe?
" I did not indeed foreſee this: yet thought, that ſome-
" thing like it would happen. Give me your advice:
" ſhall I come away to *Rome*; ſtay where I am; or
" retire to *Arpinum*? where I ſhall be the ſafeſt. I
" had rather be at *Rome*, leſt if any thing ſhould be done,
" I ſhould be wanted: reſolve therefore for me: I never
" was in greater perplexity [*x*]."

Again; " I had two Letters the ſame day from Oc-
" TAVIUS: he preſſes me to come immediately to *Rome*;
" is reſolved, he ſays, to do nothing without the Senate---
" I tell him, that there can be no Senate, till the firſt of
" *January*, which I take to be true: he adds alſo, *nor*
" *without my advice*. In a word, he urges; I hang
" back: I cannot truſt his age; do not know his real
" intentions; will do nothing without PANSA; am afraid,
" that ANTONY may prove too ſtrong for him; and un-
" willing to ſtir from the ſea; yet would not have any
" thing vigorous done without me. VARRO does not like
" the conduct of the boy; but I do. He has firm troops,
" and may join with D. BRUTUS: what he does, he does
" openly; muſters his ſoldiers at *Capua*; pays them:
" we ſhall have a war, I ſee, inſtantly---[*y*]."

Again;

[*x*] Ad Att. 16. 8. [*y*] Ibid. 9.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

Again; "I have Letters every day from OCTAVIANUS; "to undertake his affairs; to come to him at *Capua*; to "ſave the ſtate a ſecond time: he reſolves to come directly "to *Rome*.

"Urg'd to the fight, 'tis ſhamefull to refuſe,
"Whilſt fear yet prompts the ſafer part to chuſe.----
Hom. Il. η.

"He has hitherto acted, and acts ſtill with vigor; and "will come to *Rome* with a great force. Yet he is but "a boy: he thinks the Senate may be called immediately: "but who will come? or, if they do, who, in this uncer- "tainty of affairs, will declare againſt ANTONY? he will "be a good guard to us on the firſt of *January*: or it "may come perhaps to blows before. The great Towns "favor the boy ſtrangely.----They flock to him from all "parts, and exhort him to procede: could you ever have "thought it [z]? There are many other paſſages of the ſame kind, expreſſing a diffidence of OCTAVIUS, and inclination to ſit ſtill, and let them fight it out between themſelves: till the exigency of affairs made their union at laſt mutually neceſſary to each other.

IN the hurry of all theſe politics, he was proſecuting his ſtudies ſtill with his uſual application; and beſides *the ſecond Philippic*, already mentioned, now finiſhed *his book of Offices, or the duties of man, for the uſe of his ſon* [a]. A work admired by all ſucceding ages, as the moſt perfect ſyſtem of Heathen morality, and the nobleſt effort and ſpecimen, of what *mere reaſon* could do towards guiding man through life with innocence and happineſs. He now alſo

[z] Ad Att. 11. [a] Ibid.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

alſo drew up, as it is thought, *his Stoical Paradoxes*, or an illuſtration of the peculiar doctrines of that ſect, from the Examples and Characters of their own Countrymen, which he addreſſed to BRUTUS.

ANTONY left *Rome* about the end of *September*, in order to meet and engage to his ſervice *four Legions from Macedonia*, which had been ſent thither by CÆSAR, on their way towards *Parthia*, and were now by his orders returning to *Italy*. He thought himſelf ſure of them, and by their help, to be maſter of the City; but on his arrival at *Brundiſium*, *on the eighth of* October, *three of the Legions*, to his great ſurprize, *rejected all his offers, and refuſed to follow him*. This affront ſo enraged him, that calling together *all the Centurions*, whom he ſuſpected of being the authors of their diſaffection, he ordered them *to be maſſacred in his own lodgings, to the number of three hundred, while he and his wife* FULVIA *ſtood calmly looking on, to ſatiate their cruel revenge by the blood of theſe brave men*: after which, he marched back towards *Rome*, *by the Appian road*, at the head of the ſingle legion, which ſubmitted to him; whilſt the other three took their rout along the Adriatic coaſt, without declaring yet for any ſide [*b*].

HE returned full of rage both againſt OCTAVIUS and the Republicans, and determined to make what uſe he could of the remainder of his Conſulſhip, in wreſting the Provinces and military commands out of the hands of his enemies,

[*b*] Ad. d. VII Id. Octob. Brundiſium erat profectus, Antonius, obviam legionibus Macedonicis IIII quas ſibi conciliare pecunia cogitabat, eaſque ad Urbem adducere. Ep. fam. 12. 23.

Quippe qui in hoſpitis tectis Brundiſii fortiſſimos viros, cives optimos, jugulari juſſerit: quorum ante pedes ejus morientium ſanguine os uxoris reſperſum eſſe conſtabat. Phil. 3. 2.

Cum ejus promiſſis legiones fortiſſimæ reclamaſſent, domum ad ſe venire juſſit Centuriones, quos bene de Repub. ſentire cognoverat, eoſque ante pedes ſuos, uxoriſque ſuæ, quam ſecum gravis Imperator ad exercitum duxerat, jugulari coegit. Phil. 5. 8.

enemies, and distributing them to his friends. He published at the same time several fierce and threatening edicts, in which, "he gave OCTAVIUS the name of SPARTACUS, reproached him with the ignobleness of his birth; charged CICERO with being the author of all his counsils; abused young QUINTUS as a perfidious wretch, who had offered to kill both his Father and Uncle; forbad three of the Tribuns, on pain of death, to appear in the Senate, Q. CASSIUS, the brother of the Conspirator, CARFULENUS and CANUTIUS [c]." In this humor he summoned the Senate on *the twenty fourth of* October, with severe threats to those, who should absent themselves; yet he himself neglected to come, and adjourned it by edict to *the twenty eighth*: but while all people were in expectation of some extraordinary decrees from him, and of one particularly, which he had prepared, *to declare young* CÆSAR *a public enemy* [d]; he happened to receive the news, *that two of the Legions from* Brundisium, *the fourth, and that, which was called the Martial, had actually declared for* OCTAVIUS, *and posted themselves at* Alba, *in the neighbourhood of* Rome [e]. This shocked him so much, that instead of prosecuting what he had projected, he onely huddled over what no body opposed, *the decree of a supplication to* LEPIDUS; and the same evening, after he had distributed to his friends, by a pretended allotment, the several provinces of the Empire, which few or none

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

[c] Primum in Cæsarem ut maledicta congesslit—ignobilitatem objicit C. Cæsaris filio—[Phil. 3. 6.] quem in Edictis Spartacum appellat. [ib. 8.] Q. Ciceronem, fratris mei filium compellat edicto—ausus est scribere, hunc de Patris & Patrui parricidio cogitasse. [ib. 7.] quid autem attinuerit, Q. Cassio—mortem denunciare si in Senatum venisset. D. Carfulenum—e Senatu vi & mortis minis expellere: Tib. Canutium—non templo solum, sed aditu prohibere Capitolii—ib. 9.

[d] Cum Senatum vocasset, adhibuissetque Consularem, qui sua sententia C. Cæsarem hostem judicaret—Phil. 5. 9. App. 556.

[e] Postea vero quam Legio Martia ducem præstantissimum vidit, nihil egit aliud, nisi ut aliquando liberi essemus: quam est imitata quarta Legio. Phil. 5. 8.

Atque ea Legio consedit Albæ, &c. Phil. 3. 3.

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of them durſt accept from ſo precarious a title, he changed the habit of the Conſul, for that of the General, and left the City with precipitation, to put himſelf at the head of his army, and poſſeſs himſelf by force of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, aſſigned to him by a pretended law of the people againſt the will of the Senate [*f*].

ON the news of his retreat, CICERO preſently quitted his books and the Country, and ſet out towards *Rome*: he ſeemed to be called by the voice of the Republic to take the reins once more into his hands. The field was now open to him; there was not a Conſul, and ſcarce a ſingle Prætor in the City, nor any troops, from which he could apprehend danger. He arrived *on the ninth of* December, and immediately conferred with PANSA, *for* HIRTIUS *lay very ill*, about the meaſures proper to be taken on their approaching entrance into the Conſulſhip.

BEFORE his leaving the Country, OPPIUS had been with him, to preſs him again to undertake the affairs of OCTAVIUS, and the protection of his troops: but his anſwer was, "that he could not conſent to it, unleſs he were firſt "aſſured, that OCTAVIUS would not onely be no enemy, "but even a friend to BRUTUS: that he could be of no "ſervice to OCTAVIUS, till the firſt of *January*, and there "would be an opportunity before that time of trying "OCTAVIUS's diſpoſition in the caſe of CASCA, who had "been named by CÆSAR to the Tribunate, and was to "enter upon it on the tenth of *December*: for if OCTAVIUS did not oppoſe or diſturb his admiſſion, that would "be

[*f*] Fugere feſtinans S. C. de Supplicatione per diſceſſionem fecit—præclara tamen S. Cta. eo ipſo die veſpertina, provinciarum religioſa ſortitio—L. Lentulus & P. Naſo—nullam ſe habere provinciam, nullam Antonii ſortitionem fuiſſe judicarunt. Phil. 3, 9, x.

" be a proof of his good intentions [*g*]." OPPIUS undertook for all this on the part of OCTAVIUS, and OCTAVIUS himself confirmed it, and suffered CASCA, who gave the first blow to CÆSAR, to enter quietly into his office.

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THE new Tribuns in the mean time, in the absence of the superior Magistrates, called a meeting of the Senate *on the nineteenth:* CICERO had resolved not to appear there any more, till he should be supported by the new Consuls; but happening to receive the day before, *the Edict of* D. BRUTUS, by which *he prohibited* ANTONY *the entrance of his Province*, and declared, *that he would defend it against him by force, and preserve it in it's duty to the Senate*, he thought it necessary for the public service, and the present encouragement of BRUTUS, to procure, as soon as possible, some public declaration in his favor: he went therefore to the Senate very early, which being observed by the other Senators, *presently drew together a full House*, in expectation of hearing his sentiments in so nice and critical a situation of the public affairs [*b*].

HE saw the war actually commenced in the very bowels of *Italy*, on the success of which depended the fate of *Rome:* that *Gaul* would certainly be lost, and with it probably the Republic, if BRUTUS was not supported against the superior force of ANTONY: that there was no way of

[*g*] Sed, ut scribis, certissimum esse video discrimen Cascæ nostri Tribunatum: de quo quidem ipso dixi Oppio, cum me hortaretur, ut adolescentemque totamque causam, manumque veteranorum complecterer, me nullo modo facere posse, ni mihi exploratum esset, eum non modo non inimicum tyrannoctonis, verum etiam amicum fore; cum ille diceret, ita futurum. Quid igitur festinamus? inquam. Illi enim mea opera ante Kal. Jan. nihil opus est. Nos autem ante Id. Decemb. ejus voluntatem perspiciemus in Casca. Mihi valde assensus est—Ad Att. 16. 15.

[*b*] Cum Tribuni pleb. edixissent, Senatus adesset a. d. 13 Kal. Jan. haberentque in animo de præsidio Consulum designatorum referre, quanquam statueram in Senatum ante Kal. Jan. non venire: tamen cum eo ipso die edictum tuum propositum esset, nefas esse duxi, aut ita haberi Senatum, ut de tuis divinis in Remp. meritis fileretur, quod factum esset, nisi ego venissem, aut etiam si quid de te non honorifice diceretur, me non adesse. Itaque in Senatum veni mane. Quod cum esset animadversum, frequentissimi Senatores convenerunt. Ep. fam. xi. 6.

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doing it ſo ready and effectual, as by employing OCTAVIUS *and his troops:* and though the entruſting him with that commiſſion would throw a dangerous power into his hands, yet it would be controuled by the equal power, and ſuperior authority of the *Two Conſuls*, who were to be joined with him in the ſame command.

THE Senate being aſſembled, the Tribuns acquainted them, that the buſineſs of that meeting, was to provide a guard for the ſecurity of the new Conſuls, and the protection of the Senate, in the freedom of their debates; but that they gave a liberty withal of taking *the whole ſtate of the Republic* into conſideration. Upon this CICERO opened the debate, "and repreſented to them the danger "of their preſent condition, and the neceſſity of ſpeedy "and reſolute counſils againſt an enemy, who loſt no time "in attempting their ruin. That they had been ruined "indeed before, had it not been for the courage and virtue "of young CÆSAR, who contrary to all expectation, and "without being even deſired to do, what no man thought "poſſible for him to do, had, by his private authority "and expence, raiſed a ſtrong army of Veterans, and "baffled the deſigns of ANTONY: that if ANTONY had "ſucceeded at *Brundiſium*, and prevailed with the legions "to follow him, he would have filled the City at his "return with blood and ſlaughter: that it was their part "to authorize and confirm what CÆSAR had done; and "to empower him to do more, by employing his troops in "the farther ſervice of the ſtate; and to make a ſpecial "proviſion alſo for the two Legions, which had declared "for him againſt ANTONY [*i*]. As to D. BRUTUS, who "had promiſed by Edict, to preſerve *Gaul* in the obedience "of

[*i*] Phil. 3, 1, 2, 3.

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" of the Senate, that he was a Citizen, born for the good
" of the Republic; the imitator of his anceſtors; nay had
" even exceded their merit; for the firſt BRUTUS expelled
" a proud King; he a fellow ſubject far more proud and
" profligate: that TARQUIN, at the time of his expulſion,
" was actually making war for the people of *Rome*; but
" ANTONY, on the contrary, had actually begun a war
" againſt them. That it was neceſſary therefore to con-
" firm by public authority, what BRUTUS had done by
" private, in preſerving the Province of *Gaul*, the flower of
" *Italy*, and the bulwark of the Empire---[*k*]. Then after
" largely inveighing againſt ANTONY's character, and enu-
" merating particularly all his cruelties and violences, he
" exhorts them, in a pathetic manner, to act with courage
" in defence of the Republic, or die bravely in the attempt:
" that now was the time either to recover their liberty,
" or to live for ever ſlaves: that if the fatal day was come,
" and *Rome* was deſtined to periſh, it would be a ſhame
" for them, the Governors of the world, not to fall with
" as much courage as Gladiators were uſed to do, and
" die with dignity, rather than live with diſgrace. He
" puts them in mind of the many advantages, which they
" had towards encouraging their hopes and reſolution; the
" body of the people, alert and eager in the cauſe; young
" CÆSAR in the guard of the City; BRUTUS of *Gaul*;
" two Conſuls of the greateſt prudence, virtue, concord
" between themſelves; who had been meditating nothing
" elſe for many months paſt, but the public tranquillity:
" to all which he promiſes his own attention and vigilance
" both day and night for their ſafety [*l*]. On the whole
" therefore, he gives his vote and opinion, that the new
" Conſuls,

[*k*] Ibid. 4, 5. [*l*] Ibid. 14, &c.

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" Conſuls, C. PANSA and A. HIRTIUS ſhould take care,
" that the Senate may meet with ſecurity on the firſt of
" *January*: that D. BRUTUS Emperor and Conſul elect,
" had merited greatly of the Republic, by defending the
" authority and liberty of the Senate and people of *Rome*:
" that his army, the Towns and Colonies of his Province
" ſhould be publicly thanked and praiſed for their fidelity
" to him: that it ſhould be declared to be of the laſt con-
" ſequence to the Republic; that D. BRUTUS and L.
" PLANCUS, (who commanded the farther *Gaul*) Emperor
" and Conſul elect, as well as all others, who had the
" command of Provinces, ſhould keep them in their duty
" to the Senate, till ſucceſſors were appointed by the
" Senate: and ſince by the pains, virtue and conduct of
" young CÆSAR, and the aſſiſtance of the Veteran ſoldiers,
" who followed him, the Republic had been delivered,
" and was ſtill defended from the greateſt dangers; and
" ſince the martial and fourth Legions, under that excel-
" lent Citizen and Quæſtor, EGNATULEIUS, had volun-
" tarily declared for the authority of the Senate, and the
" liberty of the people; that the Senate ſhould take ſpecial
" care, that due honors and thanks be paid to them for
" their eminent ſervices: and that the new Conſuls, on
" their entrance into office, ſhould make it their firſt
" buſineſs, to ſee all this executed in proper form: to all
" which the Houſe unanimouſly agreed, and ordered a
" decree to be drawn conformably to his opinion."

FROM the Senate he paſſed directly to *the Forum*, and in a ſpeech to the people, gave an account of what had paſſed: he begins, " by ſignifying his joy, to ſee ſo great
" a concourſe about him, greater than he had ever remem-
" bered, a ſure omen of their good inclinations, and an

" encourage-

" encouragement both to his endeavours and his hopes of
" recovering the Republic. Then he repeats with ſome
" variation, what he had delivered in the Senate, of the
" praiſes of CÆSAR and BRUTUS, and the wicked deſigns
" of ANTONY: that the race of the BRUTUS's was given
" to them by the ſpecial providence of the Gods, for the
" perpetual defenders and deliverers of the Republic [*m*]:
" that by what the Senate had decreed, they had in fact,
" though not in expreſs words, declared ANTONY a public
" enemy: that they muſt conſider him therefore as ſuch,
" and no longer as Conſul: that they had to deal with
" an enemy, with whom no terms of peace could be made;
" who thirſted not ſo much after their liberty, as their
" blood: to whom no ſport was ſo agreeable, as to ſee
" Citizens butchered before his eyes----That the Gods
" however by portents and prodigies ſeemed to foretell his
" ſpeedy downfall, ſince ſuch a conſent and union of all
" ranks againſt him could never have been effected, but
" by a divine influence, *&c.* [*n*]"

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THESE ſpeeches, which ſtand *the third and fourth*, in the order of *his Philippics*, were extremely well received both by the Senate and People: ſpeaking afterwards of the latter of them to the ſame people, he ſays, *if that day had put an end to my life, I had reaped ſufficient fruit from it, when you all, with one mind and voice, cried out, that I had twice ſaved the Republic* [*o*]. As he had now broken all meaſures with ANTONY, beyond the poſſibility of a reconciliation, ſo he publiſhed probably about this time his ſecond *Philippic*, which had hitherto been communicated

[*m*] Phil. 4. 3.
[*n*] Ibid. 4. &c.
[*o*] Quo quidem tempore, etiam ſi ille dies vitæ finem mihi allaturus eſſet, ſatis magnum ceperam fructum, cum vos univerſi una mente ac voce iterum a me conſervatam eſſe Remp. conclamaſtis. Phil. 6. 1.

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cated onely to a few friends, whoſe approbation it had received.

THE ſhort remainder of this turbulent year was ſpent in preparing arms and troops for the guard of the new Conſuls, and the defence of the ſtate: and the new levies were carried on with the greater diligence, for the certain news that was brought to *Rome*, *that* ANTONY *was actually beſieging* Modena, into which BRUTUS, unable to oppoſe him in the field, had thrown himſelf with all his forces, as the ſtrongeſt Town of his Province, and the beſt provided to ſuſtain a ſiege. Young CÆSAR, in the mean while, without expecting the orders of the Senate, but *with the advice of* CICERO, by which he now governed himſelf in every ſtep, marched out of *Rome* at the head of his troops, and followed ANTONY into the Province; in order to obſerve his motions, and take all occaſions of diſtreſſing him; as well as to encourage BRUTUS to defend himſelf with vigor, till the Conſuls could bring up the grand army, which they were preparing for his relief.



SECT.



SECT. X.

ON the opening of the year, the City was in great expectation, to ſee what meaſures their new Conſuls would purſue: they had been at ſchool, as it were, all the ſummer to CICERO, forming the plan of their adminiſtration, and taking their leſſons of governing from him, and ſeem to have been brought intirely into his general view, of eſtabliſhing the peace and liberty of the Republic on the foundation of *an Amneſty*. But their great obligations to CÆSAR, and long engagements with that party, to which they owed all their fortunes, had left ſome ſcruples in them, which gave a check to their zeal, and diſpoſed them to act with more moderation againſt

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old friends, than the condition of the times would allow; and before the experiment of arms, to try the gentler method of a treaty. With theſe ſentiments, as ſoon as they were inaugurated, they entered into a deliberation with the Senate, on the preſent ſtate of the Republic, in order to perfect what had been reſolved upon at their laſt meeting, and to contrive ſome farther means for the ſecurity of the public tranquillity. They both ſpoke with great ſpirit and firmneſs, offering themſelves as Leaders, in aſſerting the liberty of their country, and exhorting the aſſembly to courage and reſolution in the defence of ſo good a cauſe [p]: and when they had done, they called upon Q. Fufius Calenus, to deliver his ſentiments *the firſt*. He had been Conſul four years before by Cæsar's nomination, and was father-in-law to Pansa, which by cuſtom was a ſufficient ground for paying him that compliment: Cicero's opinion was already well known; he was for the ſhorteſt and readieſt way of coming at their end, *by declaring* Antony *a public enemy*, and without loſs of time acting againſt him by open force: but this was not reliſhed by the Conſuls, who called therefore upon Calenus to ſpeak firſt; that as he was a faſt friend to Antony, and ſure to be on the moderate ſide, he might inſtill ſome ſentiments of that ſort into the Senate, before Cicero had made a contrary impreſſion. Calenus's opinion therefore was, *that before they proceeded to acts of hoſtility, they ſhould ſend an embaſſy to* Antony, *to admoniſh him to deſiſt from his attempt upon* Gaul, *and ſubmit to the authority of the Senate:* Piso and ſeveral others were of the ſame mind, alledging it to be unjuſt and cruel to condemn

[p] Ut oratio Conſulum animum meum erexit, ſpemque attulit non modo ſalutis conſervandæ, verum etiam dignitatis priſtinæ recuperandæ. Phil. 5. 1.

condemn a man, till they had firſt heard what he had to ſay for himſelf. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

BUT CICERO oppoſed this motion with great warmth, not onely as "vain and fooliſh, but dangerous and perni- "cious: he declared it diſhonorable to treat with any "one, who was in arms againſt his country, untill he laid "them down and ſued for peace; in which caſe no man "would be more moderate or equitable than himſelf: "that they had in effect proclamed him an enemy already, "and had nothing left but to confirm it by a decree, "when he was beſieging one of the great Towns of *Italy*, "a Colony of *Rome*, and in it their *Conſul elect*, and "General BRUTUS: he obſerved from what motives thoſe "other opinions proceded; from particular friendſhips, "relations, private obligations; but that a regard to their "Country was ſuperior to them all: that the real point "before them was, whether ANTONY ſhould be ſuffered "to oppreſs the Republic; to mark out whom he pleaſed "to deſtruction; to plunder the City, and enſlave the "Citizens-----[*q*]. That this was his ſole view, he ſhewed "from a long detail not onely of his acts, but of his "expreſs declarations----for he had ſaid in the Temple "of CASTOR, in the hearing of the people, that when- "ever it came to blows, no man ſhould remain alive, who "did not conquer----and in another ſpeech; that when "he was out of his Conſulſhip, he would keep an army "ſtill about the City, and enter it whenever he thought "fit: that in a Letter, which CICERO himſelf had ſeen, "to one of his friends, he bad him to mark out for him- "ſelf what eſtate he would have, and whatever it was, "he ſhould certainly have it [*r*]: that to talk of ſend-

 "ing

[*q*] Phil. 5, 1, 2, 3. [*r*] Ibid. 8, 12.

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" ing Embaſſadors to ſuch an one, was to betray their
" ignorance of the conſtitution of the Republic, the
" majeſty of the *Roman* people, and the diſcipline of
" their anceſtors---[s] that whatever was the purpoſe of
" their meſſage, it would ſignify nothing: if to beg him
" to be quiet, he would deſpiſe it; if to command him,
" would not obey it---that without any poſſible good,
" it would be a certain damage; would neceſſarily create
" delay, and obſtruction to the operations of the war;
" check the zeal of the army; damp the ſpirits of the
" people; whom they now ſaw ſo briſk and eager in the
" cauſe---that the greateſt revolutions of affairs were ef-
" fected often by trifling incidents; and above all in civil
" wars, which were generally governed by popular ru-
" mor: that how vigorous ſoever their inſtructions were
" to the Embaſſadors, that would be little regarded: the
" very name of an Embaſſy implied a diffidence and fear,
" which was ſufficient to cool the ardor of their friends [t]:
" they might order him to retire from *Modena*; to quit
" the Province of *Gaul*; but this was not to be obtained
" by words, but extorted by arms--- that while the Em-
" baſſadors were going and coming, people would be in
" doubt and ſuſpenſe about the ſucceſs of their negotia-
" tion, and under the expectation of a doubtfull war,
" what progreſs could they hope to make in their levies?---
" that his opinion therefore was, to make no farther men-
" tion of an Embaſſy; but to enter inſtantly into action:
" that there ſhould be a ceſſation of all civil buſineſs; a
" public tumult proclamed; the ſhops ſhut up; and that
" inſtead of their uſual gown, they ſhould all put on *the*
" *Sagum*, or habit of war: and that levies of ſoldiers
" ſhould

[s] Ibid. 9. [t] Ibid. 10.

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" ſhould be made in *Rome*, and through *Italy*, without " any exception of privilege or diſmiſſion from ſervice--- " that the very fame of this vigor would reſtrain the " madneſs of ANTONY, and let the world ſee, that the " caſe was not, as he pretended, a ſtruggle onely of con- " tending parties, but a real war againſt the Common- " wealth---that the whole Republic ſhould be committed " to the Conſuls, to take care, that it received no detri- " ment---that pardon ſhould be offered to thoſe of AN- " TONY's army, who ſhould return to their duty before " the firſt of *February*---that if they did not come to " this reſolution now, they would be forced to do it after- " wards, when it would be too late perhaps, or leſs effec- " tual [*u*]."

THIS was the ſumm of what he adviſed as to their conduct towards ANTONY: he next proceded to the other ſubject of their debate; *the honors which were ordered to be decreed at their laſt meeting*; and began with D. BRUTUS, as *Conſul elect*; in favor of whom, beſides many high expreſſions of praiſe, he propoſed a decree to this effect--- " Whereas D. BRUTUS, *Emperor*, *Conſul elect*, now holds " the Province of *Gaul* in the power of the Senate and " people of *Rome*; and by the chearfull aſſiſtance of the " Towns and Colonies of his Province, has drawn together " a great army in a ſhort time; that he has done all this " rightly and regularly, and for the ſervice of the ſtate: " and that it is the ſenſe therefore of the Senate and Peo- " ple, that the Republic has been relieved in a moſt dif- " ficult conjuncture, by the pains, counſil, virtue of D. " BRUTUS, *Emperor*, *Conſul elect*, and by the incredible " zeal and concurrence of the Province of *Gaul*." He moved alſo for *an extraordinary honor to* M. LEPIDUS, who

[*u*] Ibid. 10. 12.

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who had no pretenſion to it indeed from paſt ſervices, but being now at the head of the beſt army in the Empire, was in condition to do the moſt good or ill to them of any man. This was the ground of the compliment; for his faith being ſuſpected, and his union with Antony dreaded, Cicero hoped, by this teſtimony of their confidence, to confirm him in the intereſts of the Senate: but he ſeems to be hard put to it for a pretext of merit to ground his decree upon: he takes notice, "that Lepidus was always "moderate in power, and a friend to liberty: that he "gave a ſignal proof of it, when Antony offered the "Diadem to Cæsar; for by turning away his face, he "publicly teſtified his averſion to ſlavery, and that his "compliance with the times was through neceſſity, not "choice----that ſince Cæsar's death he had practiſed "the ſame moderation; and when a bloody war was "revived in *Spain*, choſe to put an end to it by the "methods of prudence and humanity, rather than by "arms and the ſword, and conſented to the reſtoration "of S. Pompey [*x*]." For which reaſon he propoſed the following Decree----"Whereas the Republic has often "been well and happily adminiſtred by M. Lepidus, the "chief Prieſt; and the people of *Rome* have always found "him to be an enemy to kingly government; and whereas "by his endeavours, virtue, wiſdom, and his ſingular "clemency, and mildneſs, a moſt dreadful civil war is "extinguiſhed; and S. Pompey the Great, the Son of "Cnæus, out of reſpect to the authority of the Senate, "has quitted his arms, and is reſtored to the City; that "the Senate and People, out of regard to the many and "ſignal ſervices of M. Lepidus, Emperor, and Chief "Prieſt,

[*x*] Ibid. 14.

" Prieſt, place great hopes of their peace, concord, liberty, A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.
" in his virtue, authority, felicity; and from a gratefull
" ſenſe of his merits, decree, that a gilt Equeſtrian ſtatue
" ſhall be erected to him by their order in the Roſtra,
" or any other part of the Forum, which he ſhall
" chuſe---[*y*]." He comes next to young CÆSAR; and after enlarging on his praiſes, propoſes, " that they ſhould
" grant him a proper commiſſion and command over his
" Troops, without which he could be of no uſe to them;
" and that he ſhould have the rank and all the rights of a
" *Proprætor*; not onely for the ſake of his dignity, but
" the neceſſary management of their affairs, and the ad-
" miniſtration of the war."----And then offers the form of a Decree---" Whereas C. CÆSAR, the Son of CAIUS,
" Prieſt, Proprætor, has, in the utmoſt diſtreſs of the
" Republic, excited and enliſted Veteran Troops to defend
" the liberty of the *Roman* people; and whereas the
" Martial and fourth Legions, under the leading and au-
" thority of C. CÆSAR, have defended, and now defend
" the Republic, and the liberty of the *Roman* people;
" and whereas C. CÆSAR is gone at the head of his army,
" to protect the Province of *Gaul*; has drawn together a
" body of horſe, archers, Elephants, under his own and
" the people's power; and in the moſt dangerous criſis of
" the Republic, has ſupported the ſafety and dignity of the
" *Roman* people; for theſe reaſons the Senate decrees, that
" C. CÆSAR, the Son of CAIUS, Prieſt, Proprætor, be
" henceforward a Senator, and vote in the rank and place
" of a *Prætor*; and that in ſolliciting for any future Ma-
" giſtracy, the ſame regard be had to him, as would
" have been had by law, if he had been Quæſtor the year
" before

[*y*] Ibid. 15.

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" before----[z]. As to thoſe, who thought theſe honors
" too great for ſo young a man, and apprehended danger
" from his abuſe of them, he declares their apprehenſions
" to be the effect of envy, rather than fear; ſince the
" nature of things was ſuch, that he, who had once got
" a taſt of true glory, and found himſelf univerſally dear
" to the Senate and People, could never think any other
" acquiſition equal to it: he wiſhes, that J. Cæsar had
" taken the ſame courſe, when young, of endearing
" himſelf to the Senate, and honeſt men; but by neglect-
" ing that, he ſpent the force of his great genius in ac-
" quiring a vain popularity; and having no regard to the
" Senate and the better ſort, opened himſelf a way to
" power, which the virtue of a free people could not
" bear----that there was nothing of this kind to be feared
" from the Son; nor after the proof of ſuch admirable
" prudence in a boy, any ground to imagine, that his
" riper age would be leſs prudent---for what greater folly
" could there be, than to prefer an uſeleſs power, an in-
" vidious greatneſs, the luſt of reigning, always ſlippery
" and tottering, to true, weighty, ſolid glory?----if they
" ſuſpected him as an enemy to ſome of their beſt and
" moſt valued Citizens, they might lay aſide thoſe fears,
" he had given up all his reſentments to the Republic;
" made her the Moderatrix of all his acts----that he knew
" the moſt inward ſentiments of the youth; would pawn
" his credit for him to the Senate and People; would
" promiſe, engage, undertake, that he would always be
" the ſame, that he now was; ſuch as they ſhould wiſh
" and deſire to ſee him----[a]. He procedes alſo to give
" a public teſtimonial of praiſe and thanks to L. Egna-
" tuleius,

[z] Ibid. 17. [a] Ibid. 18.

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" TULEIUS, for his fidelity to the Republic, in bringing
" over the fourth Legion from ANTONY to CÆSAR; and
" moves, that it might be granted to him for that piece
" of ſervice, to ſue for and hold any magiſtracy three
" years before the legal time---[*b*]. Laſtly, as to the Ve-
" teran Troops, which had followed the authority of
" CÆSAR and the Senate, and eſpecially the *Martial*, and
" *Fourth Legions*, he moved, that an exemption from
" ſervice ſhould be decreed to them and their children,
" except in the caſe of a Gallic or domeſtic tumult; and
" that the Conſuls C. PANSA and A. HIRTIUS, or one of
" them, ſhould provide lands in *Campania*, or elſewhere
" to be divided to them; and that as ſoon as the preſent
" war was over, they ſhould all be diſcharged, and punc-
" tually receive whatever ſumms of money C. CÆSAR had
" promiſed to them when they firſt declared for him.---

THIS was the ſubſtance of his ſpeech; in the latter part of which, the propoſal of honors, the Senate readily agreed with him: and though thoſe, which were decreed to OCTAVIUS, ſeemed ſo extraordinary to CICERO himſelf, that he thought it proper to make an apology for them, yet there were others of the firſt rank, who thought them not great enough; ſo that PHILIPPUS *added the honor of a Statue*; SER. SULPICIUS, *and* SERVILIUS, *the privilege of ſuing for any Magiſtracy, ſtill earlier than* CICERO *had propoſed* [*c*]. But the aſſembly was much divided about the main queſtion, *of ſending a deputation to* ANTONY: ſome of the principal Senators were warmly for it; and the Conſuls themſelves favored it, *and artfully avoided to*

[*b*] Ibid. 19.

[*c*] Statuam Philippus decrevit, celeritatem petitionis primo Servius, poſt majorem etiam Servilius: nihil tum nimium videbatur. Ad Brut. 15.

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put it to the vote [*d*]; which would otherwiſe have been carried by CICERO, who had a clear majority on his ſide. The debate being held on till night, was adjourned to the next morning, and kept up with the ſame warmth for *three days* ſucceſſively, while the Senate continued all the time in CICERO's opinion, and would have paſſed a decree conformable to it, had not SALVIUS, *the Tribun, put his negative upon them* [*e*]. This firmneſs of ANTONY's friends prevailed at laſt for *an Embaſſy*; and *three Conſular Senators* were preſently nominated to it, S. SULPICIUS, L. PISO, and L. PHILIPPUS: but their commiſſion was ſtrictly limited, and drawn up by CICERO himſelf; giving them no power to treat with ANTONY, but to carry to him onely the peremptory commands of the Senate, *to quit the ſiege of* Modena, *and deſiſt from all hoſtilities in* Gaul: they had inſtructions likewiſe, after the delivery of their meſſage, to ſpeak with D. BRUTUS in *Modena*, and ſignify to him and his army, *that the Senate and People had a gratefull Senſe of their Services, which would one day be a great honor to them* [*f*].

THE unuſual length of theſe debates greatly raiſed the curioſity of the City, and drew the whole body of the people into the Forum, to expect the iſſue; where, as they had done alſo not long before, they could not forbear *calling out upon* CICERO *with one voice, to come and give them an account of the deliberations* [*g*]. He went therefore

[*d*] Has in ſententias meas ſi Conſules diſceſſionem facere voluiſſent, omnibus iſtis latronibus auctoritate ipſa Senatus jampridem de manibus arma cecidiſſent. Phil. 14. 7.

[*e*] Itaque hæc Sententia per triduum ſic valuit, ut quamquam diſceſſio facta non eſt, tamen præter paucos, omnes mihi aſſenſuri viderentur. Phil. 6. 1. App. p. 559.

[*f*] Quamquam non eſt illa legatio, ſed denunciatio belli, niſi paruerit—mittuntur enim qui nuncient, ne oppugnet Conſulem deſignatum, ne Mutinam obſideat, ne Provinciam depopuletur—Phil. 6. 2.

Dantur mandata legatis, ut D. Brutum, militeſque ejus adeant, &c. ib. 3.

[*g*] Quid ego de univerſo populo R. dicam? qui pleno ac referto foro bis me una mente atque voce in concionem vocavit. Phil. 7. 8.

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fore directly from the Senate into the *Roſtra*, produced by APPULEIUS, *the Tribun*, and acquainted them in a Speech with the reſult of their debates,—— " that the Senate, ex- " cepting a few, after they had ſtood firm for three days " to his opinion, had given it up at laſt, with leſs gravity " indeed than became them, yet not meanly or ſhame- " fully, having decreed not ſo much an Embaſſy as a " denunciation of war to ANTONY, if he did not obey it: " which carried indeed an appearance of ſeverity; and he " wiſhed onely, that it had carried no delay----that AN- " TONY, he was ſure, would never obey it, nor ever ſub- " mit to their power, who had never been in his own--- " that he would do therefore in that place, what he had " been doing in the Senate; teſtify, warn and declare to " them beforehand, that ANTONY would perform no part " of what their Embaſſadors were ſent to require of him--- " that he would ſtill waſt the country, beſiege *Modena*, " and not ſuffer the Embaſſadors themſelves to enter the " Town, or ſpeak with BRUTUS----believe me, ſays he, " I know the violence, the impudence, the audaciouſneſs " of the man----let our Embaſſadors then make haſt, " which I know they are reſolved to do; but do you pre- " pare your military habit; for it is a part alſo of our decree, " that, if he does not comply, we muſt all put on that " garb: we ſhall certainly put it on: he will never obey: " we ſhall lament the loſs of ſo many days, which might " have been employed in action----[*b*]. I am not afraid, " when he comes to hear, how I have declared this before- " hand, that for the ſake of confuting me, he ſhould " change his mind, and ſubmit. He will never do it; " will not envy me this glory; will chuſe rather, that you

[*b*] Phil. 6. 1, 2, 3.

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" ſhould think me wiſe, than him modeſt"---he obſerves, " that though it would have been better to ſend no meſ- " ſage, yet ſome good would flow from it to the Re- " public; for when the Embaſſadors ſhall make the " report, which they ſurely will make, of ANTONY's " refuſal to obey the People and Senate, who can be ſo " perverſe, as to look upon him any longer as a Citizen?--- " Wherefore wait, ſays he, with patience, Citizens, the " return of the Embaſſadors, and digeſt the inconvenience " of a few days: if on their return they bring peace, call " me prejudiced; if war, provident [*i*]."---Then after aſſuring them, " of his perpetual vigilance for their ſafety, " and applauding their wonderful alacrity in the cauſe, " and declaring, that of all the aſſemblies, which he had " ſeen, he had never known ſo full an one as the preſent," he thus concludes, " The ſeaſon of liberty is now come, " my Citizens, much later indeed than became the peo- " ple of *Rome*; but ſo ripe now, that it cannot be defer- " red a moment. What we have hitherto ſuffered was " owing to a kind of fatality, which we have born as " well as we could; but if any ſuch caſe ſhould happen " again, it muſt be owing to ourſelves: it is not poſſible " for the people of *Rome* to be ſlaves, whom the Gods " have deſtined to the command of all nations: the affair " is now reduced to the laſt extremity; the ſtruggle is " for liberty: it is your part either to conquer, which " will ſurely be the fruit of your piety and concord, or " to ſuffer any thing rather than live ſlaves: other nations " may endure ſlavery; but the proper end and buſineſs " of the *Roman* people is liberty."

THE

[*i*] Ibid. 4, 6.

THE Embaſſadors prepared themſelves immediately to execute their Commiſſion, and the next morning early ſet forward towards ANTONY, though SER. SULPICIUS was in a very declining ſtate of health. Various were the ſpeculations about the ſucceſs of this meſſage: but ANTONY gained one certain advantage by it, of more time, either to preſs the ſiege of *Modena*, or to take ſuch meaſures, as freſh accidents might offer: nor were his friends without hopes of drawing from it ſome pretence for opening a treaty with him; ſo as to give room to the chiefs of *the Cæſarian Faction*, to unite themſelves againſt the Senate and Republican party; which ſeemed to be inſpired by CICERO, with a reſolution of extinguiſhing all the remains of the late Tyranny. For this purpoſe the Partiſans of that cauſe were endeavouring to obviate the offence, which might be given by ANTONY's refuſal to comply with what was injoined; contriving ſpecious anſwers for him, and repreſenting them as a reaſonable ground of an accommodation, in hopes to cool the ardor of the City for the proſecution of the war: CALENUS was at the head of this party, who kept a conſtant correſpondence with ANTONY, *and took care to publiſh ſuch of his Letters, as were proper to depreſs the hopes and courage of his adverſaries, and keep up the ſpirits of his friends* [*k*]. A. Urb. 701. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

CICERO therefore, at a meeting of the Senate, called in this interval about certain matters of ordinary form, took occaſion to rouſe the zeal of the aſſembly, by warning them of the miſchief of theſe inſinuations. He obſerved, " that the affairs then propoſed to their deliberation were " of little conſequence, though neceſſary in the common " courſe

[*k*] Ille litteras ad te mittat de ſpe ſua ſecundarum rerum? eas tu lætus proferas?—deſcribendas etiam des improbis civibus? eorum augeas animos? bonorum ſpem, virtutemque debilites?—Phil. 7. 2.

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" courſe of public buſineſs, about the *Appian way*, *the coin*, *the Luperci*, which would eaſily be adjuſted; " but that his mind was called off from the conſideration " of them by the more important concerns of the Repub- " lic----that he had always been afraid of ſending the Em- " baſſy----and now every body ſaw, what a languor the " expectation of it had cauſed in people's minds; and what " a handle it had given to the practices of thoſe, who " grieved to ſee the Senate recovering it's ancient autho- " rity; the people united with them; all *Italy* on the " ſame ſide; their armies prepared; their Generals ready " to take the field----who feign anſwers for ANTONY, " and applaud them, as if they had ſent Embaſſadors not " to give, but receive conditions from him."----Then after expoſing the danger and iniquity of ſuch practices, and rallying the principal abettor of them, CALENUS, he adds, " that he, who all his life had been the author and " promotor of civil peace; who owed whatever he was, " whatever he had to it; his honors, intereſt, dignity; " nay, even the talents and abilities, which he was maſter " of; yet I, ſays he, the perpetual adviſer of peace, am for " no peace with ANTONY"----where perceiving himſelf to be heard with great attention----he procedes to explane at large through the reſt of his ſpeech; " that ſuch a peace " would be diſhonorable, dangerous, and could not poſ- " ſibly ſubſiſt----he exhorts the Senate therefore to be at- " tentive, prepared and armed beforehand; ſo as not to " be caught by a ſmooth or ſuppliant anſwer, and the " falſe appearance of equity: that ANTONY muſt do every " thing, which was preſcribed to him, before he could " pretend to aſk any thing; if not, that it was not the " Senate, which proclamed war againſt him; but he " againſt the *Roman* people. But for you, Fathers, I

" give

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" give you warning, ſays he, the queſtion before you con-
" cerns the liberty of the people of *Rome*, which is
" entruſted to your care; it concerns the lives and
" fortunes of every honeſt man; it concerns your
" own authority; which you will for ever loſe, if
" you do not retrieve it now----I admoniſh you too,
" PANSA; for though you want no advice, in which
" you excell, yet the beſt Pilots, in great ſtorms, are
" ſometimes admoniſhed by paſſengers: never ſuffer that
" noble proviſion of arms and troops, which you have
" made, to come to nothing: you have ſuch an oppor-
" tunity before you, as no man ever had: by this firm-
" neſs of the Senate, this alacrity of the Equeſtrian order,
" this ardor of the people, you have it in your power to
" free the Republic for ever from fear and danger---[*l*]."

THE Conſuls in the mean while were taking care, that the expectation of the effect of the Embaſſy ſhould not ſuperſede their preparations for war; and agreed between themſelves, *that one of them ſhould march immediately to* Gaul, with the troops which were already provided, and *the other ſtay behind to perfect the new levies*, which were carried on with great ſucceſs both in the City, and the Country: for all the capital Towns of *Italy* were vying with each other *in voluntary contributions of money and ſoldiers; and in decrees of infamy and diſgrace to thoſe who refuſed to liſt themſelves into the public ſervice* [*m*]. The firſt part fell by lot to HIRTIUS [*n*]; who, though but lately recovered from a dangerous indiſpoſition, marched away without loſs of time at the head of a brave army; and particularly, *of the two Legions, the Martial and the fourth,*

[*l*] Vid. Phil. 7.

[*m*] An cum Municipiis pax erit, quorum tanta ſtudia cognoſcuntur in decretis faciendis, militibus dandis, pecuniis pollicendis—hæc jam tota Italia fiunt. Phil. 7, 8, 9.

[*n*] Conſul ſortitu ad bellum profectus A. Hirtius—Phil. 14. 2.

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fourth, which were eſteemed the flower and ſtrength of the whole, and now put themſelves under the command and auſpices of the Conſul. With theſe, in conjunction with OCTAVIUS, he hoped to obſtruct all the deſigns of ANTONY, and prevent his gaining any advantage againſt BRUTUS, till PANSA could join them, which would make them ſuperior in force, and enable them to give him battel, with good aſſurance of victory. He contented himſelf in the mean while with diſpoſſeſſing ANTONY of ſome of his poſts; and diſtreſſing him, by ſtraitening his quarters, and opportunities of forage; in which he had ſome ſucceſs, as he ſignified in a Letter to his Collegue PANSA, which was communicated to the Senate; *I have poſſeſſed myſelf*, ſays he, *of* CLATERNA, *and driven out* ANTONY's *garriſon: his horſe were routed in the action, and ſome of them ſlain* [o]: and in all his Letters to CICERO, he aſſured him, *that he would undertake nothing, without the greateſt caution*; in anſwer probably, to what CICERO was conſtantly inculcating, not to expoſe himſelf too forwardly, till PANSA could come up to him [p].

THE Embaſſadors returned about the beginning of *February*, having been retarded ſomewhat longer than they intended, *by the death of* SER. SULPICIUS; which happening when they were juſt arrived at ANTONY's camp, *left the Embaſſy maimed and imperfect*, as CICERO ſays, by the loſs of the beſt and ableſt man of the three [q]. The report, which they made to the Senate, anſwered exactly in every point to what CICERO had foretold; *that* ANTONY *would perform no part of what was required, nor ſuffer*

[o] Dejeci præſidium, Claterna potitus ſum, fugati equites, prælium commiſſum, occiſi aliquot. Phil. 8. 2.

[p] Hirtius nihil niſi conſiderate, ut mihi crebris litteris ſignificat, acturus videbatur. Ep. fam. 12. 5.

[q] Cum Ser. Sulpicius ætate illos anteiret, ſapientia omnes, ſubito ereptus e cauſſa totam legationem orbam & debilitatam reliquit. Phil. 9. 1.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

ſuffer them even to ſpeak with Brutus, *but continued to batter the Town with great fury in their preſence:* he offered however ſome conditions of his own, which, contrary to their inſtructions, they were weak enough to receive from him, and lay before the Senate: the purpoſe of them was, "that the Senate ſhould aſſign lands and "rewards to all his troops, and confirm all the other "grants, which he and Dolabella had made in their "Conſulſhip: that all his decrees from Cæsar's books "and papers ſhould ſtand firm: that no account ſhould "be demanded of the money taken from the Temple of "Opis; nor any inquiry made into the conduct of the "ſeven Commiſſioners, created to divide the lands to the "Veteran ſoldiers; and that his judiciary law ſhould not "be repealed: on theſe terms he offered to give up "*Ciſalpine Gaul*, provided, that he might have the greater "*Gaul* in exchange for five years, with an army of ſix "Legions, to be completed out of the troops of D. Bru-"tus [*r*]."

Pansa ſummoned the Senate to conſider the report of the Embaſſadors; which raiſed a general indignation through the City, and gave all poſſible advantage to Cicero, towards bringing the Houſe into his ſentiments: but contrary to expectation, he found Calenus's party ſtill ſtrong enough to give him much trouble, and even to carry ſome points againſt him; all tending to ſoften the rigor of his motions, and give them a turn more favorable towards Antony. He moved the Senate

[*r*] Ante Conſulis oculoſque legatorum tormentis Mutinam verberavit—ne punctum quidem temporis, cum legati adeſſent, oppugnatio reſpiravit—cum illi contempti & rejecti revertiſſent, dixiſſentque Senatui, non modo illum e Gallia non diſceſſiſſe, uti cenſuiſſemus, ſed ne a Mutina quidem receſſiſſe, poteſtatem ſibi D. Bruti conveniendi non fuiſſe, &c. vid. Phil. 8. 7, 8, 9.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Virius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

to decree, *that a war or rebellion was actually commenced*: they carried it for *a tumult*: he urged them, *to declare* Antony *an enemy*: they carried it for the ſofter term, *of adverſary* [*s*]: he propoſed, that all perſons ſhould be prohibited from going to Antony: they excepted Varius Cotyla, one of his Lieutenants, who was then in the Senate, taking notes of every thing which paſſed: in theſe votes Pansa *himſelf, and all the Conſular Senators concurred*; even L. Cæsar, who though a true friend to liberty, yet being Antony's *Uncle*, thought himſelf obliged by decency, to vote on the milder ſide [*t*].

But Cicero in his turn eaſily threw out, what was warmly preſſed on the other ſide, *the propoſal of a ſecond Embaſſy*; and carried likewiſe the main queſtion, of requiring the Citizens *to change their ordinary gown, for the Sagum or habit of war*: by which they decreed the thing, while they rejected the name. In all decrees of this kind, *the Conſular Senators*, on the account of their dignity, were excuſed from changing their habit; but Cicero, to inculcate more ſenſibly the diſtreſs of the Republic, *reſolved to wave his privilege, and wear the ſame robe with the reſt of the City* [*u*]. In a Letter to Cassius, he gives the following ſhort account of the ſtate of things at this time: "We have excellent Conſuls, but moſt ſhamefull Con-
"ſulars: a brave Senate; but the lower they are in dig-
"nity, the braver: nothing firmer and better than the
"people, and all *Italy* univerſally: but nothing more de-
"teſtable and infamous, than our Embaſſadors, Philip
" and

[*s*] Ego princeps Sagorum: ego ſemper hoſtem appellavi, cum alii adverſarium: ſemper hoc bellum, cum alii tumultum, &c. Phil. 12. 7.

[*t*] Vid. Phil. 8. 1, 10.

[*u*] Equidem, P. C. quamquam hoc honore uſi togati ſolent eſſe, cum eſt in ſagis civitas; ſtatui tamen a vobis, cæteriſque civibus in tanta atrocitate temporis—non differre veſtitu. Phil. 8. 11.

" and Piso: who, when ſent onely to carry the orders of the Senate to Antony, none of which he would comply with, brought back, of their own accord, intolerable demands from him: wherefore all the world now flock about me; and I am grown popular in a ſalutary cauſe, &c. [x]."

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

The Senate met again the next day, to draw into form and perfect what had been reſolved upon in the preceding debate: when Cicero, in a pathetic ſpeech, took occaſion to expoſtulate with them for their imprudent lenity the day before: " He ſhewed the abſurdity of their ſcru-
" ples, about voting a *civil war*: that the word *Tumult*,
" which they had preferred, either carried in it no real
" difference, or if any, implied a greater perturbation
" of all things [y]: he proved from every ſtep, that An-
" tony had taken and was taking; from every thing,
" which the Senate, the People, the Towns of *Italy* were
" doing and decreeing againſt him; that they were truly
" and properly in a ſtate of *civil war*; the fifth, which
" had happened in their memory, and the moſt deſperate
" of them all; being the firſt, which was ever raiſed, not
" by a diſſenſion of parties contending for a ſuperiority
" in the Republic, but againſt an union of all parties,
" to enſlave and oppreſs the Republic [z]. He procedes
" to expoſtulate with Calenus, for his obſtinate adhe-
" rence to Antony, and expoſes the weakneſs of his
" pretended plea for it; a love of peace, and concern

[x] Egregios Conſules habemus, ſed turpiſſimos conſulares: Senatum fortem, ſed infimo quemque honore fortiſſimum. Populo vero nihil fortius, nihil melius, Italiaque univerſa. Nihil autem fœdius Philippo & Piſone legatis, nihil flagitioſius: qui cum eſſent miſſi, ut Antonio ex S. C. certas res nunciarent: cum ille earum rerum nulli paruiſſet, ultro ab illo ad nos intolerabilia poſtulata retulerunt. Itaque ad nos concurritur: factique jam in re ſalutari populares ſumus. Ep. fam. 12. 4.

[y] Phil. 8. 1.

[z] Ibid. 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

" for the lives of the Citizens——he puts him in mind,
" that there was no juſter cauſe of taking arms, than to
" repell ſlavery; that ſeveral other cauſes indeed were juſt,
" but this neceſſary: unleſs he did not take himſelf to
" be affected by it, for the hopes of ſharing the dominion
" with Antony: if ſo, he was doubly miſtaken; firſt,
" for preferring a private intereſt to the public; ſecondly,
" for thinking any thing ſecure, or worth enjoying in a
" Tyranny----that a regard for the ſafety of Citizens was
" a laudable principle; if he meant the good, the uſefull,
" the friends to their country: but if he meant to ſave
" thoſe, who, though Citizens by nature, were enemies by
" choice; what difference was there between him and
" ſuch Citizens?----that their Anceſtors had quite another
" notion of the care of Citizens; and when Scipio Na-
" sica ſlew Tiberius Gracchus, when Opimius ſlew Caius
" Gracchus, when Marius killed Saturninus, they were
" all followed by the greateſt and the beſt both of the
" Senate and the people----that the difference between
" Calenus's opinion and his was not trifling, or about
" a trifling matter; the wiſhing well onely to this
" or that man: that he wiſhed well to Brutus; Cale-
" nus to Antony; he wiſhed to ſee a Colony of *Rome*
" preſerved; Calenus to ſee it ſtormed: that Calenus
" could not deny this, who was contriving all ſorts of
" delay, which could diſtreſs Brutus, and ſtrengthen
" Antony----[*a*]." He then addreſſed himſelf " to the
" other Conſulars, and reproached them for their ſhame-
" full behaviour the day before, in voting for a ſecond
" Embaſſy, and ſaid, that when the Embaſſadors were
" ſent againſt his judgement, he comforted himſelf with
" imagin-

[*a*] Ibid. 4—6.

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" imagining, that as ſoon as they ſhould return, deſpiſed
" and rejected by ANTONY, and inform the Senate, that
" he would neither retire from *Gaul*, nor quit the ſiege
" of *Modena*, nor even ſuffer them to ſpeak with BRUTUS;
" that out of indignation they ſhould all arm themſelves
" immediately in the defence of BRUTUS; but on the
" contrary, they were grown more diſpirited, to hear of
" ANTONY's audaciouſneſs; and their Embaſſadors, inſtead
" of courage, which they ought to have brought, had
" brought back nothing but fear to them---[*b*]. Good
" Gods, ſays he, what is become of the virtue of our
" Anceſtors?---when POPILIUS was ſent Embaſſador to
" *Antiochus*, and ordered him, in the name of the Senate,
" to depart from *Alexandria*, which he was then beſieg-
" ing; upon the King's deferring to anſwer, and contriving
" delays, he drew a circle round him with his ſtaff, and bad
" him give his anſwer inſtantly, before he ſtirred out of
" that place, or he would return to the Senate without
" it---he then recites and ridicules the ſeveral demands
" made by ANTONY; their arrogance, ſtupidity, abſur-
" dity: and [*c*] reproves PISO and PHILIP, men of ſuch dig-
" nity, for the meanneſs of bringing back conditions, when
" they were ſent onely to carry commands---he complains,
" that they paid more reſpect to ANTONY's Embaſſador,
" COTYLA, than he to theirs: for inſtead of ſhutting the
" gates of the City againſt him, as they ought to have
" done, they admitted him into that very Temple, where
" the Senate then ſat; where, the day before, he was
" taking notes of what every man ſaid, and was careſſed,
" invited and entertained by ſome of the principal Sena-
" tors, who had too little regard to their dignity, too
" much

[*b*] Ibid. 7. [*c*] Ibid. 8, 9.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

much to their danger. But what after all was the danger? which muſt end either in liberty or death: the one always deſirable, the other unavoidable: while to fly from death baſely, was worſe than death itſelf—— that it uſed to be the character of conſular Senators, to be vigilant, attentive, always thinking, doing, or propoſing ſomething for the good of the public: that he remembered old SCÆVOLA in the *Marſic* war, how in the extremity of age, oppreſſed with years and infirmities, he gave free acceſs to every body; was never ſeen in his bed; always the firſt in the Senate: he wiſhed that they all would imitate ſuch induſtry; or at leaſt not envy thoſe who did [*d*]: that ſince they had now ſuffered a *ſix year's ſlavery*; a longer term than honeſt and induſtrious ſlaves uſed to ſerve; what watchings, what ſollicitude, what pains ought they to refuſe, for the ſake of giving liberty to the *Roman* people?" He concludes, by adding a clauſe to their laſt decree; "to grant pardon and impunity to all, who ſhould deſert ANTONY, and return to their duty by the fifteenth of *March*: or if any, who continued with him, ſhould do any ſervice, worthy of reward; that one or both the Conſuls ſhould take the firſt opportunity to move the Senate in their favor: but if any perſon from this time ſhould go over to ANTONY, except COTYLA, that the Senate would conſider him as an enemy to his country.

THE public debates being thus adjuſted, PANSA called the Senate together again the next day, to deliberate on ſome proper honors to be decreed to the memory of SER. SULPICIUS, who died upon the Embaſſy----he ſpoke largely in

[*d*] Ibid. 10.

in his praiſe, and adviſed to pay him all the honors, which had ever been decreed to any, who had loſt their lives in the ſervice of their country: *a public funeral, ſepulcher, and ſtatue.* SERVILIUS, who ſpoke next, agreed to *a funeral and monument*, but was againſt *a ſtatue*, as due onely to thoſe, *who had been killed by violence, in the diſcharge of their Embaſſies.* CICERO was not content with this, but out of private friendſhip to the man, as well as a regard to the public ſervice, reſolved to have all the honors paid to him, which the occaſion could poſſibly juſtify: in anſwer therefore to SERVILIUS, he ſhewed with his uſual eloquence, that "the caſe of SULPICIUS was the "ſame with the caſe of thoſe, who had been killed on the "account of their Embaſſies: that the Embaſſy itſelf had "killed him: that he ſet out upon it in ſo weak a con-"dition, that though he had ſome hopes of coming to "ANTONY, he had none of returning: and when he was "juſt arrived to the congreſs, expired in the very act of "executing his Commiſſion [*e*]: that it was not the "manner, but the cauſe of the death, which their An-"ceſtors regarded: if it was cauſed by the Embaſſy, they "granted a *public monument*, to encourage their fellow "Citizens, in dangerous wars, to undertake that employ-"ment with chearfulneſs: that ſeveral ſtatues had been "erected on that account; which none had ever merited "better than SULPICIUS----that there could be no doubt, "but that the Embaſſy had killed him; and that he had "carried out death along with him, which he might "have eſcaped by ſtaying at home, under the care of his "wife and children----[*f*]. But when he ſaw, that if he "did not obey the authority of the Senate, he ſhould be "unlike to himſelf; and if he did obey, muſt neceſſa-"rily

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

[*e*] Phil. 9. 1. [*f*] Ibid. 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

" rily loſe his life; he choſe, in ſo critical a ſtate of the
" Republic, rather to die, than ſeem to decline any ſer-
" vice, which he could poſſibly do: that he had many
" opportunities of refreſhing and repoſing himſelf in the
" Cities, through which he paſſed, and was preſſed to
" it by his Collegues; but in ſpite of his diſtemper, per-
" ſevered to death in the reſolution of urging his journey,
" and haſtening to perform the commands of the Senate—
" that, if they recollected, how he endeavoured to excuſe
" himſelf from the taſk, when it was firſt moved in the
" Senate, they muſt needs think, that this honor to him,
" when dead, was but a neceſſary amends for the injury,
" which they had done to him, when living: for, though
" it was harſh to be ſaid, yet he muſt ſay it; that it was
" they, who had killed him, by over-ruling his excuſe,
" when they ſaw it grounded, not on a feigned,
" but a real ſickneſs: and when to their remonſtrance,
" the Conſul Pansa joined his exhortation, with a
" gravity and force of ſpeech, which his ears had
" not learnt to bear; then, ſays he, he took his Son and
" me aſide, and profeſſed, that he could not help pre-
" ferring your authority to his own life: we, through
" admiration of his virtue, durſt not venture to oppoſe
" his will: his Son was tenderly moved, nor was my con-
" cern much leſs; yet both of us were obliged to give
" way to the greatneſs of his mind, and the force of his
" reaſoning; when to the joy of you all, he promiſed,
" that he would do whatever you preſcribed, nor would
" decline the danger of that vote, of which he himſelf
" had been the propoſer----reſtore life therefore to him,
" from whom you have taken it: for the life of the dead
" is in the memory of the living: take care, that he,

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

" whom you unwillingly ſent to his death, receive an " immortality from you: for if you decree a ſtatue to " him in the Roſtra, the remembrance of his Embaſſy " will remain to all poſterity----[*g*]." Then after illuſtrating the great virtues, talents, and excellent character of SULPICIUS, he obſerves, " that all theſe would be per- " petuated by their own merit and effects, and that the " ſtatue was the monument rather of the gratitude of the " Senate, than of the fame of the man; of a public, " rather than of a private ſignification; an eternal teſti- " mony of ANTONY's audaciouſneſs; of his waging an " impious war againſt his country; of his rejecting the " Embaſſy of the Senate----[*b*]." For which reaſons, he propoſed a decree, " that a ſtatue of braſs ſhould be erected " to him in the Roſtra, by order of the Senate, and the " cauſe inſcribed on the baſe; *that he died in the ſervice* " *of the Republic*; with an area of five feet on all ſides " of it, for his children and poſterity to ſee the ſhews of " Gladiators----that a magnificent funeral ſhould be made " for him at the public charge; and the conſul PANSA " ſhould aſſign him a place of burial, in the Eſquiline " field, with an area of thirty feet every way, to be granted " publicly, as a ſepulcher for him, his children and " poſterity."----The Senate agreed to what CICERO deſired; and the ſtatue itſelf, as we are told by a writer of *the third Century*, remained to his time, *in the Roſtra of* Auguſtus [*i*].

SULPICIUS was of a noble and *patrician* family, of the ſame age, the ſame ſtudies, and the ſame principles with CICERO, with whom he kept up a perpetual friendſhip. *They went through their exerciſes together when young, both*

[*g*] Ibid. 4, 5. [*b*] Ibid. 5, 6. [*i*] Pomponius de Origine juris.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

at Rome, *and at* Rhodes, *in the celebrated ſchool of* Molo: whence he became an eminent Pleader of cauſes, and paſſed through all the great offices of the ſtate, with a ſingular reputation of wiſdom, learning, integrity; a conſtant admirer of the modeſty of the ancients; and a reprover of the inſolence of his own times. When he could not arrive at the firſt degree of fame, as an *Orator*, he reſolved to excell in what was next to it, the character of a *Lawyer*; chuſing rather to be *the firſt, in the ſecond art, than the ſecond onely in the firſt*: leaving therefore to his friend Cicero the field of eloquence, he contented himſelf with ſuch a ſhare of it, *as was ſufficient to ſuſtain and adorn the profeſſion of the law.* In this he ſucceded to his wiſh; and was *far ſuperior to all, who had ever profeſſed it in* Rome; *being the firſt*, who reduced it *to a proper ſcience, or rational Syſtem; and added light and method to that, which all others before him, had taught darkly and confuſedly.* Nor was his knowledge confined to the external forms, or the effects of the Municipal Laws; but enlarged by a comprehenſive view *of univerſal equity*, which he made the interpreter of it's ſanctions, and the rule of all his deciſions; yet he was always better pleaſed *to put an amicable end to a controverſy, than to direct a proces at law.* In his political behaviour he was always a friend to peace and liberty; moderating the violence of oppoſite parties, and diſcouraging every ſtep towards civil diſſenſion; and, in the late war, was ſo buſy in contriving projects of an accommodation, that he gained the name of *the Peace Maker.* Through a natural timidity of temper, confirmed, by a profeſſion and courſe of life averſe from arms, though he preferred Pompey's cauſe as the beſt, he did not care to fight for it; but taking

Cæsar's

CÆSAR's to be the ſtrongeſt, ſuffered his ſon to follow that camp, while he himſelf continued quiet and neuter: for this he was honored by CÆSAR, yet could never be induced to approve his government. From the time of CÆSAR's death, he continued ſtill to adviſe and promote all meaſures, which ſeemed likely to eſtabliſh the public concord; and died at laſt, as he had lived, in the very act and office of *peace making* [*k*]. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

THE Senate had heard nothing of BRUTUS and CASSIUS from the time of their leaving *Italy*, till BRUTUS now ſent public Letters *to the Conſuls*, giving a particular account of his ſucceſs againſt "ANTONY's brother CAIUS, in ſecuring "*Macedonia*, *Illyricum*, and *Greece*, with all the ſeveral "armies in thoſe countries to the intereſts of the Re-"public: that C. ANTONY was retired to *Apollonia*, with "ſeven Cohorts; where a good account would ſoon be

[*k*] Non facile quem dixerim plus Studii quam illum & ad dicendum, & ad omnes bonarum rerum diſciplinas adhibuiſſe: nam & in iiſdem exercitationibus ineunte ætate fuimus; & poſtea Rhodum una ille etiam profectus eſt, quo melior eſſet & doctior: & inde ut rediit, videtur mihi in ſecunda arte primus eſſe maluiſſe, quam in prima ſecundus—ſed fortaſſe maluit, id quod eſt adeptus, longe omnium non ejuſdem modo ætatis, ſed eorum etiam qui fuiſſent, in jure civili eſſe princeps—juris civilis magnum uſum & apud Scævolam & apud multos fuiſſe, artem in hoc uno—hic enim attulit hanc artem—quaſi lucem ad ea, quæ confuſe ab aliis aut reſpondebantur aut agebantur—[Brut. 262, &c.] neque ille magis Juris conſultus, quam juſtitiæ fuit: ita ea quæ proficiſcebantur a legibus & a jure civili ſemper ad facilitatem æquitatemque referebat: neque conſtituere litium actiones malebat, quam controverſias tollere. [Phil. 9. 5.] Servius vero Pacificator cum ſuo librariolo videtur obiiſſe legationem. [Ad Att. 15. 7.] cognoram enim jam abſens, te hæc mala multo ante providentem, defenſorem pacis & in Conſulatu tuo & poſt Conſulatum fuiſſe. [Ep. fam. 4. 1.]

N. B. The old Lawyers tell a remarkable ſtory of the origin of SULPICIUS's fame and ſkill in the law: that going one day to conſult MUCIUS SCÆVOLA about ſome point, he was ſo dull in apprehending the meaning of MUCIUS's anſwer, that after explaning it to him twice or thrice, MUCIUS could not forbear ſaying, *It is a ſhame for a Nobleman, and a Patrician, and a Pleader of cauſes, to be ignorant of that law, which he profeſſes to underſtand.* The reproach ſtung him to the quick, and made him apply himſelf to his ſtudies with ſuch induſtry, that he became the ableſt Lawyer in *Rome*; and left behind him *near a hundred and eighty books* written by himſelf on nice and difficult queſtions of law. Digeſt. l. 1. Tit. 2. parag. 43.—

The Jeſuits CATROU and ROUILLE have put this SULPICIUS into the liſt of the Conſpirators, who killed CÆSAR: but a moderate acquaintance with the character of the man, or with CICERO's *writings*, would have ſhewn them their error, and that there was none of Conſular rank, but TREBONIUS, concerned in that affair. Hiſt. Rom. Vol. 17. p. 343. Not. a.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

" given of him: that a Legion under L. Piso had ſur-
" rendered itſelf to young CICERO, the Commander of
" his Horſe: that DOLABELLA's Horſe, which was march-
" ing in two ſeparate bodies towards *Syria*, the one in
" *Theſſaly*, the other in *Macedonia*, had deſerted their
" Leaders, and joined themſelves to him: that VATINIUS
" had opened the gates of *Dyrrhachium* to him, and given
" up the Town with his troops into his hands: that in
" all theſe tranſactions, Q. HORTENSIUS, the Proconſul
" of *Macedonia*, had been particularly ſerviceable, in diſ-
" poſing the Provinces and their armies to declare for the
" cauſe of liberty [*l*]."

PANSA no ſooner received the letters, than he ſummoned the Senate, to acquaint them with the contents; which raiſed *an incredible joy through the whole City* [*m*]: after the letters were read, PANSA ſpoke largely *in the praiſes of* BRUTUS; *extolled his conduct and ſervices*; *and moved, that public honors and thanks ſhould be decreed to him*: and then, according to his cuſtom, called upon his Father in law CALENUS, to declare his ſentiments the firſt: who, in a premeditated ſpeech, delivered from writing, " ac-
" knowledged BRUTUS's letters to be well and properly
" drawn; but ſince what he had done, was done with-
" out any commiſſion and public authority, that he ſhould
" be required to deliver up his forces to the orders of the
" Senate, or the proper Governors of the Provinces—[*n*].
CICERO ſpoke next, " and began with giving the thanks
" of the Houſe to PANSA, for calling them together on
" that day, when they had no expectation of it; and
" not deferring a moment to give them a ſhare of the joy,
" which

[*l*] Vid. Philip. x. 4, 5, 6.

[*m*] Dii immortales! qui ille nuncius, quæ illæ litteræ, quæ lætitia Senatus, quæ alacritas civitatis erat?—Ad Brut. l. 2. 7.

[*n*] Phil. x. 1, 2, 3.

" which BRUTUS's letters had brought. He obſerves, that A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.
" PANSA, by ſpeaking ſo largely in the praiſe of BRUTUS,
" had ſhewn that to be true, which he had always taken
" to be ſo, *that no man ever envied another's virtue, who*
" *was conſcious of his own:* that he had prevented him,
" to whom, for his intimacy with BRUTUS, that taſk
" ſeemed particularly to belong, from ſaying ſo much,
" as he intended, on that ſubject"----then addreſſing him-
ſelf to CALENUS, he aſks, " What could be the meaning
" of that perpetual war, which he declared againſt the
" BRUTUS's? why he alone was always oppoſing, when
" every one elſe was almoſt adoring them?----that to talk
" of BRUTUS's letters being rightly drawn, was not to
" praiſe BRUTUS, but his ſecretary----when did he ever
" hear of a decree in that ſtile, that Letters were properly
" written: yet the expreſſion did not fall from him by
" chance, but was deſigned, premeditated, and brought
" in writing----[*o*]. He exhorts him to conſult with his
" ſon in law PANSA, oftener than with himſelf, if he
" would preſerve his character: profeſſes, that he could
" not help pitying him, to hear it given out among the
" people, that there was not a ſecond vote on the ſide of
" him, who gave the firſt; which would be the caſe, he
" believed, in that day's debate. You would take away,
" ſays he, the Legions from BRUTUS, even thoſe which
" he has drawn off from the traiterous deſigns of C. AN-
" TONY, and engaged by his own authority in the public
" ſervice: you would have him ſent once more, as it
" were, into baniſhment, naked and forlorn: but for you,
" Fathers, if ever you betray or deſert BRUTUS, what Ci-
" tizen will you honor? whom will you favor? unleſs
" you

[*o*] Ibid. 2.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

" you think thoſe, who offer Kingly Diadems, worthy
" to be preſerved; thoſe, who aboliſh the name of King,
" to be abandoned. He procedes to diſplay with great
" force the merit and praiſes of BRUTUS; his moderation,
" mildneſs, patience of injuries: how ſtudiouſly he had
" avoided every ſtep, which could give a handle to civil
" tumults; quitting the City; living retired in the Coun-
" try; forbidding the reſort of friends to him; and leav-
" ing *Italy* itſelf, leſt any cauſe of war ſhould ariſe on his
" account----that as long as he ſaw the Senate diſpoſed to
" bear every thing, he was reſolved to bear too; but when
" he perceived them inſpired with a ſpirit of liberty, he
" then exerted himſelf to provide them ſuccours to defend
" it---[*p*]that if he had not defeated the deſperate attempts
" of C. ANTONY, they had loſt *Macedonia*, *Illyricum*,
" and *Greece*; the laſt of which afforded either a com-
" modious retreat to ANTONY, when driven out of *Italy*,
" or the beſt opportunity of invading it: which now, by
" BRUTUS's management, being ſtrongly provided with
" troops, ſtretched out it's arms, as it were, and offered
" it's help to *Italy*." [*q*]---That CAIUS's march through the
" Provinces was, to plunder the allies, to ſcatter waſt and
" deſolation where-ever he paſſed, to employ the armies
" of the *Roman* people againſt the people themſelves:
" whereas BRUTUS made it a law, whereſoever he came,
" to diſpenſe light, hope, and ſecurity to all around him:
" in ſhort, that the one gathered forces to preſerve, the
" other to overturn the Republic: that the ſoldiers them-
" ſelves could judge of this, as well as the Senate; as they
" had declared, by their deſertion of C. ANTONY, who
" by that time either was, or would ſoon be BRUTUS's
" priſoner [*r*]—that there was no apprehenſion of danger
" from

[*p*] Ibid. 3, 4. [*q*] Ibid. 5.

" from BRUTUS's power; that his Legions, his Mercena- A. Urb. 710.
" ries, his Horſe, and above all, himſelf was wholly Cic. 64.
" theirs; formed for the ſervice of the Republic, as well Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.
" by his own excellent virtue, as a kind of fatality de-
" rived from his Anceſtors, both on the Father's and the
" Mother's ſide—that none could ever blame him for any
" thing, unleſs for too great a backwardneſs and averſion
" to war; and his not humoring the ardor of all *Italy* in
" their eager thirſt of liberty—that it was a vain fear,
" which ſome pretended to entertain, that the Veterans
" would be diſguſted to ſee BRUTUS at the head of an
" army: as if there were any difference between his army,
" and the armies of HIRTIUS, PANSA, D. BRUTUS, OC-
" TAVIUS; all which had ſeverally received public honors
" for their defence of the people of *Rome*: that M. BRUTUS
" could not be more ſuſpected by the Veterans, than DE-
" CIMUS; for though the act of the BRUTUS's, and the
" praiſe of it was common to them both, yet thoſe,
" who diſapproved it, were more angry with DECI-
" MUS; as thinking him, of all others, the laſt, who
" ought to have done it: yet what were all their armies
" now doing, but relieving DECIMUS from the ſiege? [*s*]---
" that if there was any real danger from BRUTUS, PANSA's
" ſagacity would eaſily find it out: but as they had juſt
" now heard from his own mouth, he was ſo far from
" thinking his army to be dangerous, that he looked upon
" it as the firmeſt ſupport of the Commonwealth [*t*] --
" that it was the conſtant art of the diſaffected, to oppoſe
" the name of the Veterans to every good deſign: that
" he was always ready to encourage their valor, but would
" never endure their arrogance. Shall we, ſays he, who
" are now breaking off the ſhackles of our ſervitude, be
" diſcou-

[*r*] Ibid. 6. [*s*] Ibid. 7. [*t*] Ibid. 8.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

" diſcouraged, if any one tells us, that the Veterans will " not have it ſo?----let that then come out from me at " laſt, which is true, and becoming my character to ſpeak; " that if the reſolutions of this body muſt be governed " by the will of the Veterans; if all our words and acts " muſt be regulated by their humor, then it is high time " to wiſh for death; which to *Roman* Citizens was ever " preferable to ſlavery [*u*]----that ſince ſo many chances " of death ſurrounded them all both day and night, it " was not the part of a man, much leſs of a *Roman*, to " ſcruple the giving up that breath to his Country, which " he muſt neceſſarily give up to nature [*x*]----that ANTONY was the ſingle and common enemy of them all; " though he had indeed his brother LUCIUS with him, who " ſeemed to be born on purpoſe, that MARCUS might not " be the moſt infamous of all mortals: that he had a crew " alſo of deſperate Villains, gaping after the ſpoils of the " Republic—that the army of BRUTUS was provided againſt " theſe; whoſe ſole will, thought, and purpoſe was, to " protect the Senate and the liberty of the people---- " who after trying in vain, what patience would do, found " it neceſſary at laſt to oppoſe force to force [*y*]----that " they ought therefore to grant the ſame privilege to M. " BRUTUS, which they had granted before to DECIMUS, " and to OCTAVIUS; and confirm by public authority, " what he had been doing for them by his private coun- " ſil."---For which purpoſe he propoſed the following decree---" Whereas by the pains, counſil, induſtry, virtue " of Q. CÆPIO BRUTUS [*z*], Proconſul, in the utmoſt " diſtreſs of the Republic, the Province of *Macedonia*, " *Illyricum*,

[*u*] Ibid. 9.
[*x*] Ibid. 10.
[*y*] Ibid. 11.
[*z*] M. BRUTUS, as appears from the ſtile of this decree, had been adopted lately by his Mother's brother, Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO, whoſe name, according to cuſtom, he now aſſumed with the poſſeſſion of his Uncle's eſtate,

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

" *Illyricum*, and *Greece*, with all their Legions, Armies, " Horſe, are now in the power of the Conſuls, Senate " and People of *Rome*; that Q. CÆPIO BRUTUS, Pro- " conſul, has acted herein well, and for the good of the " Republic; agreeably to his character, the dignity of " his anceſtors, and to his uſual manner of ſerving the " Commonwealth; and that his conduct is and ever will " be acceptable to the Senate and people of *Rome*. That " Q. CÆPIO BRUTUS Proconſul be ordered, to protect " guard and defend the Province of *Macedonia*, *Illyricum*, " and all *Greece*; and command that army, which he him- " ſelf has raiſed: that whatever money he wants for mili- " tary ſervice, he may uſe and take it from any part of " the public revenues, where it can beſt be raiſed; or " borrow it where he thinks proper; and impoſe contri- " butions of grain and forage; and take care to draw all " his troops as near to *Italy* as poſſible: and whereas it " appears by the Letters of Q. CÆPIO BRUTUS Proconſul, " that the public ſervice has been greatly advanced, by the " endeavours and virtue of Q. HORTENSIUS Proconſul; and " that he concerted all his meaſures with Q. CÆPIO BRUTUS " Proconſul, to the great benefit of the Commonwealth; " that Q. HORTENSIUS Proconſul, has acted therein " rightly, regularly, and for the public good; and that " it is the will of the Senate, that Q. HORTENSIUS Pro- " conſul, with his Quæſtors, Proquæſtors, and Lieute- " nants, hold the Province of *Macedonia*, till a ſucceſſor " be appointed by the Senate."

CICERO ſent this ſpeech to BRUTUS, with that alſo, which he made on the firſt of *January*; of which BRUTUS ſays in anſwer to him, " I have read your two orations, " the one on the firſt of *January*, the other on the ſubject

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

" of my Letters, againſt Calenus: you expect now " without doubt, that I ſhould praiſe them: I am at a " loſs what to praiſe the moſt in them; your courage, or " your abilities: I allow you now in earneſt to call them " *Philippics*, as you intimated jocoſely in a former " Letter [*a*]."---Thus the name of *Philippics*, which ſeems to have been thrown out at firſt in gayety and jeſt onely, being taken up and propagated by his friends, became at laſt the fixt and ſtanding title of theſe Orations: which yet for ſeveral ages, were called, we find, indifferently either *Philippics* or *Antonians* [*b*]. Brutus declared himſelf ſo well pleaſed with theſe two, which he had ſeen, *that* Cicero *promiſed to ſend him afterwards all the reſt* [*c*].

Brutus, when he firſt left *Italy*, ſailed directly for *Athens*; where he ſpent ſome time in concerting meaſures, how to make himſelf maſter of *Greece* and *Macedonia*; which was the great deſign that he had in view. Here he gathered about him all the young Nobility and Gentry of *Rome*, who, for the opportunity of their education, had been ſent to this celebrated ſeat of learning: but of them all, he took the moſt notice of young Cicero; and after a little acquaintance, grew very fond of him; *admiring his parts and virtue, and ſurprized to find in one ſo young, ſuch a generoſity and greatneſs of mind, with ſuch an averſion to Tyranny* [*d*]. He made him therefore one of his Lieutenants, though he was but *twenty years old*; gave him

[*a*] Legi orationes tuas duas, quarum altera Kal. Jan. uſus es; altera de litteris meis, quæ habita eſt abs te contra Calenum. Nunc ſcilicet hoc expectas, dum eas laudem. Neſcio animi an ingenii tui major in illis libellis laus contineatur. Jam concedo, ut vel *Philippicæ* vocentur, quod tu quadam epiſtola jocans ſcripſiſti. Ad Brut. l. 2. 5.

[*b*] M. Cicero in primo Antonianarum ita ſcriptum reliquit. A. Gell. 13. 1.

[*c*] Hæc ad te Oratio perferetur, quoniam te video delectari Philippicis noſtris. Ad Brut. 2. 4.

[*d*] Vid. Plutar. in Brut.

him *the command of his Horſe*; and employed him in ſeveral commiſſions of great truſt and importance; in all which the young man ſignalized both his courage and conduct; and behaved with great credit to himſelf, great ſatisfaction to his General, and great benefit to the public ſervice: as BRUTUS did him the juſtice to ſignify both in his private and public Letters to *Rome*. In writing to CICERO, "Your ſon, ſays "he, recommends himſelf to me ſo effectually, by his "induſtry, patience, activity, greatneſs of mind, and in "ſhort, by every duty, that he ſeems never to drop the "remembrance of whoſe ſon he is: wherefore ſince it is "not poſſible for me, to make you love him more than "you do already, yet allow thus much to my judgement, "as to perſuade yourſelf, that he will have no occaſion "to borrow any ſhare of your glory, in order to obtain "his Father's honors---[*e*]." This account given by one, who was no flatterer, may be conſidered as the real character of the youth: which is confirmed likewiſe by what LENTULUS wrote of him about the ſame time: "I could not ſee your ſon, ſays he, when I was laſt with "BRUTUS, becauſe he was gone with the Horſe into winter "quarters: but by my faith, it gives me great joy for your "ſake, for his, and eſpecially my own, that he is in "ſuch eſteem and reputation: for as he is your ſon, and "worthy of you, I cannot but look upon him as my "Brother [*f*]."

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

[*e*] Cicero filius tuus ſic mihi ſe probat, induſtria, patientia, labore, animi magnitudine, omni denique officio, ut prorſus nunquam dimittere videtur cogitationem, cujus ſit filius. Quare quoniam efficere non poſſum, ut pluris facias eum, qui tibi eſt cariſſimus, illud tribue judicio meo, ut tibi perſuadeas, non fore illi abutendum gloria tua, ut adipiſcatur honores paternos. Kal. Apr. ad Brut. l. 2. 3.

[*f*] Filium tuum, ad Brutum cum veni, videre non potui, ideo quod jam in hiberna, cum equitibus erat profectus. Sed medius fidius ea eſſe eum opinione, & tua & ipſius, & in primis mea cauſa gaudeo. Fratris enim loco mihi eſt, qui ex te natus, teque dignus eſt. Vale. IIII Kal. Jun. Ep. Fam. 12. 14.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

Cicero was ſo full of the greater affairs, which were the ſubject of his Letters to Brutus, that he had ſcarce leiſure to take notice of what was ſaid about his ſon: he juſt touches it however in one or two Letters: "As to my "Son, if his merit be as great as you write, I rejoice at "it as much as I ought to do: or if you magnify it, out "of love to him, even that gives me an incredible joy, to "perceive, that he is beloved by you [g]. Again; I "deſire you, my dear Brutus, to keep my ſon with "you as much as poſſible: he will find no better ſchool "of virtue, than in the contemplation and imitation of "you [b]."

Though Brutus intimated nothing in his public Letters, but what was proſperous and encouraging, yet in his private accounts to Cicero, he ſignified *a great want of money and recruits*, and begged to be ſupplied with both from *Italy*, eſpecially with recruits; either by a vote of the Senate, or if that could not be had, by ſome ſecret management, without the privity of Pansa: to which Cicero anſwered, "You tell me, that you want two neceſ-"ſary things, recruits and money: it is difficult to help "you. I know no other way of raiſing money, which "can be of uſe to you, but what the Senate has decreed, "of borrowing it from the Cities. As to recruits, I do "not ſee what can be done: for Pansa is ſo far from "granting any ſhare of his army or recruits to you, that "he is even uneaſy to ſee ſo many voluntiers going over "to you: his reaſon, I take it, is, that he thinks no forces

"too

[g] De Cicerone meo, & ſi tantum eſt in eo, quantum ſcribis, tantum ſcilicet quantum debeo, gaudeo: & ſi, quod amas eum, eo majora facis; id ipſum incredibiliter gaudeo, a te eum deligi. Ad Brut. 2. 6.

[b] Ciceronem meum, mi Brute, velim quam plurimum tecum habeas. Virtutis diſciplinam meliorem reperiet nullam, quam contemplationem atque imitationem tui. XIII Kal. Maii. ib. 7.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

" too great for the demands of our affairs in *Italy* : for as " to what many ſuſpect, that he has no mind to ſee you " too ſtrong, I have no ſuſpicion of it [*i*]."---PANSA ſeems to have been much in the right, for refuſing to part with any troops out of *Italy*, where the ſtreſs of the war now lay, on the ſucceſs of which the fate of the whole Republic depended.

BUT there came news of a different kind about the ſame time to *Rome*, *of* DOLABELLA's *ſucceſsfull exploits in* Aſia. He left the City, as it is ſaid above, before the expiration of his Conſulſhip, to poſſeſs himſelf of *Syria*; which had been allotted to him by ANTONY's management: and taking his way through *Greece* and *Macedonia*, to gather what money and troops he could raiſe in thoſe countries, he paſſed over into *Aſia*, in hopes of inducing that Province to abandon TREBONIUS, and declare for him: having ſent his Emiſſaries therefore before him to prepare for his reception, he arrived before *Smyrna*, where TREBONIUS reſided, without any ſhew of hoſtility, or forces ſufficient to give any great alarm, pretending to deſire nothing more, than a free paſſage through the Country to his own Province. TREBONIUS refuſed to admit him into the Town; but conſented *to ſupply him with refreſhments without the gates*: where many civilities paſſed between them, with great profeſſions on DOLABELLA's part of amity and friendſhip to TREBONIUS, who promiſed in his turn, *that if* DOLABELLA *would depart quietly from* Smyrna, *he ſhould be*

[*i*] Quod egere te duabus neceſſariis rebus ſcribis, ſupplemento & pecunia, difficile conſilium eſt. Non enim mihi occurrunt facultates, quibus uti te poſſe videam, præter illas, quas Senatus decrevit, ut pecunias a civitatibus mutuas ſumeres. De ſupplemento autem non video, quid fieri poſſit. Tantum enim abeſt ut Panſa de exercitu ſuo aut delectu tibi aliquid tribuat, ut etiam moleſte ferat, tam multos ad te ire voluntarios: quomodo equidem credo, quod his rebus quæ in Italia decernuntur, nullas copias nimis magnas arbitretur: quomodo autem multi ſuſpicantur, quod ne te quidem nimis firmum eſſe velit; quod ego non ſuſpicor. Ibid. 6.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

be received into Epheſus, *in order to paſs forward towards* Syria. To this Dolabedla ſeemingly agreed; and finding it impracticable to take *Smyrna* by open force, contrived to ſurprize it by ſtratagem: embracing therefore Trebonius's offer, he ſet forward towards *Epheſus*; but after he had marched ſeveral miles, and Trebonius's men, who were ſent after to obſerve him, were retired; he turned back inſtantly in the night, and arriving again at *Smyrna* before day, found it, as he expected, negligently guarded, and without any apprehenſion of an aſſault; ſo that his ſoldiers, by the help of ladders, preſently mounting the walls, poſſeſſed themſelves of it without oppoſition, and ſeized Trebonius *himſelf in his bed, before he knew any thing of his danger* [k].

Dolabella treated him with the utmoſt cruelty; *kept him two days under torture, to extort a diſcovery of all the money in his cuſtody; then ordered his head to be cut off, and carried about on a Spear; and his body to be dragged about the ſtreets and thrown into the ſea* [l]. This was the firſt blood, that was ſpilt on the account of Cæsar's death; which was now revenged in kind upon one of the principal Conſpirators, and the onely one, who was of *Conſular rank*. It had been projected without doubt in concert with Antony, to make the revenge of Cæsar's death the avowed cauſe of their arms, in order to draw the Veterans to their ſide, or make them unwilling at leaſt to act againſt them: and it gave a clear warning to Brutus, and

[k] Appian. 3. p. 542.

[l] Conſecutus eſt Dolabella, nulla ſuſpicione belli.—Secutæ collocutiones familiares cum Trebonio; complexuſque ſummæ benevolentiæ—nocturnus introitus in Smyrnam, quaſi in hoſtium urbem: oppreſſus Trebonius—interficere captum ſtatim noluit, ne nimis, credo, in victoria liberalis videretur. Cum verborum contumeliis optimum virum inceſto ore laceraſſet, tum verberibus ac tormentis quæſtionem habuit pecuniæ publicæ, idque per biduum. Poſt cervicibus fractis caput abſcidit, idque adfixum geſtari juſſit in pilo; reliquum corpus tractum ac lanjatum abjecit in mare, &c. Phil. xi. 2, 3.

and his associates, what they were to expect, if their enemies prevailed, as well as a sad presage to all honest men, of the cruel effects and mercilesss fury of the impending war. A. Urb. 701. Cic. 64. Coss. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

ON the news of TREBONIUS's death, the Senate was summoned by the Consul, where DOLABELLA was unanimously declared *a public enemy, and his estate confiscated.* CALENUS himself first proposed the vote, and said, *that if any thing more severe could be thought of, he would be for it:* the indignation of the City was so inflamed, that he was forced to comply with the popular humor, and hoped perhaps to put some difficulty upon CICERO, who, for his relation to DOLABELLA, would, as he imagined, be for moderating the punishment. But though CALENUS was mistaken in this, he was concerned in moving another question, which greatly perplexed CICERO, about *the choice of a General*, to manage this new war against DOLABELLA. Two opinions were proposed; the one, *that* P. SERVILIUS *should be sent with an extraordinary Commission; the other, that the two Consuls should jointly prosecute that war, with the Provinces of* Syria *and* Asia *allotted to them.* This was very agreeable to PANSA, and pushed therefore not onely by his friends, but by all ANTONY's party, who fancied, that it would take off the attention of the Consuls from the war of *Italy*; give DOLABELLA time to strengthen himself in *Asia*; raise a coldness between *the Consuls and* CICERO, if he ventured to oppose it; and above all, put a public affront upon CASSIUS; who by his presence in those parts, seemed to have the best pretension to that Commission. The debate continued through the first day, without coming to any issue; and was adjourned to the next. In the mean while, CASSIUS's *mother in law,*

SERVILIA,

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

Servilia, and other friends, were endeavouring to prevail with Cicero to drop the oppoſition, for fear of alienating Pansa: but in vain; for he reſolved at all hazards to defend the honor of Cassius; and when the debate was reſumed the next morning, exerted all his intereſt and eloquence to procure a decree in his favor.

He began his ſpeech by obſerving, "that in their preſent grief for the lamentable fate of Trebonius, the "Republic however would reap ſome good from it, ſince "they now ſaw the barbarous cruelty of thoſe, who had "taken arms againſt their country: for of the two Chiefs "of the preſent war, the one, by effecting what he wiſhed, "had diſcovered what the other aimed at [*m*]. That "they both meant nothing leſs, than the death and de"ſtruction of all honeſt men; nor would be ſatisfied, it "ſeemed, with ſimple death, for that was the puniſh"ment of nature, but thought *the rack and tortures* due "to their revenge----that what Dolabella had executed, "was the picture of what Antony intended: that they "were a true pair, exactly matched, marching by con"cert and equal paces in the execution of their wicked "purpoſes"---this he illuſtrates, by parallel inſtances from the conduct of each; and after diſplaying the inhumanity of Dolabella, and the unhappy fate of Trebonius, in a manner proper to excite indignation againſt the one, and compaſſion for the other; he ſhews, "that "Dolabella was ſtill the more unhappy of the two, and "muſt needs ſuffer more from the guilt of his mind, than "Trebonius from the tortures of his body---what doubt, "ſays he, can there be, which of them is the moſt miſe"rable? he, whoſe death the Senate and People are eager "to

[*m*] Phil. xi. 1.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

" to revenge; or he, who is adjudged to be a traitor, by the
" unanimous vote of the Senate? for in all other reſpects,
" it is the greateſt injury to TREBONIUS, to compare his
" life with DOLABELLA's. As to the one, every body
" knows his wiſdom, wit, humanity, innocence, great-
" neſs of mind in freeing his country; but as to the other,
" cruelty was his delight from a boy, with a lewdneſs ſo
" ſhameleſs and abandoned, that he uſed to value himſelf
" for doing, what his very adverſaries could not object to
" him with modeſty. Yet this man, good Gods! was
" once mine: for I was not very curious to inquire into
" his vices; nor ſhould I now perhaps have been his
" enemy, had he not ſhewn himſelf an enemy to you, to
" his Country, to the domeſtic Gods and Altars of us all;
" nay, even to nature and humanity itſelf [*n*]. He ex-
" horts them, from this warning given by DOLABELLA, to
" act with the greater vigor againſt ANTONY: for if he,
" who had about him but a few of thoſe capital incen-
" diaries, the ring-leaders of rapine and rebellion, durſt
" attempt an act ſo abominable, what barbarity were they
" not to expect from ANTONY, who had the whole crew
" of them in his camp?"---the principal of whom he deſcribes by name and character; and adds, " that as he
" had often diſſented unwillingly from CALENUS, ſo now
" at laſt he had the pleaſure to agree with him, and to let
" them ſee, that he had no diſlike to the man, but to the
" cauſe: that in this caſe, he not onely concurred with
" him, but thanked him for propounding a vote ſo
" ſevere, and worthy of the Republic, in decreeing DO-
" LABELLA an enemy, and his eſtate to be confiſ-
" cated [*o*]."---Then as to the ſecond point, which was

[*n*] Ibid. 4. [*o*] Ibid. 5, 6.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

of greater delicacy, *the nomination of a General to be ſent againſt* Dolabella, he proceedes to give his reaſons for rejecting the two opinions propoſed; the one, *for ſending* Servilius, *the other, for the two Conſuls*---of the firſt, he ſays, "that extraordinary commiſſions were always "odious, where they were not neceſſary: and where-ever "they had been granted, it was in caſes very different "from this---that if the commiſſion in debate ſhould be "decreed to Servilius, it would ſeem an affront to all "the reſt of the ſame rank, that being equal in dignity, "they ſhould be thought unworthy of the ſame honor--- "that he himſelf indeed had voted an extraordinary com- "miſſion to young Cæsar; but Cæsar had firſt given "an extraordinary protection and deliverance to them: "that they muſt either have taken his army from him, "or decreed the command of it to him; which could "not therefore be ſo properly ſaid to be given, as not "taken away: but that no ſuch commiſſion had ever been "granted to any one, who was wholly idle and unem- "ployed [*p*]---as to the ſecond opinion, of decreeing "that Province to the Conſuls, he ſhews it to be both "againſt the dignity of the Conſuls themſelves, and "againſt the public ſervice: that when D. Brutus, a "Conſul elect, was actually beſieged, on the preſervation "of whom their common ſafety depended; and when a "dreadfull war was on foot, already intruſted to the two "Conſuls, the very mention of *Aſia* and *Syria* would "give a handle to jealouſy and envy; and though the "decree was not to take place, till D. Brutus ſhould "firſt be relieved, yet a new commiſſion would neceſſa- "rily take off ſome part of their thoughts and attention "from

[*p*] Ibid. 7, 8.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

" from the old. Then addreſſing himſelf to PANSA, he " ſays, that though his mind, he knew, was intent on " delivering D. BRUTUS, yet the nature of things would " force him, to turn it ſometimes towards DOLABELLA; " and that, if he had more minds than one, they ſhould " all be directed and wholly fixt on *Modena* [*q*]: that " for his own part, he had reſigned in his Conſulſhip a " rich and well furniſhed Province, that nothing might " interrupt his endeavours to quench that flame, which " was then raiſed in his country: he wiſhed that PANSA " would imitate him, whom he uſed to commend; that " if the Conſuls however deſired to have Provinces, as " other great men had uſually done, let them firſt bring " D. BRUTUS ſafe home to them: who ought to be " guarded with the ſame care, as the image that fell from " Heaven, and was kept in the Temple of *Veſta*, in the " ſafety of which they were all ſafe. That this decree " would create great delay and obſtruction to the war " againſt DOLABELLA; which required a General pre- " pared, equipped, and already inveſted with command: " one, who had authority, reputation, an army, and a " reſolution tried in the ſervice of his country [*r*]----that " it muſt therefore either be BRUTUS or CASSIUS, or both " of them----that BRUTUS could not be ſpared from *Ma-* " *cedonia*, where he was quelling the laſt efforts of the fac- " tion; and oppreſſing C. ANTONY, who, with the remains " of a broken army, was ſtill in poſſeſſion of ſome con- " ſiderable places: that when he had finiſhed that work, " if he found it of uſe to the Commonwealth, to purſue " DOLABELLA, he would do it of himſelf, as he had " hitherto done, without waiting for their orders: for

[*q*] Ibid. 9. [*r*] Ibid. 10.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

" both he and CASSIUS had, on many occaſions, been a
" Senate to themſelves: that in ſuch a ſeaſon of general
" confuſion, it was neceſſary to be governed by the times,
" rather than by rules: that BRUTUS and CASSIUS ever
" held the ſafety and liberty of their country, to be the
" moſt ſacred rule of acting [s]. For by what law, ſays
" he, by what right have they hitherto been acting, the
" one in *Greece*, the other in *Syria*; but by that, which
" JUPITER himſelf ordained, that all things beneficial to
" the Community ſhould be eſteemed lawfull and juſt?
" for law is nothing elſe but right reaſon, derived to us
" from the Gods, injoining what is honeſt, prohibiting
" the contrary: this was the law which CASSIUS obeyed,
" when he went into *Syria*; another man's Province, if
" we judge by written law; but when theſe are overturned,
" his own, by the law of nature——but that CASSIUS's
" acts might be confirmed alſo by the authority of the
" Senate, he propoſed a decree to this effect; that whereas
" the Senate has declared P. DOLABELLA to be an enemy
" of the *Roman* people, and ordered him to be purſued by
" open war; to the intent, that he may ſuffer the puniſh-
" ment due to him, both from Gods and men; it is the
" will of the Senate, that C. CASSIUS, Proconſul, ſhall
" hold the Province of *Syria*, in the ſame manner, as if
" he had obtained it by right of law: and that he receive
" the ſeveral armies from Q. MARCIUS CRISPUS, Proconſul,
" L. STATIUS MURCUS, Proconſul, A. ALLIENUS, Lieute-
" nant; which they are hereby required to deliver to him:
" that with theſe, and what other forces he can procure, he
" ſhall purſue DOLABELLA both by land and ſea: that for the
" occaſions of the war, he ſhall have a power to demand
" ſhips,

[s] Ibid. 11.

" ſhips, ſeamen, money, and all things uſeful to him, " from whomſoever he thinks fit, in *Syria*, *Aſia*, *Bithy-* " *nia*, *Pontus*: and that whatever Province he comes into " in proſecuting the war, he ſhall have an authority ſupe- " rior to that of the proper Governor: that if King DEIO- " TARUS, the Father, or the Son, ſhall aſſiſt C. CASSIUS, " Proconſul, with their troops, as they have oft aſſiſted " the *Roman* people in other wars, their conduct will be " acceptable to the Senate and People: that if any of " the other Kings, Tetrarchs and Potentates ſhall do the " like, the Senate and People will not be unmindfull of " their ſervices: that as ſoon as the public affairs were " ſettled, C. PANSA and A. HIRTIUS the Conſuls, one or " both of them, ſhould take the firſt opportunity of mov- " ing the Senate about the diſpoſal of the Conſular and " Prætorian Provinces: and that in the mean while, they " ſhould all continue in the hands of thoſe, who now held " them, till ſucceſſors were appointed by the Senate [*t*]."

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FROM the Senate, CICERO went directly into *the Forum*, to give the people an account of the debate, and recommend to them the intereſts of CASSIUS: hither PANSA followed him, and to weaken the influence of his authority, declared to the Citizens, that what CICERO contended for, was againſt the will and advice of CASSIUS's neareſt friends and relations----of which CICERO gives the following account in a letter to CASSIUS.

M. T. CICERO to C. CASSIUS.

" WITH what zeal I defended your dignity, both in " the Senate and with the People, I would have you learn " rather from your other friends, than from me. My " opinion

[*t*] Ibid. 12, &c.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

" opinion would eaſily have prevailed in the Senate, had " not PANSA eagerly oppoſed it. After I had propoſed " that vote, I was produced to the people by SERVILIUS, " the Tribun, and ſaid every thing, which I could of " you, with a ſtrength of voice, that filled the Forum; " and with ſuch a clamor and approbation of the people, " that I had never ſeen the like before. You will pardon " me, I hope, for doing it againſt the will of your mo- " ther in law. The timorous woman was afraid, that " PANSA would be diſguſted. PANSA indeed declared " to the aſſembly, that both your mother and brother " were againſt it; but that did not move me, I had " other conſiderations more at heart: my regard was to " the Republic, to which I have always wiſhed well, and " to your dignity and glory. But there is one thing, " which I enlarged upon in the Senate, and mentioned " alſo to the people, in which I muſt deſire you to make " my words good: for I promiſed, and in a manner " aſſured them, that you neither had, nor would wait " for our decrees; but would defend the Republic your- " ſelf in your own way: and though we had heard no- " thing, either where you were, or what forces you had; " yet I took it for granted, that all the forces in thoſe " parts were yours; and was confident, that you had " already recovered the Province of *Aſia* to the Republic: " let it be your care to outdo yourſelf, in endeavouring " ſtill to advance your own glory. Adieu [*u*]."

As to the iſſue of the conteſt, ſome writers tell us, that it ended as CICERO deſired: but it is evident from the Letter, juſt recited, and more clearly ſtill from other Letters, that PANSA's authority prevailed againſt him, *for granting the*

[*u*] Ep. fam. 12. 7.

the commiſſion to the Conſuls [*x*]. CASSIUS however, as CICERO adviſed and declared, had little regard to what they were decreeing at *Rome*; but undertook the whole affair himſelf, and ſoon put an end to DOLABELLA's triumphs, as will be mentioned hereafter in it's proper place. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

THE *Statue of* MINERVA, which CICERO, upon his going into exil, had dedicated in the *Capitol*, by the title of *the Guardian of the City*, was, about the end of the laſt year, *thrown down and ſhattered to pieces by a tempeſt of thunder and lightening*. This the later writers take notice of, *as ominous, and portending the fall of* CICERO *himſelf*: though neither CICERO, nor any of that time, made any ſuch reflection upon it. The Senate however, out of reſpect to him, paſſed a decree in a full Houſe, on the eighteenth of *March*, *that the Statue ſhould be repaired and reſtored to it's place* [*y*]. So that it was now made by public authority, what he himſelf had deſigned it to be, a ſtanding monument to poſterity, that the ſafety of the Republic had been the conſtant object of his counſils.

D. BRUTUS was reduced by this time to ſuch ſtraits in *Modena*, that his friends began to be greatly alarmed for him; taking it for granted, that if he fell into ANTONY's hands, he would be treated no better than TREBONIUS. The mention therefore of a pacification being revived in the Senate, and recommended by PANSA himſelf, upon an intimation given by ANTONY's friends, that he was now in a diſpoſition to ſubmit to reaſon, CICERO, out of a concern for BRUTUS's ſafety, conſented *to the decree of a ſecond Embaſſy*,

[*x*] Quum Conſulibus decreta eſt Aſia, & permiſſum eſt iis, ut dum ipſi venirent; darent negotium qui ipſam obtineant, &c. Ep. fam. 12. 14.

[*y*] Eo die Senatus decrevit, ut Minerva noſtra, CUSTOS URBIS, quam turbo dejecerat, reſtitueretur. Ep. fam. 12. 25. Dio. l. 45. p. 278.

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Embaſſy, to be executed by himſelf and Servilius, *together with three other Conſular Senators:* but finding upon recollection, that there appeared no ſymptoms of any change in Antony, and that his friends produced no proofs of it, nor any thing new in his conduct, he was convinced, that he had made a falſe ſtep, and that nothing more was intended than to gain time; which was of great uſe to Antony, as it would retard the attempts of relieving *Modena*, and give an opportunity to Ventidius to join him, who was marching towards him at that time with *three Legions*. At the next meeting therefore of the Senate, he retracted his opinion, and declared againſt the late decree, as dangerous and inſidious; and in a warm and pathetic ſpeech preſſed them to reſcind it. He owns, "that it was indecent for one, whoſe authority they had ſo "often followed in the moſt important debates, to declare "himſelf miſtaken and deceived; yet his comfort was, "that it was in common with them all, and with a Conſul "of the greateſt wiſdom: that when Piso and Calenus, "who knew Antony's ſecret, the one of whom enter-"tained his wife and children at his houſe, the other was "perpetually ſending and receiving Letters from him, "began to renew, what they had long intermitted, their "exhortations to peace; and when the Conſul thought "fit to exhort the ſame thing, a man, whoſe prudence "could not eaſily be impoſed upon, whoſe virtue approved "no peace, but on Antony's ſubmiſſion; whoſe great-"neſs of mind preferred death to ſlavery; it was natural "to imagine, that there was ſome ſpecial reaſon for all "this; ſome ſecret wound in Antony's affairs, which "the public was unacquainted with: eſpecially, when it "was reported, that Antony's family were under ſome

"unuſual

" unuſual affliction, and his friends in the Senate betrayed A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Vibius Pansa; A. Hirtius.
" a dejection in their looks—for if there was nothing in
" it, why ſhould Piso and Calenus, above all others;
" why at that time; why ſo unexpectedly, ſo ſuddenly,
" move for peace? yet now, when they had entangled
" the Senate in a pacific Embaſſy, they both denied, that
" there was any thing new or particular, which induced
" them to it [z]: that there could be no occaſion there-
" fore for new meaſures, when there was nothing new
" in the caſe itſelf---that they were drawn in, and de-
" ceived by Antony's friends, who were ſerving his pri-
" vate, not the public intereſt---that he had ſeen it from
" the firſt, though but darkly; his concern for Brutus
" having dazzled his eyes; for whoſe liberty, if a ſub-
" ſtitute could be accepted, he would freely offer himſelf
" to be ſhut up in his place---that if Antony would
" humble himſelf, and ſue to them for any thing, he
" ſhould perhaps be for hearing him; but while he ſtood
" to his arms, and acted offenſively, their buſineſs was
" to reſiſt force by force--- but they would tell him per-
" haps, that the thing was not in their power, ſince an
" Embaſſy was actually decreed. But what is it, ſays he,
" that is not free to the wiſe, which it is poſſible to retrieve?
" it is the caſe of every man to err, but the part onely of a
" fool to perſevere in error---if we have been drawn away
" by falſe and fallacious hopes, let us turn again into the
" way; for the ſureſt harbour to a penitent is a change of
" his conduct [a]. He then ſhews, how the Embaſſy,
" ſo far from being of ſervice, would certainly hurt, nay
" had already hurt the Republic; by checking the zeal
" of the Towns and Colonies of *Italy*, and the courage

[z] Phil. xii. 1. [a] Ibid. 2.

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" of the Legions, which had declared for them, who
" could never be eager to fight, while the Senate was
" founding a retreat [*b*].---That nothing was more unjuſt,
" than to determine any thing about peace, without the
" conſent of thoſe, who were carrying on the war; and
" not onely without, but againſt their conſent: that Hir-
" tius and Cæsar had no thoughts of peace; from whom
" he had letters then in his hands, declaring their hopes
" of victory: for their deſire was to conquer, and to ac-
" quire peace, not by treaty, but by victory [*c*].---That
" there could not poſſibly be any peace with one, to whom
" nothing could be granted: they had voted him to have
" forged ſeveral decrees of the Senate; would they vote
" them again to be genuin? they had annulled his laws,
" as made by violence; would they now conſent to
" reſtore them? they had decreed him to have embezzled
" five millions of money; could ſuch a waſt be abſolved
" from a charge of fraud? that immunities, Prieſthoods,
" Kingdoms, had been ſold by him; could thoſe bargains
" be confirmed, which their decrees had made void? [*d*]---
" That if they ſhould grant him the farther *Gaul* and an
" army, what would it be elſe, but to defer the war, not
" to make peace? nay, not onely to prolong the war,
" but to yield him the victory [*e*].---Was it for this, ſays
" he, that we have put on the robe of war, taken arms,
" ſent out all the youth of *Italy*; that with a moſt floriſh-
" ing and numerous army we ſhould ſend an Embaſſy at
" laſt for peace? and muſt I bear a part in that Embaſſy,
" or aſſiſt in that counſil, where, if I differ from the reſt,
" the people of *Rome* can never know it? ſo that what-
" ever conceſſions are made to Antony, or whatever
" miſchief

[*b*] Ibid. 3. [*c*] Ibid. 4. [*d*] Ibid. 5. [*e*] Ibid. 6.

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" miſchief he may do hereafter, it muſt be at the hazard " of my credit."---He then ſhews, " that if an Embaſſy " muſt needs be ſent, he, of all men, was the moſt improper " to be employed in it: that he had ever been againſt " any Embaſſy; was the mover of their taking the habit " of war; was always for the ſevereſt procedings both " againſt ANTONY and his aſſociates----that all that party " looked upon him as prejudiced; and ANTONY would " be offended at the ſight of him [*f*].---That if they did " not trouble themſelves, how ANTONY might take it, he " begged them at leaſt to ſpare him the pain of ſeeing " ANTONY; which he ſhould never be able to bear: who " in a ſpeech lately to his parricides, when he was diſtri- " buting rewards to the boldeſt of them, had promiſed " CICERO's eſtate to PETISSIUS---that he ſhould never en- " dure the ſight of L. ANTONY: whoſe cruelty he could " not have eſcaped, but by the defence of his walls and " gates, and the zeal of his native Town: that though " he might be able to command himſelf, and diſſemble " his uneaſineſs at the ſight of ANTONY and his crew, yet " ſome regard ſhould be had to his life; not that he ſet " any value upon it himſelf, but it ought not to be thought " deſpicable by the Senate and People of *Rome*: ſince, if " he did not deceive himſelf, it was he, who by his watch- " ings, cares and votes, had managed matters ſo, that all " the attempts of their enemies had not hitherto been able " to do them any harm [*g*].---That if his life had been " oft attempted at home, where the fidelity of his friends, " and the eyes of all *Rome* were his guard; what might " he not apprehend from ſo long a journey? that there " were three roads from *Rome* to *Modena*; the *Flaminian*

 " along

[*f*] Ibid. 7. [*g*] Ibid. 8.

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" along the upper ſea; the *Aurelian* along the lower;
" the *Caſſian* in the middle——that they were all of them
" beſet by ANTONY's allies, his own utter enemies: the
" *Caſſian* by LENTO; the *Flaminian* by VENTIDIUS; the
" *Aurelian* by the whole *Clodian* family [*b*].---That he
" would ſtay therefore in the City, if the Senate would
" give leave, which was his proper ſeat, his watch and
" ſtation: that others might enjoy camps, Kingdoms,
" military commands; he would take care of the City,
" and the affairs at home, in partnerſhip with them; that
" he did not refuſe the charge; but it was the people, who
" refuſed it for him: for no man was leſs timorous, though
" none more cautious than he----that a ſtateſman ought
" to leave behind him a reputation of glory in dying; not
" the reproach of error and folly: who, ſays he, does not
" bewail the death of TREBONIUS? yet there are ſome,
" who ſay, though it is hard indeed to ſay it, that he is
" the leſs to be pitied, for not keeping a better guard,
" againſt a baſe and deteſtable villain: for wiſe men tell
" us, that he, who profeſſes to guard the lives of others,
" ought in the firſt place to keep a guard upon his
" own [*i*].---That if he ſhould happen to eſcape all the
" ſnares of the road, that ANTONY's rage was ſo furious,
" that he would never ſuffer him to return alive from the
" congreſs——that when he was a young voluntier in the
" wars of *Italy*, he was preſent at a conference of CN.
" POMPEY the Conſul, and P. VETTIUS the General of the
" Marſi, held between the two Camps: there was no
" fear, no ſuſpicion, nor any violent hatred on either
" ſide----that there was an interview likewiſe between
" SYLLA and SCIPIO, in their civil wars, where though
" faith

[*b*] Ibid. 9. [*i*] Ibid. 10.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

"faith was not ſtrictly obſerved, yet no violence was "offered [*k*]—but the caſe was different in treating "with Antony, where, if others could be ſafe, he at "leaſt could not: that Antony would never come into "their camp; much leſs they into his—that if they tranſ-"acted affairs by Letter, his opinion would always be "one and the ſame; to reduce every thing to the will of "the Senate: that this would be miſrepreſented to the "Veterans, as ſevere and perverſe; and might excite "them perhaps to ſome violence—let my life therefore, "ſays he, be reſerved to the ſervice of my country, as "long as either dignity or nature will allow: let my death "fall by the neceſſary courſe of fate; or if I muſt meet "it ſooner, let me meet it with glory—Since the Republic "then, to ſpeak the moſt moderately, has no occaſion "for this Embaſſy; yet if I can undertake it with ſafety, "I will go; and in this whole affair will govern myſelf "intirely, Fathers, not by a regard to my own danger, "but to the ſervice of the ſtate; and after the moſt mature "deliberation, will reſolve to do that, which I ſhall judge "to be moſt uſefull to the public intereſt."—

Though he did not abſolutely refuſe the employment, yet he diſſuaded it ſo ſtrongly, that the thing was wholly dropt; and Pansa, about the end of the month, marched away towards *Gaul*, at the head of his new raiſed army, in order to join Hirtius and Octavius, and without farther delay, to attempt a deciſive battel with Antony for the delivery of D. Brutus.

Antony at the ſame time, while he was perplexing the counſils of the Senate, by the intrigues of his friends, was endeavouring alſo by his Letters to ſhake the reſolution of Hirtius

[*k*] Ibid. 11.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

Hirtius and Octavius, and draw them off from the cauſe, which they were now ſerving: but their anſwers ſeem to have been ſhort and firm; referring him conſtantly to the authority of the Senate: yet as things were now drawing towards a criſis, he made one effort more upon them; and in the following expoſtulatory Letter reproached them with great freedom, for deſerting their true intereſt, and ſuffering themſelves to be duped, and drawn in by Cicero, to revive *the Pompeian cauſe*, and eſtabliſh a power, which in the end would deſtroy them.

Antonius to Hirtius and Cæsar.

" Upon the news of Trebonius's death, I was equally " affected both with joy and with grief. It was matter " of real joy to me, to ſee a villain ſuffer the vengeance " due to the aſhes of the moſt illuſtrious of men; and " that within the circle of the current year, the divine " providence has diſplayed itſelf, by the puniſhment of " parricide, inflicted already on ſome, and ready to fall " upon the reſt. But on the other hand, it is a ſubject " of juſt grief to me, that Dolabella ſhould be declared " an enemy, becauſe he has killed a murtherer; and that " the ſon of a Buffoon ſhould be dearer to the people of " *Rome*, than Cæsar, the Father of his country: but the " cruelleſt reflection of all is, that you, Hirtius, covered " with Cæsar's favors, and left by him in a condition, " which you yourſelf wonder at; and you too, young " man, who owe every thing to his name, are doing all, " which is in your power, that Dolabella may be thought " juſtly condemned; that this wretch be delivered from " the ſiege; and Cassius and Brutus be inveſted with " all power. You look upon the preſent ſtate of things,

" as

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

" as people did upon the paſt; call POMPEY's camp the
" Senate; have made the vanquiſhed CICERO your Cap-
" tain; are ſtrengthening *Macedonia* with armies; have
" given *Africa* to VARUS, twice a priſoner; have ſent
" CASSIUS into *Syria*; ſuffered CASCA to act as Tribun;
" ſuppreſſed the revenues of the *Julian Luperci*; aboliſhed
" the colonies of Veterans, eſtabliſhed by law and the
" decree of the Senate; promiſe to reſtore to the people
" of *Marſeilles*, what was taken from them by right of
" war; forget, that a *Pompeian* was made incapable of
" any dignity by HIRTIUS's law; have ſupplied BRUTUS
" with APPULEIUS's money; applauded the putting to
" death POETUS and MENEDEMUS, CÆSAR's friends, whom
" he made free of the City; took no notice of THEOPOM-
" PUS, when ſtript and baniſhed by TREBONIUS, he fled
" to *Alexandria*: you ſee SER. GALBA in your Camp,
" armed with the ſame poignard with which he ſtabbed
" CÆSAR; have enliſted my ſoldiers and other Veterans,
" on pretence of deſtroying thoſe who killed CÆSAR; and
" then employ them, before they know what they are
" doing, againſt their Quæſtor, or their General, or their
" Comrades----what have you not done, which POMPEY
" himſelf, were he alive, or his ſon, if he could, would
" not do? in ſhort, you deny, that any peace can be made,
" unleſs I ſet BRUTUS at liberty, or ſupply him with pro-
" viſions: can this pleaſe thoſe Veterans, who have not
" yet declared themſelves? for as to your part, you have
" ſold yourſelves to the flatteries and poiſoned honors of
" the Senate. But you come, you ſay, to preſerve the
" troops, which are beſieged. I am not againſt their being
" ſaved, or going where-ever you pleaſe; if they will but
" leave him to periſh, who has deſerved it. You write

" me

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

" me word, that the mention of concord has been revived
" in the Senate, and five Conſular Embaſſadors appoint-
" ed: it is hard to believe, that thoſe, who have driven
" me to this extremity, when I offered the faireſt condi-
" tions, and was willing to remit ſome part of them,
" ſhould do any thing with moderation or humanity:
" nor is it probable, that the ſame men, who voted Do-
" labella an enemy for a moſt laudable act, can ever
" forgive me, who am in the ſame ſentiments with him.
" Wherefore it is your buſineſs to reflect, which of the two
" is the more eligible, or more uſefull to our common
" intereſt; to revenge the death of Trebonius, or of
" Cæsar: and which the more equitable; for us to act
" againſt each other, that the *Pompeian* cauſe, ſo often
" defeated, may recover itſelf; or to join our forces, leſt
" we become at laſt the ſport of our enemies; who, which
" of us ſoever may happen to fall, are ſure to be the gainers.
" But fortune has hitherto prevented that ſpectacle; unwill-
" ing to ſee two armies, like members of the ſame body,
" fighting againſt each other; and Cicero all the while,
" like a maſter of Gladiators, matching us and ordering
" the Combat: who is ſo far happy, as to have caught
" you with the ſame bait, with which he brags to have
" caught Cæsar. For my part, I am reſolved to ſuffer
" no affront, either to myſelf, or my friends; nor to
" deſert the party which Pompey hated; nor to ſee the Ve-
" terans driven out of their poſſeſſions, and dragged one
" by one to the rack; nor to break my word with Dola-
" bella; nor to violate my league with Lepidus, a moſt
" religious man; nor to betray Plancus, the partner of all
" my counſils. If the immortal Gods ſupport me, as I
" hope they will, in the purſuit of ſo good a cauſe, I

" ſhall

" ſhall live with pleaſure; but if any other fate expects
" me, I taſt a joy however beforehand, in the ſure fore-
" ſight of your puniſhment: for if the *Pompeians* are ſo
" inſolent, when conquered, how much more they will
" be ſo, when Conquerors, it will be your lot to feel. In
" a word, this is the ſumm of my reſolution: I can for-
" give the injuries of my friends, if they themſelves are
" diſpoſed, either to forget them, or prepared in con-
" junction with me, to revenge the death of CÆSAR: I
" cannot believe, that any Embaſſadors will come; when
" they do, I ſhall know what they have to demand [*l*]."
HIRTIUS and CÆSAR, inſtead of anſwering this Letter, ſent it directly to CICERO at *Rome*, to make what uſe of it he thought fit with the Senate, or the people.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

IN this interval LEPIDUS wrote a public Letter to the Senate, to exhort them to meaſures of peace, and to ſave the effuſion of civil blood, by contriving ſome way of reconciling ANTONY and his friends to the ſervice of their country; without giving the leaſt intimation of his thanks for *the public honors*, which they had lately decreed to him. This was not at all agreeable to the Senate, and confirmed their former jealouſy of his diſaffection to the Republic, and good underſtanding with ANTONY. They agreed however to a vote propoſed by SERVILIUS, " that
" LEPIDUS ſhould be thanked for his love of peace, and
" care of the Citizens, yet ſhould be deſired, not to trou-
" ble himſelf any farther about it, but to leave that affair
" to them; who thought, that there could be no peace,
" unleſs ANTONY ſhould lay down his arms, and ſue for
" it." This Letter gave ANTONY's friends a freſh handle, to renew their inſtances for a treaty, for the ſake of oblig-

[*l*] Vid. Phil. 13. 10. &c.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

ing Lepidus, *who had it in his power, they ſaid, to force them to it:* which put Cicero once more to the trouble of confuting and expoſing all their arguments. He told them, "that he was ever afraid from the firſt, leſt an in-"ſidious offer of peace ſhould damp the common zeal, "for the recovery of their liberty: that whoever delighted "in diſcord, and the blood of Citizens, ought to be "expelled from the ſociety of human kind: yet it was to "be conſidered, whether there were not ſome wars, "wholly inexpiable; where no peace could be made, "and where a treaty of peace was but a ſtipulation of "ſlavery [*m*]: that the war, now on foot, was of this "ſort; undertaken againſt a ſett of men, who were na-"tural enemies to ſociety; whoſe onely pleaſure it was, "to oppreſs, plunder, and murther their fellow Crea-"tures; and to reſtore ſuch to the City was to deſtroy "the City itſelf [*n*].----That they ought to remember, "what decrees they had already made againſt them; ſuch "as had never been made againſt a foreign enemy, or "any, with whom there could be peace----that ſince "wiſdom, as well as fortitude, was expected from men "of their rank, though theſe indeed could hardly be ſepa-"rated, yet he was willing to conſider them ſeparately, "and follow what wiſdom, the more cautious and guarded "of the two, preſcribed.---If wiſdom then, ſays he, ſhould "command me, to hold nothing ſo dear as life; to decree "nothing at the hazard of my head; to avoid all danger, "though ſlavery was ſure to be the conſequence; I would "reject that wiſdom, be it ever ſo learned: but if it "teaches us, to preſerve our lives, our fortunes, our fami-"lies, yet ſo, as to think them inferior to liberty; to "wiſh to enjoy them no longer, than we can do it in a "free

[*m*] Phil. 13. 1. [*n*] Ibid. 2.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

" free Republic; not to part with our liberty for them, " but to throw them all away for liberty, as expoſing us " onely to greater miſchief without it; I would then liſten " to her voice, and obey her as a God [o]. That no man " had a greater reſpect for LEPIDUS than himſelf; and " though there had been an old friendſhip between them, " yet he valued him, not ſo much for that, as his ſervices " to the public, in prevailing with young POMPEY to lay " down his arms, and free his country from the miſery of " a cruel war: that the Republic had many pledges of " fidelity from LEPIDUS; his great nobility; great honors; " High Prieſthood; many parts of the City adorned by " him and his Anceſtors; his wife, children, great for- " tunes, pure from any taint of civil blood; no Citizen " ever hurt, many preſerved by him: that ſuch a man " might err in judgement, but could never willfully be " an enemy to his country.----That his deſire of peace was " laudable, if he could make ſuch a peace for them now, " as when he reſtored POMPEY to them.---That for this they " had decreed him greater honors, than had been given before " to any man; a ſtatue with a ſplendid inſcription, and a " triumph even in abſence [p].----That by good fortune, " they had managed matters ſo, that POMPEY's return " might conſiſt with the validity of CÆSAR's acts, which, " for the ſake of peace, they had confirmed; ſince they " had decreed to POMPEY the five millions and half, which " was raiſed by the ſale of his eſtates, to enable him to " buy them again: he deſired, that the taſk of replacing " him in the poſſeſſions of his Anceſtors, might be com- " mitted to him for his old friendſhip with his Father: " that it ſhould be his firſt care to nominate him *an Augur*, " and repay the ſame favor to the Son, which he him-

[o] Ibid. 3. [p] Ibid. 4.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

" ſelf received from the Father [q]: that thoſe, who had
" ſeen him lately at *Marſeilles*, brought word, that he
" was ready to come with his troops to the relief of *Mo-*
" *dena*, but that he was afraid of giving offence to the Ve-
" terans: which ſhewed him to be the true ſon of that
" Father, who uſed to act with as much prudence as
" courage.----That it was LEPIDUS's buſineſs to take care,
" not to be thought to act with more arrogance, than
" became him: that if he meant to frighten them with
" his army, he ſhould remember, that it was the army
" of the Senate and People of *Rome*, not his own [r].----
" That if he interpoſed his authority without arms, that
" was indeed the more laudable, but would hardly be
" thought neceſſary.----For though his authority was as
" great with them, as that of the nobleſt Citizen ought to
" be, yet the Senate was not unmindfull of their own dig-
" nity; and there never was a graver, firmer, ſtouter
" Senate, than the preſent.----That they were all ſo in-
" cenſed againſt the enemies of their liberty, that no
" man's authority could repreſs their ardor, or extort
" their arms from them.-----That they hoped the beſt,
" but would rather ſuffer the worſt, than live ſlaves [s].---
" That there was no danger to be apprehended from LE-
" PIDUS, ſince he could not enjoy the ſplendor of his own
" fortunes, but with the ſafety of all honeſt men.---That
" nature firſt makes men honeſt, but fortune confirms
" them: for though it was the common intereſt of all, to
" promote the ſafety of the public, yet it was more par-
" ticularly of thoſe, who were happy in their fortunes.----
" That no body was more ſo than LEPIDUS, and no body
" therefore better diſpoſed: of which the people ſaw a
" remarkable

[q] Ibid. 5. [r] Ibid. 6. [s] Ibid. 7. 2

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

" remarkable inſtance, in the concern which he expreſſed, " when ANTONY offered a Diadem to CÆSAR, and choſe to " be his ſlave, rather than his Collegue: for which ſingle " act, if he had been guilty of nothing elſe, he had richly " deſerved the worſt puniſhment [*t*]."---Then after inveighing, as uſual, againſt ANTONY through ſeveral pages, he declared *all thoughts of peace with him to be vain, and for a freſh proof of it produced his laſt Letter to* HIRTIUS *and* OCTAVIUS, and read it publicly to the aſſembly: *not that he thought it worth reading*, he ſays, *but to let them ſee his traiterous views openly avowed and confeſſed by himſelf.* He read it to them paragraph by paragraph, with his own comment and remarks upon it; rallying all along, with great wit and ſpirit, " the rage, the extravagance, " the inconſiſtency, the folly, and the inaccuracy of each " ſentence." On the whole, he ſays, "that if LEPIDUS had " ſeen it, he would neither have adviſed, or thought any " peace with him poſſible.---That fire and water would " ſooner unite, than the ANTONY's be reconciled to the " Republic.---That the firſt and beſt thing therefore was, " to conquer; the ſecond, to decline no danger for the " liberty of their country; that there was no third thing, " but the laſt and worſt of all, to ſubmit to the utmoſt " baſeneſs, through a deſire of living.---For which reaſons " he declared his concurrence with SERVILIUS, in the " vote upon LEPIDUS's Letters; and propoſed an addi- " tional decree, either to be joined to the other, or pub- " liſhed ſeparately.---That POMPEY the Great, the ſon of " CNÆUS, in offering his ſervice and his troops to the " Senate and People of *Rome*, had acted agreeably to the " courage and zeal of his Father and Anceſtors; and to " his

[*t*] Ibid. 8.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

" his own virtue, induſtry, and good diſpoſition to the " Republic: and that the thing was grateful and accept- " able to the Senate and People, and would hereafter be " an honor to himſelf."

After the debate, which ended as Cicero wiſhed, he ſent the following ſhort Letter to Lepidus, which, by the coldneſs and negligence with which it is drawn, ſeems to be deſigned to let Lepidus ſee, that they were perfectly eaſy and ſecure at *Rome*, whatever meaſures he might think fit to take.

Cicero to Lepidus.

" While out of the great reſpect which I bear to you, I " am making it my particular care, to advance your dig- " nity as much as poſſible, it was a concern to me to ſee, " that you did not think it worth while to return your " thanks to the Senate, for the extraordinary honors, which " they have lately conferred upon you. I rejoice how- " ever, that you are ſo deſirous of making peace among " Citizens: if you can ſeparate that peace from ſlavery, " you will conſult both the good of the Republic, and " your own dignity: but if the effect of it be, to reſtore " a deſperate man to an arbitrary dominion; I would have " you to know, that all men of ſenſe have taken a reſo- " lution, to prefer death to ſervitude. You will act more " wiſely therefore in my judgement, if you meddle no " farther with that affair of peace: which is not agreea- " ble either to the Senate, or the People, or to any honeſt " man: but you will hear enough of this from others, " or be informed of it by Letters; and will be directed by " your own prudence, what is the beſt for you to do [*u*]."

Plancus

[*u*] Ep. fam. x. 27.

PLANCUS too, who commanded in *Gaul*, and now reſided near *Lyons*, at the Head of a brave army, enforced LEPIDUS's advice, by a Letter likewiſe to the Senate on the ſame ſubject of peace; to which CICERO wrote the following anſwer: A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

CICERO to PLANCUS.

"THE account, which our friend FURNIUS brought of "your affection to the Republic, was highly agreeable "both to the Senate and People of *Rome*: but your "Letter, when read in the Senate, did not ſeem to agree "with FURNIUS's report: for you adviſed us to peace, "when your Collegue, a man of the greateſt eminence, "was beſieged by moſt infamous Plunderers; who ought "either to ſue for peace, by laying down their arms, or "if they demand it with ſword in hand, it muſt be pro-"cured by victory, not treaty. But in what manner your "Letters, as well as LEPIDUS's alſo, were received, you "will underſtand from that excellent man your brother, "and from FURNIUS, *&c.* [*x*]."

C. ANTONY, whom we mentioned above, to have retreated with *ſeven Cohorts to* Apollonia, not daring to wait for BRUTUS's arrival, who was now advancing towards him, marched out to *Buthrotum*, to ſeek his fortune elſewhere, in quarters more ſecure and remote: but being overtaken and attacked on his march by a part of BRUTUS's army, he loſt *three of his Cohorts* in the action; and in a ſecond engagement with another body of troops, which *young* CICERO commanded, was intirely routed and taken priſoner: which made BRUTUS abſolute Maſter of the Country, without any farther oppoſition [*y*]. This freſh ſucceſs gave

[*x*] Ibid. 6. [*y*] Plutar. in Brut.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

gave occaſion for a ſecond Letter from Brutus to the Senate; of which Cicero makes the following mention; "Your "Letter, ſays he, which was read in the Senate, ſhews "the Counſil of the General, the virtue of your ſoldiers, "the induſtry of your officers, and in particular of my "Cicero. If your friends had been willing to move the "Senate upon it; and if it had not fallen into moſt tur-"bulent times, ſince the departure of Pansa, ſome juſt "and proper honor would have been decreed for it to the "Gods [z]."——

The taking C. Antony priſoner put Brutus under ſome difficulty in what manner he ſhould treat him: if he ſet him at liberty, to which he was inclined, he had reaſon to apprehend freſh trouble from him, both to himſelf and the Republic: if he kept him priſoner in his camp, he was afraid, leſt ſome ſedition might be raiſed on his account and by his intrigues, in his own army; or if he put him to death, that it would be thought an act of cruelty, which his nature abhorred. He conſulted Cicero therefore upon it by Letter——"C. Antony, ſays he, is ſtill "with me: but in truth, I am moved with the prayers "of the man; and afraid, leſt the madneſs of ſome ſhould "make him the occaſion of miſchief to me. I am wholly "at a loſs what to do with him. If I knew your mind, "I ſhould be at eaſe: for I ſhould think that the beſt, "which you adviſed [a]."——Cicero's advice was, *to keep him under a ſafe guard, till they knew the fate of* D. Brutus

[z] Tuæ litteræ, quæ in Senatu recitatæ ſunt, & Imperatoris conſilium & militum virtutem, & induſtriam tuorum, in quibus Ciceronis mei declarant. Quod ſi tuis placuiſſet de his litteris referri, & niſi in tempus turbulentiſſimum poſt diſceſſum Panſæ incidiſſent, honos quoque juſtus ac debitus Diis immortalibus decretus eſſet. Ad Brut. 2. 7.

[a] Antonius adhuc eſt nobiſcum: ſed medius fidius & moveor hominis precibus, & timeo ne illum aliquorum furor excipiat. Plane æſtuo. Quod ſi ſcirem quid tibi placeret, ſine ſollicitudine eſſem. Id enim optimum eſſe perſuaſum eſſet mihi. Ad Brut. 2. 5.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

BRUTUS *in* Modena [*b*]. BRUTUS however treated him with great lenity, and ſeemed much diſpoſed to give him his liberty: for which purpoſe he not onely wrote to the Senate about it himſelf, but permitted ANTONY to write too, and with the ſtile of *Proconſul*; which ſurprized and ſhocked all his friends at *Rome*, and eſpecially CICERO, who expoſtulates with him for it in the following terms.

" ON the thirteenth of *April*, ſays he, your meſſenger " PILUS brought us two Letters, the one in your name, " the other in ANTONY's; and gave them to SERVILIUS " the Tribun; he to CORNUTUS the Prætor. They were " read in the Senate. ANTONY *Proconſul*, raiſed as much " wonder as if it had been, DOLABELLA *Emperor*; from " whom alſo there came an expreſs; but no body, like " your PILUS, was ſo hardy, as to produce the Letters, " or deliver them to the Magiſtrates. Your Letter was " read; ſhort indeed, but extremely mild towards AN- " TONY: the Senate was amazed at it. For my part, I " did not know how to act. Should I affirm it to be " forged?----What if you ſhould own it? Should I admit " it to be genuin? that was not for your honor. I choſe " therefore to be ſilent that day. On the next, when " the affair had made ſome noiſe, and PILUS's carriage had " given offence, I began the debate, ſaid much of *Pro-* " *conſul* ANTONY; SEXTIUS performed his part, and " obſerved to me afterwards in private, what danger his " ſon and mine would be liable to, if they had really " taken up arms againſt a *Proconſul*. You know the " man; he did juſtice to the cauſe. Others alſo ſpoke; " but our friend LABEO took notice, that your ſeal was not

[*b*] Quod me de Antonio conſulis; quoad Bruti exitum cognorimus, cuſtodiendum puto. Ib. 4.

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" put to the Letter; nor any date added; nor had you " written about it, as uſual, to your friends; from which " he maintained the Letter to be forged; and in ſhort, " convinced the Houſe of it. It is now your part, Bru- " tus, to conſider the whole ſtate and nature of the " war: you are delighted, I perceive, with lenity; and " think it the beſt way of proceding: this indeed is gene- " rally right; but the proper place of clemency is, in caſes " and ſeaſons very different from the preſent: for what " are we doing now, Brutus? we ſee a needy and deſpe- " rate crew threatening the very Temples of the Gods; " and that the war muſt neceſſarily decide, whether we " are to live or not. Who is it then, whom we are ſpa- " ring? or what is it, that we mean? are we conſulting " the ſafety of thoſe, who, if they get the better, are ſure " not to leave the leaſt remains of us? for what difference " is there between Dolabella and any one of the three " Antonys? if we ſpare any of theſe, we have been too " ſevere to Dolabella. It was owing chiefly to my ad- " vice and authority, that the Senate and People are in " this way of thinking, though the thing itſelf indeed " alſo obliged them to it: if you do not approve this " policy, I ſhall defend your opinion, but cannot depart " from my own: the world expects from you nothing " either remiſs or cruel: it is eaſy to moderate the matter, " by ſeverity to the Leaders, generoſity to the ſoldiers [c]."

Cicero had now done every thing, that human prudence could do towards the recovery of the Republic: for all that vigor, with which it was making this laſt effort for itſelf, was intirely owing to his counſils and authority. As Antony was the moſt immediate and deſperate enemy, who threatened

[c] Ad Brut. 2. 7.

threatened it, ſo he had armed againſt him the whole ſtrength of *Italy*, and raiſed up a force ſufficient to oppreſs him. Young OCTAVIUS, next to ANTONY, was the moſt formidable to the friends of liberty; but from the contraſt of their perſonal intereſts, and their jealouſy of each other's views, CICERO managed the opportunity, to employ the one to the ruin of the other; yet ſo, as to provide at the ſame time againſt any preſent danger from OCTAVIUS, by throwing a ſuperiority of power into the hands of the Conſuls; whom, from being the late Miniſters of CÆSAR's Tyranny, he had gained over to the intereſts of liberty. But beſides the difficulties, which he had to ſtruggle with at home, in bringing matters to this point, he had greater diſcouragements abroad, from the Commanders of the ſeveral Provinces: they were all promoted to thoſe governments by CÆSAR, the proper Creatures of his power, and the abettors of his Tyranny [*d*]; and were now full of hopes, either of advancing themſelves to dominion, or to a ſhare of it at leaſt, by eſpouſing the cauſe of ſome more powerfull pretender. Men of this turn, at the head of great and veteran armies, could not eaſily be perſuaded to ſubmit to a Senate, which they had been taught to deſpiſe, or to reduce the military power, which had long governed all, to a dependence on the Civil. Yet CICERO omitted no pains of exhorting them by Letters, and inviting them by honors, to prefer the glory of ſaving their Country, to all other views whatſoever. Thoſe, whom he moſt diſtruſted, and for that reaſon moſt particularly preſſed, were LEPIDUS, POLLIO, and PLANCUS: who by the ſtrength of their armies, and their poſſeſſion

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[*d*] Vides Tyranni Satellites in Imperiis: vides ejuſdem exercitus in latere veteranos. Ad Att. 14. 5.

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of *Gaul* and *Spain*, were the beſt qualified to ſerve or to diſtreſs the Republican cauſe. He had little hopes of the two firſt; yet managed them ſo well, by repreſenting the ſtrength of the honeſt party, the unanimity of the Senate, of the Conſuls, and all *Italy*, that he forced them at leaſt to diſſemble their diſaffection, and make great profeſſions of their duty; and above all, to ſtand neuter till the affairs of *Italy* were decided; on which the fate of the Republic ſeemed chiefly to depend. Nay, he ſeems to have drawn PLANCUS intirely into his meaſures: as appears from his account of him to BRUTUS [*e*], and from PLANCUS's own Letters, in which he gives the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his fidelity, and offers to lead his troops *to the relief of* Modena; and was actually upon his march towards it, when he heard upon the road of ANTONY's defeat.----Not long before which, CICERO ſent him the following Letter.

CICERO to PLANCUS.

" THOUGH I underſtood from the account of our friend " FURNIUS, what your deſign and reſolution was, with " regard to the Republic; yet after reading your Letters, " I was able to form a clearer judgement of your whole " purpoſe. Wherefore, though the fate of the Common- " wealth depends wholly on one battel, which will be de- " cided, I believe, when you are reading this Letter, yet " you have acquired great applauſe, by the very fame, " which was every where ſpread, of your good intentions: " and if there had been a Conſul at *Rome*, the Senate, by " decreeing ſome conſiderable honor to you, would have " declared, how acceptable your endeavours and prepara- " tions

[*e*] Planci animum in Rempub. egregium, legiones, auxilia, copias ex litteris ejus, quarum exemplum tibi miſſum arbitror, perſpicere potuiſti. Ad Brut. 2. 2.

" tions were. But that time is not onely not yet paſt ; A. Urb. 710.
" but was not in my judgement even ripe : for after all, Cic. 64.
" that alone paſſes with me for honor, which is conferred Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA,
" on great men, not for the hopes of future, but the A. HIRTIUS.
" experience of paſt ſervices. If then there be any Re-
" public, in which honor can have it's proper luſter, take
" my word for it, you ſhall have your ſhare of the greateſt:
" though that, which can truly be called honor, is not an
" invitation to a temporary, but the reward of an habi-
" tual virtue. Wherefore, my dear PLANCUS, turn your
" whole thoughts towards glory : help your Country ;
" fly to the relief of your Collegue ; ſupport this won-
" derfull conſent, and concurrence of all nations : you
" will ever find me the promotor of your counſils, the
" favourer of your dignity, and on all occaſions moſt
" friendly and faithfull to you : for to all the other mo-
" tives of our union ; our mutual affection ; good offices ;
" old acquaintance ; the love of our Country, which is
" now added, makes me prefer your life to my own.
" *Mar.* 29th [*f*]."

PLANCUS in the mean time ſent a ſecond Letter to the Senate, to aſſure them of his zeal and reſolution to adhere to them ; and to acquaint them with the ſteps, which he had already taken for their ſervice : upon which they decreed him ſome extraordinary honors, at the motion of CICERO, who ſent him the following account of it.

CICERO to PLANCUS.

" THOUGH out of regard to the Republic, my greateſt
" joy ought to be, for your bringing ſuch relief and help
" to it, in a time almoſt of extremity ; yet may I ſo
" embrace

[*f*] Ep. fam. x. 10.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

" embrace you after victory and the recovery of our liberty,
" as it is your dignity, that gives me the chief part of my
" pleaſure; which already is, and ever will be, I perceive,
" as great as poſſible. For I would not have you think,
" that any Letters were ever read in the Senate of greater
" weight than yours; both for the eminent merit of your
" ſervices, and the gravity of your words and ſentiments:
" which was not at all new to me, who was ſo well ac-
" quainted with you, and remembered the promiſes of
" your Letters to me; and underſtood the whole purpoſe
" of your counſils from our Furnius: but they appeared
" greater to the Senate, than was expected; not that they
" ever had any doubt of your inclinations; but did not
" fully underſtand, how much you were able to do, or
" how far you would expoſe yourſelf in the cauſe. When
" M. Varisidius therefore brought me your Letters very
" early, on the ſeventh of *April*, I was tranſported with
" joy upon reading them; and as a great multitude of
" excellent Citizens were then waiting to attend my going
" abroad, I inſtantly gave them all a part of my pleaſure.
" In the mean while our friend Munatius, according to
" cuſtom, came to join me: I preſently ſhewed him your
" Letter, of which he knew nothing before; for Vari-
" sidius came firſt to me, as you, he ſaid, had ordered
" him: ſoon after, the ſame Munatius returned to me
" with the other two Letters; that, which you had ſent
" to him, and that, to the Senate: we reſolved to carry
" the laſt directly to the Prætor Cornutus; who, by the
" cuſtom of our anceſtors, ſupplies the place of the Con-
" ſuls in their abſence. The Senate was immediately
" called; and, upon the fame and expectation of your
" Letters, made up a full Houſe. After they were read,

" a ſcruple

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

" a ſcruple of religion was objected to CORNUTUS, from
" the report of the Guardians of the Chickens; that he
" had not duly conſulted the auſpices; which was con-
" firmed likewiſe by our College: ſo that the affair was
" adjourned to the next day. On that day I had a great
" conteſt about your dignity with SERVILIUS, who pro-
" cured by his intereſt, to have his opinion declared the
" firſt: but the Senate left him, and all went the contrary
" way: but when they were coming into my opinion,
" which was delivered the ſecond; the Tribun TITIUS,
" at his requeſt, interpoſed his negative; and ſo the de-
" bate was put off again to the day following. SERVILIUS
" came prepared to ſupport his oppoſition, though againſt
" JUPITER himſelf, in whoſe Temple the thing paſſed:
" in what manner I handled him, and what a ſtruggle
" I had to throw off TITIUS's negative, I would have you
" learn rather from other people's Letters; take this how-
" ever from mine; that the Senate could not poſſibly act
" with more gravity, firmneſs, and regard to your honor,
" than it did on this occaſion; nor is the Senate more
" friendly to you, than the whole City: for the body of
" the people, and all ranks and orders of men are won-
" derfully united in the defence of the Republic. Go on
" therefore, as you have begun, and recommend your
" name to immortality: and for all theſe things, which,
" from the vain badges of outward ſplendor, carry a ſhew
" of glory, deſpiſe them; look upon them, as trifling,
" tranſitory, periſhing. True honor is placed ſingly in
" virtue; which is illuſtrated with moſt advantage by
" great ſervices to our Country. You have the beſt oppor-
" tunity for this in the world; which ſince you have em-
" braced, perſevere, and go through with it; that the

" Republic

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

" Republic may not owe leſs to you, than you to the
" Republic: you will find me, not onely the favorer,
" but the advancer of your dignity: this I take myſelf to
" owe, both to the Republic, which is dearer to me than
" my life, and to our friendſhip, &c. *April* the ele-
" venth [*g*].

Plancus anſwered him not long after to the following effect.

Plancus to Cicero.

" It is a pleaſure to me to reflect, that I have never
" promiſed any thing raſhly of myſelf to you; nor you,
" for me to others. In this you have the clearer proof
" of my love, that I deſire to make you acquainted with
" my deſigns before any man elſe. You already ſee, I
" hope, that my ſervices to the public will grow greater
" every day: I promiſe, that you ſhall ſoon be convinced
" of it. As for me, my dear Cicero, may the Republic
" be ſo delivered by my help from it's preſent dangers, as
" I eſteem your honors and rewards equal to an immor-
" tality; yet were I ſtill without them, I would remit
" nothing of my preſent zeal and perſeverance. If in
" the multitude of excellent Citizens, I do not diſtinguiſh
" myſelf by a ſingular vigor and induſtry, I deſire no ac-
" ceſſion to my dignity from your favor: but in truth,
" I deſire nothing at all for myſelf at preſent; nay, am
" even againſt it; and willingly make you the arbiter both
" of the time and the thing itſelf: a Citizen can think
" nothing late or little, which is given by his country. I
" paſſed the *Rhone* with my army by great journeys, on
" the 26th of *April*; ſent a thouſand horſe before me
" by a ſhorter way from *Vienna*. As for myſelf, if I
" am not hindered by Lepidus, none ſhall complain of
" my

[*g*] Ep. fam. x. 12.

" my want of expedition: if he oppoſes me on my road, A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.
" I ſhall take my meaſures from the occaſion: the troops,
" which I bring, are for number, kind, and fidelity, ex-
" tremely firm. I beg the continuance of your affection,
" as long as you find yourſelf aſſured of mine. Adieu [*b*]."

Pollio likewiſe, who now commanded the farther *Spain* with three good Legions, though he was Antony's particular friend, yet made the ſtrongeſt profeſſions to Cicero of his reſolution, to defend the Republic againſt all Invaders. In one of his Letters, after excuſing himſelf, for not having written earlier and oftener, he ſays, " both
" my nature and ſtudies draw me to the deſire of peace
" and liberty: for which reaſon I always lamented the
" occaſion of the late war: but as it was not poſſible for
" me to be of no party, becauſe I had great enemies every
" where, I ran from that camp, where I could not be
" ſafe from the treachery of an enemy; and being driven
" whither I leaſt deſired, freely expoſed myſelf to dangers,
" that I might not make a contemptible figure among thoſe
" of my rank. As for Cæsar himſelf, I loved him with
" the utmoſt piety and fidelity, becauſe he treated me
" on the foot of his oldeſt friends, though known to him
" onely in the heigth of his fortunes. When I was at
" liberty to act after my own mind, I acted ſo, that the
" beſt men ſhould moſt applaud me: what I was com-
" manded to do, I did ſo, as to ſhew, that it was done by
" command, and not by inclination. The unjuſt odium,
" which I ſuffered on that account, has ſufficiently con-
" vinced me, how ſweet a thing liberty is, and how
" wretched is life under the dominion of another. If the
" conteſt then be, to bring us all again under the power of

[*b*] Ep. fam. x. 9.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

" one; whoever that one be, I profeſs myſelf his enemy:
" nor is there any danger, which I would decline, or wiſh
" to avoid, for the ſake of liberty. But the Conſuls have
" not, either by decree or Letters, given me any orders
" what to do: I have had but one Letter from PANSA, ſince
" the Ides of *March*; in which he exhorts me, to ſignify
" to the Senate, that I and my army would be in their
" power: but when LEPIDUS was declaring openly to his
" army, and writing to every body, that he was in the
" ſame ſentiments with ANTONY, that ſtep would have been
" wholly abſurd and improper for me: for how could I get
" forage for my troops againſt his will, in marching through
" his Province? or if I had ſurmounted all other diffi-
" culties, could I fly over the *Alps*, which were poſſeſſed
" by his garriſons?----No body will deny, that I declared
" publicly to my ſoldiers at *Corduba*, that I would not
" deliver the Province to any man, unleſs he were com-
" miſſioned by the Senate----wherefore you are to look
" upon me, as one, who, in the firſt place, am extremely
" deſirous of peace, and the ſafety of all the Citizens; in
" the ſecond, prepared to aſſert my own and my coun-
" try's liberty. I am more pleaſed, than you can imagine,
" that my friend GALLUS is ſo dear to you: I envy him
" for walking, and joking with you: you will aſk per-
" haps, at what rate I value that privilege: you ſhall know
" by experience, if ever it be in our power to live in quiet:
" for I will never ſtir one ſtep from you. I am ſurprized,
" that you never ſignified in your Letters, how I ſhould
" be able to do the moſt ſervice, by ſtaying in the Pro-
" vince, or bringing my army into *Italy*. For my part,
" though to ſtay be more ſafe, and leſs troubleſome; yet
" ſince I ſee, that in ſuch a time as this, there is more

" want

" want of Legions, than of Provinces, which may eaſily " be recovered; I am reſolved, as things now ſtand, to " come away with my army---from *Corduba* the fifteenth " of *March* [*i*]."

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

THERE are ſeveral Letters alſo ſtill extant, written at this time from CICERO to CORNIFICIUS, who governed *Afric*; exhorting him in the ſame manner to firmneſs in the defence of the Republic, and to guard his Province from all Invaders, who ſhould attempt to extort it from him: and this man, after all, was the onely Commander, who kept his word with him, and performed his part to his Country; and loſt his life at laſt in maintaining that Province in it's allegiance to the Republic [*k*].

P. SERVILIUS, who has often been mentioned in the debates of the Senate, was a perſon of great rank and nobility; had been Conſul with J. CÆSAR, in the beginning of the civil war; the Son of that SERVILIUS, who, by his conqueſts near *mount Taurus*, obtained the ſurname of ISAURICUS. He affected the character of a Patriot, but having had a particular friendſhip with ANTONY, was much courted by that party; who took the advantage of his vanity, to ſet him up as a Rival to CICERO in the management of public affairs: in which he frequently obſtructed CICERO's meaſures, and took a pride to thwart and diſappoint whatever he propoſed: CICERO had long ſuffered this with patience, out of regard to the public ſervice; till provoked by his late oppoſition in the affair of PLANCUS, he could not forbear treating him with an unuſual ſeverity and reſentment; of which he gives an account in a Letter to BRUTUS.

[*i*] Ep. fam. x. 31. 621. Dio. l. 48. 307.
[*k*] Vid. Ep. fam. 12, 24. &c. App. l. 4.

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CICERO to BRUTUS.

" FROM PLANCUS's Letters, of which a copy, I ima-
" gine, has been ſent to you, you will perceive his excel-
" lent diſpoſition towards the Republic, with the condi-
" tion of his Legions, auxiliaries, and whole forces. Your
" own people have informed you, I gueſs, by this time,
" of the levity, inconſtancy, and perpetual diſaffection of
" your friend LEPIDUS; who, next to his own brother,
" hates you, his near relations, the moſt. We are anxi-
" ous with an expectation, which is now reduced to the laſt
" criſis: all our hopes are fixt on the delivery of D. BRU-
" TUS; for whom we have been in great apprehenſion.
" For my part, I have buſineſs enough on my hands at
" home, with the Madman, SERVILIUS; whom I have
" endured longer, than became my dignity: but I did
" it for the ſake of the Republic; leſt I ſhould give the
" diſaffected a Leader, not well affected indeed himſelf,
" yet noble, to reſort to; which nevertheleſs they ſtill
" do. But I was not for alienating him wholly from the
" Republic: I have now put an end to my forbearance
" of him; for he began to be ſo inſolent, that he looked
" upon no man as free. But in PLANCUS's debate he was
" ſtrangely mortified; and after two days conteſt, was
" ſo roughly handled by me, that he will be the modeſter,
" I dare ſay, for the future. In the midſt of our con-
" tention, on the nineteenth of *April*, I had Letters de-
" livered to me in the Senate, from our friend LENTU-
" LUS in *Aſia*; with an account of CASSIUS, the Le-
" gions, and *Syria*; which when I read preſently in
" public, SERVILIUS ſunk, and many more beſides; for
" there are ſome of eminent rank, who think moſt wicked-
" ly:

" ly: but SERVILIUS was moſt ſenſibly chagrined, for the " Senate's agreeing to my motion about PLANCUS. The " part which he acts is monſtrous [*l*]."

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

THE news, which is mentioned in this Letter to have been ſent by LENTULUS, of CASSIUS's ſucceſs, was ſoon after confirmed by particular Letters to CICERO, from BRUTUS and CASSIUS themſelves; ſignifying, " that CAS- " SIUS had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Syria*, before DOLABELLA " arrived there: that the Generals L. MURCUS and Q. " CRISPUS had given up their armies to him: that a ſepa- " rate Legion under CÆCILIUS BASSUS had ſubmitted to " him againſt the will of their Leader: that four other " Legions, ſent by CLEOPATRA from *Egypt*, to the aſſiſt- " ance of DOLABELLA, under his Lieutenant ALLIENUS, " had all declared for him:" and leſt the firſt Letter ſhould miſcarry, as they often did, from ſuch a diſtance, by paſſing through the enemy's quarters, CASSIUS ſent him a ſecond, with a more full and diſtinct account of all particulars.

CASSIUS Proconſul to his Friend M. CICERO.

" IF you are in health, it is a pleaſure to me, I am " alſo very well. I have read your Letter; in which I " perceived your wonderfull affection for me: for you " not onely wiſh me well, which indeed you have always " done, both for my own ſake and the Republic's, but " entertain an uncommon concern and ſollicitude for me. " Wherefore, as I imagined, in the firſt place, that you " would think it impoſſible for me to ſit ſtill, and ſee " the Republic oppreſſed; and in the ſecond, that when- " ever you ſuppoſed me to be in action, you would be ſol- " licitous

[*l*] Ad Brut. 2. 2.

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" licitous about my ſafety and ſucceſs; ſo, as ſoon as I
" was maſter of the Legions, which ALLIENUS brought
" from *Egypt*, I immediately wrote to you, and ſent
" ſeveral expreſſes to *Rome*: I wrote Letters alſo to the
" Senate, but forbad the delivery of them, till they had
" been firſt ſhewn to you. If theſe Letters have not
" reached you, I make no doubt, but that DOLABELLA,
" who, by the wicked murther of TREBONIUS, is maſter
" of *Aſia*, has ſeized my meſſengers, and intercepted
" them. I have all the armies, which were in *Syria*, under
" my command; and having been forced to ſit ſtill a
" while, till I had diſcharged my promiſes to them, am
" now ready to take the field. I beg of you to take my
" honor and intereſts under your ſpecial care; for you
" know, that I have never refuſed any danger or labor,
" for the ſervice of my country: that by your advice and
" authority I took arms againſt theſe infamous Robbers:
" that I have not onely raiſed armies for the defence of
" the Republic and our liberty, but have ſnatched them
" from the hands of the moſt cruel Tyrants: which if
" DOLABELLA had ſeized before me, he would have given
" freſh ſpirit to ANTONY's cauſe; not onely by the ap-
" proach, but by the very fame and expectation of his
" troops: for which reaſons, take my ſoldiers, I beſeech
" you, under your protection, if you think them to have
" deſerved well of the ſtate: and let none of them have
" reaſon to repent, that they have preferred the cauſe of
" the Republic, to the hopes of plunder and rapine.
" Take care alſo, as far as it is in your power, that due
" honor be paid to the Emperors, MURCUS and CRISPUS:
" for BASSUS was miſerably unwilling to deliver up his
" Legion; and if his ſoldiers had not ſent a deputation to

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" me in ſpight of him, would have held out *Apamea*
" againſt me, till it could be taken by force. I beg this
" of you, not onely for the ſake of the Republic, which
" of all things was ever the deareſt to you, but of our
" friendſhip alſo, which, I am confident, has a great
" weight with you. Take my word for it, the army,
" which I have, is the Senate's, and every honeſt man's,
" and above all, yours: for by hearing perpetually of your
" good diſpoſition, they have conceived a wonderfull af-
" fection for you; and when they come to underſtand,
" that you make their intereſts your ſpecial care, they
" will think themſelves indebted to you for every thing.
" Since I wrote this, I have heard, that DOLABELLA is
" come into *Cilicia* with all his forces: I will follow
" him thither; and take care, that you ſhall ſoon be in-
" formed of what I have done. I wiſh onely, that my
" ſucceſs may be anſwerable to my good intentions. Con-
" tinue the care of your health and your love to me [*m*]."

BRUTUS, who had ſent this good news before to CICERO, as well as to his mother, and ſiſter TERTIA, charged the latter, *not to make it public, till they had firſt conſulted* CICERO, *whether it was proper to do ſo or not* [*n*]. *He was afraid, leſt the great proſperity of* CASSIUS *might give umbrage to the* Cæſarian *party; and raiſe a jealouſy in the Leaders, who were acting againſt* ANTONY, *that the Republican intereſt would grow too ſtrong for them.* But CICERO ſent him word, *that the news was already known at* Rome, *before his Letters arrived; and though there was ſome ground for his apprehenſions, yet on the whole, they thought it more adviſeable to publiſh than to ſuppreſs it* [*o*]. THUS

[*m*] Ep. fam. 12. 12. vid. ib. 11.

[*n*] Ego ſcripſi ad Tertiam Sororem & matrem, ne prius ederent hoc, quod optime ac feliciſſime geſſit Caſſius, quam tuum conſilium cognoviſſent. Ad Brut. 2. 5.

[*o*] Video te veritum eſſe, id quod verendum fuit, ne animi partium Cæſaris—vehementer commoverentur. Sed antequam tuas litteras accepimus, audita res erat & pervulgata—ib. 6.

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Thus Cicero, as he declared to the Senate, *by his Letters, expreſſes, and exhortations, was perpetually exciting all, who had power or command in any part of the Empire, to the common defence of their liberty* [p]; and for his pains, had all the rage and malice of the factious to ſtruggle with at home. Theſe were particularly troubleſome to him at this time, by ſpreading falſe reports every day from *Modena*, *of* Antony's *ſucceſs*, or what was more to be apprehended, *of his union with the Conſuls againſt* D. Brutus: which raiſed ſuch a terror through the City, *that all honeſt men were preparing to run away to* Brutus *or* Cassius [q]. Cicero however was not diſheartened at it, but in the general conſternation appeared chearfull and eaſy; and, as he ſends word to Brutus, *had a perfect confidence in the Conſuls, while the majority of his friends diſtruſted them*; and from the number and firmneſs of their troops, had but little doubt of their victory, if ever they came to a battel with Antony [r]. But what touched him more ſenſibly, was a ſtory, kept up for ſome days with great induſtry, *that he had formed a deſign to make himſelf maſter of the City, and declare himſelf Dictator*; *and would appear publicly with the Faſces within a day or two.* The report, as groundleſs as it was, ſeems to have diſturbed him; but when Appuleius, the Tribun, one of his warm friends, was taking pains to confute it, and juſtify him in a ſpeech to the people, they all cried out with one voice, *that* Cicero *had never done, nor deſigned to do any thing, but*

[p] Meis litteris, meis nunciis, meis cohortationibus, omnes, qui ubique eſſent, ad patriæ præſidium excitatos. Phil. 14. 7.

[q] Triduo vero aut quatriduo—timore quodam perculſa civitas tota ad te ſe cum conjugibus & liberis effundebat. Ad Brutum. 3. vid. it. Ep. fam. 12. 8.

[r] Triſtes enim de Bruto noſtro litteræ, nunciique afferebantur, me quidem non maxime. conturbabant. His enim exercitibus, ducibuſque quos habemus, nullo modo poteram diffidere. Neque aſſentiebar majori parti hominum. Fidem enim Conſulum non condemnabam, quæ ſuſpecta vehementer erat. Deſiderabam nonnullis in rebus prudentiam & celeritatem. Ad Brut. 2. 1.

but what was the beſt and moſt beneficial to the Republic [*s*]: this gave him ſome comfort; but what brought him much greater was, the certain news *of a victory gained over* ANTONY *at* Modena, which arrived within a few hours after APPULEIUS's ſpeech [*t*]. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

THE ſiege of *Modena*, which laſted near four months, was one of the moſt memorable in all antiquity, for the vigor both of the attack and the defence. ANTONY had inveſted it ſo cloſely, and poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, that no ſuccours could be thrown into it: and BRUTUS, though reduced to the utmoſt ſtraits, defended it ſtill with the greateſt reſolution. The old writers have recorded ſome ſtratagems, which are ſaid to have been put in practice on this occaſion; "how HIRTIUS provided men "ſkilled in diving, with Letters written on Lead, to paſs "into the Town under the river, which runs through it; "till ANTONY obſtructed that paſſage, by nets and traps "placed under water: which gave occaſion to another "contrivance, of ſending their intelligence backwards "and forwards by Pigeons [*u*]."

PANSA was now upon the point of joining HIRTIUS, with four Legions of new levies, which he brought from *Rome*; but when he was advanced within a few miles of HIRTIUS's camp, ANTONY privately drew out ſome of his beſt troops, with deſign to ſurprize him on the road before that union, and to draw him, if poſſible, to an engagement againſt his will. We have a particular account of the action, in a Letter to CICERO from SER. GALBA, one of the Conſpira-

[*s*] Itaque P. Appuleius—doloris mei concionem habuit maximam—in qua, cum me—liberare ſuſpicione *faſcium* vellet; una voce cuncta concio declaravit, nihil eſſe a me unquam de Repub. niſi optime cogitatum. Phil. 14. 6.

[*t*] Poſt hanc concionem duabus tribuſve horis optatiſſimi nuntii & litteræ venerunt—ibid.—

[*u*] Frontin. de Stratagem. l. 3. 13. Plin. Hiſt. N. l. x. 37. Dio. p. 315.

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tors againſt CÆSAR, who bore a principal part and command in it.

GALBA to CICERO.

" ON the fifteenth of *April*, the day on which PANSA " was to arrive in HIRTIUS's camp, (in whoſe company " I was, for I went a hundred miles to meet him, on " purpoſe to haſten his march) ANTONY drew out two of " his Legions, the ſecond and thirty-fifth; and two *Præ-* " *torian* cohorts; the one his own, the other SILANUS's, " with part of the *Evocati* [*x*]; and came forward to- " wards us, imagining, that we had nothing but four " Legions of new Levies. But in the night, to ſecure our " march to the Camp, HIRTIUS had ſent us the *Martial* " Legion, which I uſed to command, and two *Prætorian* " cohorts. As ſoon as ANTONY's Horſe appeared in ſight, " neither the *Martial* Legion, nor the *Prætorian* cohorts, " could be reſtrained from attacking them; ſo that when " we could not hold them in, we were obliged to follow " them againſt our wills. ANTONY kept his forces within " *Caſtel-Franco* [*y*]; and being unwilling to have it " known, that he had his Legions with him, ſhewed " onely his horſe and light-armed foot. When PANSA ſaw " the *Martial* Legion running forward againſt his orders, " he commanded two of the new raiſed Legions to follow " him. As ſoon as we got through the ſtraits of the " Moraſs and the woods, we drew up the twelve cohorts " in order of battel. The other two Legions were not " yet

[*x*] The *Evocati* were a choice body of Veteran Soldiers, who, after their diſmiſſion from ſervice, being yet vigorous and fit for war, were invited to it again, as a ſort of volunteers, by the Conſul or General, and diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by peculiar privileges.

[*y*] Ad Forum Gallorum: now called *Caſtel-Franco*, a ſmall village on the *Æmilian* way between *Modena* and *Bologna*. Cluver. Ital. Ant. l. 1. c. 28.

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" yet come up. ANTONY immediately brought all his
" troops out of the village, ranged likewiſe in order of
" battel, and without delay engaged us. At firſt they
" fought ſo briſkly on both ſides, that nothing could
" poſſibly be fiercer: though the right wing, in which
" I was, with eight Cohorts of the *Martial* Legion, put
" ANTONY's thirty-fifth Legion to flight at the firſt onſet,
" and purſued it above five hundred paces from the place,
" where the action began: wherefore obſerving the enemy's
" horſe attempting to ſurround our wing, I began to re-
" treat, and ordered the light-armed troops to make head
" againſt the Mooriſh Horſe, and prevent their coming
" upon us behind. In the mean while, I perceived my-
" ſelf in the midſt of ANTONY's men, and ANTONY him-
" ſelf but a little way behind me: upon which, with my
" ſhield thrown over my ſhoulder, I puſhed on my horſe
" with all ſpeed towards the new Legion, that was coming
" towards us from the Camp: and whilſt ANTONY's men
" were purſuing me, and ours by miſtake throwing jave-
" lins at me, I was preſerved, I know not how, by being
" preſently known to our ſoldiers. CÆSAR's *Prætorian*
" Cohort ſuſtained the fight a long time on the *Æmilian*
" road: but our left wing, which was the weaker, con-
" ſiſting of two Cohorts of the *Martial* Legion, and the
" *Prætorian* of HIRTIUS, began to give ground; being ſur-
" rounded by ANTONY's Horſe, in which he is very ſtrong.
" When all our ranks had made good their retreat, I re-
" treated myſelf the laſt, to our Camp. ANTONY, as the
" Conqueror, fancied, that he could take it; but upon
" trial loſt many of his men in the attempt, without
" being able to do us any hurt. HIRTIUS, in the mean
" time, hearing of the engagement, marched out with

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" twenty Veteran Cohorts, and meeting ANTONY on his " return, intirely routed, and put to flight his whole " army, in the very ſame place where they had fought " before at *Caſtel-Franco*. About ten at night ANTONY " regained his camp at *Modena*, with all his Horſe. HIR- " TIUS retired to that Camp, which PANSA had quitted in " the morning, and where he left the two Legions, which " ANTONY attacked. Thus ANTONY has loſt the greater " part of his Veteran troops, yet not without ſome loſs " of our *Prætorian* cohorts, and the *Martial* Legion: we " took two of ANTONY's eagles, and ſixty ſtandards; and " have gained a conſiderable advantage [*z*]."

BESIDES this Letter from *Galba*, there came Letters alſo ſeverally from the *two Conſuls and* OCTAVIUS; confirming the other account, with the addition of ſome farther particulars: *that* PANSA *fighting bravely at the head of his troops, had received two dangerous wounds, and was carried off the field to* Bologna: *that* HIRTIUS *had ſcarce loſt a ſingle man: and that to animate his ſoldiers the better, he took up the Eagle of the fourth Legion, and carried it forward himſelf: that* CÆSAR *was left to the guard of their Camp: where he was attacked likewiſe by another body of the enemy, whom he repulſed with great loſs* [*a*]. ANTONY reproached him afterwards *with running away from this engagement in ſuch a fright, that he did not appear again till two days after, and without his Horſe or General's habit:* but the account juſt mentioned was given by CICERO from Letters, that were read to

[*z*] Ep. fam. x. 30.

[*a*] Cum—ipſe in primis Panſa pugnaret, duobus periculoſis vulneribus acceptis, ſublatus e prælio—Phil. 14. 9.

Hirtius ipſe, aquilam quartæ Legionis cum inferret, qua nullius pulchriorem ſpeciem Imperatoris accepimus, cum tribus Antonii Legionibus, equitatuque conflixit. Ib. 10.

Cæſar—adoleſcens maximi animi, ut veriſſime ſcribit Hirtius, caſtra multarum Legionum paucis cohortibus tutatus eſt, ſecundumque prælium fecit. Ibid. vid. App. l. 3. 571.

to the Senate, in which HIRTIUS declared him to have acted with the greateſt courage [*b*].

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THE news reached *Rome on the twentieth of* April, where it raiſed an incredible joy; and the greater, we may imagine, for the late terrors, which they had ſuffered from contrary reports. The whole body of the people aſſembled preſently about CICERO's houſe, and carried him in a kind of triumph to *the Capitol*, whence, on their return, they placed him in *the Roſtra*, to give them an account of the victory; and then conducted him home with infinite acclamations: ſo that in a Letter upon it to BRUTUS, he ſays, *that he reaped on that day the full fruit of all his toils, if there be any fruit in true and ſolid glory* [*c*].

THE day following the Senate was ſummoned by CORNUTUS, the Prætor, to deliberate on the Letters of *the Conſuls and* OCTAVIUS: SERVILIUS's opinion was, "that the "City ſhould now quit the *Sagum*, and take the common "gown again; and that a public Thankſgiving ſhould "be decreed jointly to the honor of the Conſuls and Oc-"TAVIUS. CICERO ſpoke next, and declared ſtrongly "againſt quitting the *Sagum*, till D. BRUTUS was firſt "delivered from the ſiege: that it would be ridiculous "to put it off, till they ſhould ſee him in ſafety, for "whoſe ſake they had put it on----that the motion for "quitting it, flowed from envy to D. BRUTUS; to deprive "him of the glory, that it would be to his name, to have "it delivered to poſterity, that the people of *Rome* had "put

[*b*] Priore prælio Antonius eum fugiſſe ſcribit, ac ſine paludamento equoque poſt biduum demum apparuiſſe. Suet. Aug. x.

[*c*] Cum heſterno die me ovantem ac prope triumphantem populus Romanus in Capitolium domo tulerit? domum inde reduxerit—Phil. 14. 5.

Quo quidem die magnorum meorum laborum,—fructum cepi maximum; ſi modo eſt aliquis fructus ex ſolida veraque gloria, &c. Ad Brut. 3.

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" put on the *Sagum* for the danger, and reſumed the " Gown for the preſervation of one Citizen---he adviſed " them therefore to continue in their former mind, of " thinking the whole danger and ſtreſs of the war to de- " pend on D. BRUTUS---and though there was reaſon to " hope, that he was already ſafe, or would ſhortly be ſo, " yet they ſhould reſerve the fruit of that hope to fact and " the event, leſt they ſhould be found too haſty in ſnatch- " ing the favor of the Gods, or fooliſh in contemning " the power of fortune [*d*].---Then as to the decree of " the Thankſgiving, he urges SERVILIUS with omitting " two things in his vote, which ought neceſſarily to have " accompanied it; the giving ANTONY the title of *enemy*, " and their own Generals, of *Emperors*---the ſwords of " our ſoldiers are dyed, ſays he, or rather moiſtened onely " as yet with blood: if it was the blood of enemies, it was " an act of the utmoſt piety; if of Citizens, the moſt " deteſtable wickedneſs: how long then ſhall he, who " has outdone all enemies in villany, go without the " name of *enemy*? he is now waging an inexpiable war " with four Conſuls; with the Senate and People of " *Rome*; denounces plagues, devaſtation, the rack and " tortures to us all: confeſſes, that DOLABELLA's horrid " act, which no Barbarians would own, was done by his " advice: declares, what he would have done to this City, " by the calamity of the people of *Parma*; honeſt and " excellent men, firm to the intereſts of the Senate and " People; whom L. ANTONY, the portent and diſgrace " of his ſpecies, put to death by all the methods of cru- " elty [*e*].---That HANNIBAL was never ſo barbarous to " any City, as ANTONY to *Parma*.---He conjures them " to

[*d*] Phil. 14. 1, 2. [*e*] Ibid. 3.

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" to remember, how much they had all been terrified for
" two days paſt by villainous reports ſpread about the City;
" and were expecting either a wretched death, or lament-
" able flight; and could they ſcruple to call thoſe men
" *enemies*, from whom they feared ſuch dreadfull things?--
" he then propoſed, to enlarge the number of days of the
" Thankſgiving, ſince it was not to be decreed to one,
" but to three Generals jointly; to whom in the firſt place
" he would give the title of *Emperors*----ſince there had
" not been a ſupplication decreed without it for twenty
" years paſt: ſo that SERVILIUS ſhould not either have de-
" creed it at all, or allowed the uſual honor to thoſe, to
" whom even new and unuſual honors were due [*f*].
" That, if according to the preſent cuſtom, the Title of
" *Emperor* was commonly given, for killing *a thouſand*
" *or two* of *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, or *Thracians*; how could
" they refuſe it now, when ſo many Legions were routed,
" and ſuch a multitude ſlain?---for with what honors,
" ſays he, and congratulations ſhould our deliverers them-
" ſelves be received into this Temple, when yeſterday, on
" the account of what they have done, the people of *Rome*
" carried me into the Capitol in a kind of Triumph? for
" that, after all, is a juſt and real Triumph, when by the
" general voice of the City, a public Teſtimony is given to
" thoſe, who have deſerved well of the Commonwealth.
" For if in the common joy of the whole City, they con-
" gratulated me ſingly, it is a great declaration of their
" judgement: if they thanked me, ſtill greater: if both,
" nothing can be imagined more glorious----that he was
" forced to ſay ſo much of himſelf againſt his will, by
" the ſtrange envy and injuries, which he had lately ſuf-
" fered

[*f*] Ibid. 4.

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" fered----that the inſolence of the Factious, as they all
" knew, had raiſed a report and ſuſpicion upon him, of
" his aiming at *a Tyranny*; though his whole life had
" been ſpent in defending the Republic from it: as if he,
" who had deſtroyed Catiline, for that very crime, was
" of a ſudden become a Catiline himſelf [*g*]. That if
" the report had found credit in the City, their deſign
" was, by a ſudden aſſault upon his perſon, as upon a *Ty-*
" *rant*, to have taken away his life---that the thing itſelf
" was manifeſt, and the whole affair ſhould be laid open
" in proper time----that he had ſaid all this, not to purge
" himſelf to them, to whom he ſhould be ſorry to want
" an apology, but to admoniſh certain perſons, of jejune
" and narrow minds, to look upon the virtue of excellent
" Citizens, as the object of their imitation, not of their
" envy: ſince the Republic was a wide field, where the
" courſe of glory was open to many [*b*]: that if any man
" conteſted with him the firſt place in the government,
" he acted fooliſhly, if he meant to do it by oppoſing
" vice to virtue: that, as the race was gained by running
" the faſteſt, ſo virtue was onely to be conquered by a
" ſuperior virtue----that they could never get the better of
" him by bad votes; by good ones perhaps they might;
" and he himſelf ſhould be glad of it----that the people
" of *Rome* were perpetually inquiring, how men of their
" rank voted and acted, and formed their judgement of
" them accordingly----that they all remembered, how in
" *December* laſt, he was the author of the firſt ſtep to-
" wards recovering their liberty: how from the firſt of
" *January* he had been continually watching over the
" ſafety of the Commonwealth: how his houſe and
" his

[*g*] Ibid. 5. [*b*] Ibid. 6.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

" his ears were open day and night to the advices " and informations of all, who came to him: how his opi- " nion always was againſt an Embaſſy to ANTONY: how " he had always voted him an *enemy*, and their preſent " ſtate, a war: but as oft as he mentioned an *enemy* or " a war, the Conſuls had always dropt his motion, from " the number of thoſe that were propoſed [*i*]: which " could not however be done in the preſent caſe, becauſe " he, who had already voted a Thankſgiving, had un- " warily voted ANTONY an *enemy*: ſince a Thankſgiving " had never been decreed, but againſt enemies; and " never aſked or granted in what was properly a civil " war---that they ſhould either have denied it, or muſt " of courſe decree thoſe to be *enemies*, for whoſe defeat " it was granted.---Then after floriſhing on the particular " merit of the three Generals, PANSA, HIRTIUS, OCTA- " VIUS; and ſhewing how well they had each deſerved " the name of *Emperor*, he decrees a Thankſgiving of " *fifty days* in the name of the three jointly [*k*]." In the laſt place, he procedes to ſpeak of the rewards due to the ſoldiers, and eſpecially of the honors to be paid to thoſe, who had loſt their lives in the defence of their country.--- " For theſe, he propoſes a ſplendid monument to be erected " in common to them all, at the public charge, with " their names and ſervices inſcribed"---and in recommend- ing it, breaks out into a kind *of funeral Elogium* upon them----" Oh happy death, ſays he, which when due to " nature, was paid to your country! for I cannot but " look upon you, as born for your country, whoſe name " is even derived from *Mars*: as if the ſame God, who " gave birth to this City, for the good of nations, had

[*i*] Ibid. 7. [*k*] Ibid. 8, 9, 10, 11.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

" given birth alſo to you, for the good of this City. Death
" in flight is ſcandalous; in victory glorious; wherefore
" whilſt thoſe impious wretches, whom you ſlew, will
" ſuffer the puniſhment of their parricide in the infernal
" regions; you, who breathed your laſt in victory, have
" obtained the place and ſeat of the pious. The life
" given to us by nature is ſhort; but the memory of a
" life well ſpent, everlaſting: if it were not longer than
" this life, who would be ſo mad, at the expence of the
" greateſt pains and dangers, to contend for the prize of
" glory? your lot therefore is happy, O you, while you
" lived, the braveſt, now the holieſt of ſoldiers; for the
" fame of your virtue can never be loſt, either by the
" forgetfulneſs of thoſe, who are now alive, or the ſilence
" of thoſe, who ſhall come hereafter; ſince the Senate and
" People of *Rome* have raiſed to you, as it were, with
" their own hands an immortal monument. There have
" been many great and famous armies in the *Punic*, *Gal-*
" *lic*, *Italic* wars, yet no ſuch honor was ever done to
" any of them. I wiſh, that we could ſtill do greater,
" ſince you have done the greateſt ſervices to us: you
" drove ANTONY, mad with rage, from the City: you
" repulſed him, when he attempted to return: a Fabric
" therefore ſhall be erected of magnificent work; and let-
" ters engraved upon it, the eternal witneſſes of your
" divine virtue; nor will thoſe, who ſee or hear of your
" monument, ever ceaſe talking of you: ſo that inſtead
" of this frail and mortal condition of life, you have
" now acquired an immortality [*l*]."----He then renews
" their former aſſurances to the old Legions, of the full
" and punctual payment of all, which had been promiſed
" to

[*l*] Ibid. 12.

3

" to them, as ſoon as the war ſhould be over; and for " thoſe, in the mean time, who had loſt their lives for " their country, he propoſes, that the ſame rewards, which " would have been given to them, if they had lived, ſhould " be given immediately to their parents, children, wives " or brothers."--all which he includes, as uſual, *in the form of a decree*, which was ratified by the Senate. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

ANTONY, being cruelly mortified by this defeat, kept himſelf cloſe within his Camp, and reſolved to hazard nothing farther, but to act onely on the defenſive; except by haraſſing the enemy with his Horſe, in which he was far ſuperior. He ſtill hoped to make himſelf maſter of *Modena*, which was reduced to extremity; and by the ſtrength of his works, to prevent their throwing any relief into it. HIRTIUS and OCTAVIUS, on the other hand, elate with victory, were determined at all hazards to relieve it; and after two or three days ſpent in finding the moſt likely place of breaking through the intrenchments, they made their attack with ſuch vigor, that ANTONY, rather than ſuffer the town to be ſnatched at laſt out of his hands, choſe to draw out his Legions, and come to a general battel. The fight was bloody and obſtinate; and ANTONY's men, though obliged to give ground, bravely diſputed every inch of it: till D. BRUTUS, taking the opportunity at the ſame time to ſally out of the Town, at the head of his garriſon, *helped greatly to determine, and complete the victory*. HIRTIUS puſhed his advantage with great ſpirit, and forced his way *into* ANTONY's *Camp*; but when he had gained the middle of it, *was unfortunately killed near the General's Tent*: PONTIUS AQUILA, *one of the Conſpirators, was killed likewiſe in the ſame place*: but OCTAVIUS, who followed to ſupport them, made good

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

their attempt, and kept poſſeſſion of the Camp, *with the intire defeat and deſtruction of* ANTONY's *beſt troops*: while ANTONY *himſelf, with all his Horſe, fled with great precipitation towards the* Alps. Some writers give a different relation of this action, but from the facts and circumſtances of it, delivered by CICERO, this appears to be the genuin account. *The Conſul* PANSA *died the day following of his wounds at* Bologna [*m*].

[*m*] Cum alia laudo, & gaudeo accidiſſe, tum quod Bruti eruptio non ſolum ipſi ſalutaris fuit, ſed etiam maximo ad victoriam adjumento. Ad Brut. 4. Ibi Hirtium quoque periiſſe & Pontium Aquilam, &c. Ep. fam. x. 33. vid. it. Ep. fam. xi. 13. & Appian. l. 3. p. 372.



SECT.

A. Urb. 710
Cic. 64.



SECT. XI.

THE intire defeat of ANTONY's army made all people preſently imagine, that the war was at an end, and the liberty of *Rome* eſtabliſhed: which would probably have been the caſe, if ANTONY had either periſhed in the action, or the Conſuls ſurvived it: but the death of the Conſuls, though not felt ſo ſenſibly at firſt, in the midſt of their joy for the victory, gave the fatal blow to all CICERO's ſchemes; and was the immediate cauſe of the ruin of the Republic [*a*]. HIRTIUS was a man of letters

[*a*] Hirtium quidem & Panſam—In conſulatu Reip. ſalutares, alieno ſane tempore amiſimus. Ep. fam. 12. 25.

Panſa amiſſo, quantum detrimenti Reſpub. acceperit, non te præterit. Ep. fam. xi. 9. Quanto ſit in periculo Reſpub. quam potero breviſſime exponam. Primum omnium, quantam perturbationem rerum urbanarum afferat obitus Conſulum, &c. ib. xi.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

letters and politeneſs; intimately intruſted with CÆSAR's counſils, and employed to write his acts: but as he was the proper creature of CÆSAR, and ſtrongly infected with party, ſo his views were all bent on ſupporting the power that had raiſed him, and ſerving his Patron, not the public. In the beginning therefore of the civil war, when he was Tribun of the people, he publiſhed a law, *to exclude all, who were in arms with* POMPEY, *from any employment or Office in the ſtate* [*b*]: which made him particularly obnoxious to the *Pompeians*, who conſidered him as their moſt inveterate enemy. PANSA, whoſe Father had been proſcribed by SYLLA [*c*], was attached with equal zeal to CÆSAR, as to the head and reviver of the *Marian* cauſe; and ſerved him in all his wars with ſingular affection and fidelity: he was a grave, ſincere, and worthy man; and being naturally more moderate and benevolent than HIRTIUS, was touched with the ruin of his country, and the miſeries of the oppreſſed *Pompeians*; many of whom he relieved by his humanity; and reſtored by his intereſt to the City and their eſtates [*d*]. This made him very popular, and gained him the eſteem of all the honeſt; ſo that CASSIUS, in defending his Epicuriſm to CICERO, alledges PANSA, as an example of thoſe genuin *Epicureans*, who placed their pleaſure or chief good in virtuous acts [*e*]. Before their entrance into the Conſulſhip, QUINTUS CICERO gave a moſt wretched account of them both; "as of a lewd, luxurious pair; not fit to be truſted with "the command of a paultry Town, much leſs of the Em-"pire;

[*b*] Neminem Pompeianum qui vivat tenere lege Hirtia dignitates. Phil. 13. 16.

[*c*] Dio. l. 45. 278.

[*d*] Panſa, gravis homo & certus—Ep, fam. 6. 12.

Quod multos miſeriis levavit, & quod ſe in his malis hominem præbuit, mirabilis eum virorum bonorum benevolentia proſecuta eſt Ep. fam. 15. 17.

[*e*] Itaque & Panſa, qui ἡδονὴν ſequitur, virtutem retinet, &c. ib. 19.

" pire; and ſays, that if they were not removed from the " helm, the Republic would certainly be loſt; ſince ANTONY would eaſily draw them into a partnerſhip of his " crimes; for when he ſerved with them in *Gaul*, he " had ſeen incredible inſtances of their effeminacy and " debauchery, in the face even of the enemy [*f*]."--But we muſt charge a great part of this character to the peeviſhneſs and envy of QUINTUS: for whatever they had been before, they were certainly good Conſuls; and out of their affection to CICERO, and regard to his authority, governed themſelves generally in all great affairs, by his maxims. They were perſuaded, that the deſign of revenging CÆSAR's death would throw the Republic again into convulſions; and flowed from no other motive, than the ambition of poſſeſſing CÆSAR's place; and reſolved therefore to quell by open force all attempts againſt the public peace. From their long adherence to CÆSAR, they retained indeed ſome prejudices in favor of that party; and were loth to procede to extremities, till pacific meaſures were found ineffectual. This gave CICERO ſome reaſon to blame, but never to diſtruſt them; to complain of their phlegm *and want of vigor*, as detrimental to the common cauſe: yet while they were generally ſuſpected by others, he always thought them ſincere, though they did not in all caſes act up to his wiſhes. The event confirmed his judgement of them: for they both not onely expoſed, but loſt their lives with the greateſt courage in the defence of the Republic; *and ſhewed themſelves to be the very men, which* CICERO *had conſtantly affirmed them to be*; and though he imputes ſome *little blame to* HIRTIUS, yet of PANSA, he declares, *that*

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

[*f*] Quos ego penitus novi libidinum & languoris effeminatiſſimi animi plenos: qui niſi a gubernaculis receſſerint, maximum ab univerſo naufragio periculum eſt, &c. Ep. fam. 16. 27.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

that he wanted neither courage from the firſt, nor fidelity to the laſt [*g*].

If they had lived to reap the fruits of their victory, their power and authority would have been ſufficient to reſtrain Octavius within the bounds of his duty; and ſuſtain the tottering Republic, till Brutus and Cassius could arrive to their aſſiſtance; and Plancus and D. Brutus unite themſelves in the ſame cauſe, and give it a firm eſtabliſhment in their Conſulſhip of the next year: all whoſe armies, together with *the* African *Legions*, were far ſuperior to any force, that could have been brought againſt them. But the death of the two Conſuls placed Octavius at once above controul, by leaving him the maſter of both their armies; eſpecially of all the veterans; who were diſaffected to D. Brutus, and could not be induced to follow him; and it fell out ſo lucky and appoſite to all Octavius's views, as to give birth to a general perſuaſion, *that they had received foul play, and were both of them killed by his contrivance:* for he was obſerved to be *the firſt man, who took up* Hirtius's *body in the Camp*; where ſome imagined him to have been *killed by his own ſoldiers*; *and* Pansa's *Phyſician*, Glyco, *was actually thrown into Priſon by* Torquatus, Pansa's *Quæſtor, upon a ſuſpicion of having poiſoned his wounds* [*h*]. But the chief ground

[*g*] Quales tibi ſæpe ſcripſi Conſules, tales extiterunt. [ad Brut. 3.] erat in Senatu ſatis vehemens & acer Panſa; cum in cæteros hujus generis, tum maxime in Socerum: cui Conſuli non animus ab initio, non fides ad extremum defuit. Bellum ad Mutinam gerebatur; nihil ut in Cæſare reprehenderes, nonnulla in Hirtio—ib. 10.

N. B. Several Medals were ſtruck by the Senate on the occaſion of this victory; particularly one in honor of Pansa, exhibiting the head of *the Goddeſs Liberty*, crowned with laurel, and the inſcription, LIBERTATIS; and on the reverſe, *Rome* ſitting upon the ſpoils of enemies, holding a Spear in her right hand, and a Dagger in her left, with her foot upon the globe, and victory flying towards her, to crown her with laurel; and the inſcription. C. PANSA. C. F. C. N. See Morel. Fam. Rom.

[*h*] Rumor increbuit, ambos opera ejus occiſos: ut Antonio fugato, Repub. Conſulibus orbata, ſolus victores exercitus occuparet. Panſæ quidem adeo ſuſpecta mors fuit, ut Glyco Medicus cuſtoditus ſit, quaſi venenum vulneri indidiſſet. Suet. Aug. xi. Dio. l. 4b. 317. App. p. 572.

ground of that notion ſeems to have lain, in the fortunate coincidence of the fact with the intereſts of OCTAVIUS: for M. BRUTUS thought it incredible, and in the moſt preſſing manner begged of CICERO, *to procure* GLYCO's *enlargement, and protect him from any harm; as being a worthy, modeſt man, incapable of ſuch a villany; and who, of all others, ſuffered the greateſt loſs by* PANSA's *death* [*i*]. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

CICERO was ſoon aware of the dangerous turn, which this event was likely to give to their affairs; and within a day or two after the news, intimates his apprehenſion of it to BRUTUS: "Young CÆSAR, ſays he, has a wonderfull diſpoſition to virtue; I wiſh, that I may govern him as eaſily, in all this heigth of honor and power, as I have hitherto done: the thing is now much harder; yet I do not deſpair of it: for the youth is perſuaded, and chiefly by me, that we owe our preſent ſafety to him: and in truth, if he had not at firſt driven ANTONY from the City, all had been loſt [*k*]." But as he found OCTAVIUS grow daily more and more untractable, ſo he began to exhort and implore BRUTUS in every Letter, *to bring his army into* Italy, as the onely thing, which could ſave them in their preſent circumſtances: and to enforce his own authority, he procured *a vote alſo of the Senate*, to call him home with his Legions to the defence of the Republic [*l*].

[*i*] Tibi Glycona Medicum Panſæ—diligentiſſime commendo; audimus eum veniſſe in ſuſpicionem Torquato de morte Panſæ, cuſtodirique ut Parricidam. Nihil minus credendum, &c. Rogo te & quidem valde rogo, eripias eum ex cuſtodia.—Ad Brut. 6.

[*k*] Cæſaris vero pueri mirifica indoles virtutis. Utinam tam facile eum florentem & honoribus & gratia regere ac tenere poſſimus, ut adhuc tenuimus! eſt omnino illud difficilius: ſed non diffidimus. Perſuaſum eſt enim adoleſcenti, & maxime per me, ejus opera nos eſſe ſalvos: & certe, niſi is Antonium ab urbe avertiſſet, periiſſent omnia. Ad Brut. 3.

[*l*] Te, cognita Senatus auctoritate, in Italiam adducere exercitum: quod ut faceres, idque maturares, magnopere deſiderabat Reſpublica. Ad Brut. x.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

AT *Rome* however the general rejoicings ſtifled all preſent attention to the loſs of their Conſuls; and ANTONY's friends were ſo dejected for ſome time, that they gave CICERO no more oppoſition in the Senate: where he poured out all imaginable honors on the deceaſed, HIRTIUS, PANSA and AQUILA; decreed *an ovation to* CÆSAR; and added a number of days to their Thankſgiving, in honor of D. BRUTUS: whoſe deliverance happening to fall upon *his birth day*, he decreed likewiſe, *that his name ſhould be aſcribed ever after to that day, in the Faſti or public Kalendars*, for a perpetual memorial of the victory. ANTONY's adherents were alſo declared *enemies*: in which number SERVILIUS himſelf included VENTIDIUS; and moved, *to give* CASSIUS *the command of the war againſt* DOLABELLA; to whom CICERO joined BRUTUS, *in caſe that he ſhould find it uſefull to the Republic* [*m*].

THE decree *of an Ovation to* OCTAVIUS was blamed by BRUTUS *and his friends* [*n*]; yet ſeems to have been wiſely and artfully deſigned: for while it carried an appearance of honor, it would regularly have ſtript him of his power, if he had made uſe of it: ſince his commiſſion was to expire of courſe, and his army to be diſſolved, upon his firſt entrance into the City: but the confuſion of the times made laws and cuſtoms of little effect with thoſe, who had the power to diſpenſe with them.

THE Commanders abroad were ſo ſtruck with ANTONY's defeat, that they redoubled their aſſurances to CICERO of their firmneſs and zeal for the common cauſe. LEPIDUS

[*m*] A. d. v. Kalend. Maias cum de iis, qui hoſtes judicati ſunt, bello perſequendis, ſententiæ dicerentur, dixit Servilius etiam de Ventidio, & ut Caſſius perſequeretur Dolabellam. Cui cum eſſem aſſenſus, decrevi hoc amplius, ut tu, ſi arbitrarere utile—perſequerere bello Dolabellam, &c. Ad Brut. 5. it. 15.

[*n*] Suſpicor illud minus tibi probari, quod ab tuis familiaribus—non probatur, quod ut Ovanti introire Cæſari liceret, decreverim. Ad Brut. 15.

PIDUS eſpecially, who had ſuffered two of his Lieutenants, SILANUS and CULLEO, to carry ſuccours to ANTONY at *Modena*, labors to excuſe it in a civil and humble ſtrain, and to perſuade CICERO, "that they had done it againſt "his orders; and though, for their former relation to him, "he was unwilling to puniſh them with the laſt ſeverity, "yet he had not ſince employed them, or received them "even into his Camp. He acquaints him, that ANTONY "was arrived in his Province, with one Legion, and a "great multitude of men unarmed, but with all his Horſe, "which was very ſtrong; and that VENTIDIUS had joined "him with three Legions: that he was marching out "againſt him with all his forces; and that many of ANTONY's Horſe and Foot daily deſerted him.---That for "himſelf, he would never be wanting in his duty to the "Senate and the Republic---thanks him for not giving "credit to the falſe reports, which were ſpread of him: "and above all, for the late honors, that he had decreed "to him---begs him to expect every thing from him, "which could be expected from an honeſt man, and to "take him under his ſpecial protection [*o*]." A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

POLLIO ſtill more explicitly, "that there was no time "now for loitering or expecting the orders of the Senate--- "that all, who wiſhed to preſerve the Empire, and the "very name of the *Roman* people, ought to lend their "preſent help.---That nothing was more dangerous, than "to give ANTONY leiſure to recollect himſelf.---That for "his part, he would neither deſert nor ſurvive the Repub- "lic---was grieved onely for his being at ſuch a diſtance, "that he could not come ſo ſoon as he wiſhed to it's "relief, &c. [*p*]."

[*o*] Ep. fam. x. 34. [*p*] Ibid. 33.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

PLANCUS ſent word, "that he was taking all poſſible "care to oppreſs ANTONY, if he came into that coun- "try.—That, if he came without any conſiderable body "of troops, he ſhould be able to give a good account of "him, though he ſhould be received by LEPIDUS; or if "he brought any force with him, would undertake, that "he ſhould do no harm in thoſe parts, till they could ſend "him ſuccours ſufficient to deſtroy him---that he was "then in a treaty with LEPIDUS, about uniting their "forces in the ſame cauſe, by the mediation of LATE- "RENSIS and FURNIUS; nor would be hindered by his "private quarrel to the man, from concurring with his "greateſt enemy, in the ſervice of the commonwealth [*q*]." In another Letter, he ſpeaks with great contempt of "ANTONY's ſhattered forces, though joined with thoſe of "VENTIDIUS, the *Mule-driver*, as he calls him; and is "confident, that if he could have met with them, they "would not have ſtood an hour before him [*r*]."

THE Conquerors at *Modena* were much cenſured in the mean time for giving ANTONY leiſure to eſcape: but OCTAVIUS from the beginning had no thoughts of purſuing him: he had already gained what he aimed at; had reduced ANTONY's power ſo low, and raiſed his own ſo high, as to be in condition to make his own terms with him, in the partition of the Empire; of which he ſeems to have formed the plan from this moment: whereas if ANTONY had been wholly deſtroyed, together with the Conſuls, the Republican party would have probably been too ſtrong for him and LEPIDUS; who, though Maſter of a good

[*q*] Ib. xi.

[*r*] Mihi enim ſi contigiſſet, ut prior occurrerem Antonio, non mehercule horam conſtitiſſet: tantum ego & mihi confido, & ſic perculſas illius copias, Ventidiique *Mullonis* caſtra deſpicio. Ib. 18.

a good army, was certainly *a weak General* [*s*]: when he was preſſed therefore to purſue ANTONY, he contrived ſtill to delay it, till it was too late; taking himſelf to be more uſefully employed, in ſecuring to his intereſts the troops of the Conſuls. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

CICERO was particularly diſguſted at ANTONY's eſcape; and often expoſtulates upon it with D. BRUTUS: he tells him, "that if ANTONY ſhould ever recover ſtrength again, "all his great ſervices to the Republic would come to no-"thing----it was reported, ſays he, at *Rome*, and all "people believed it, that he was fled with a few unarmed, "diſpirited men; and himſelf almoſt broken hearted: "but if it be ſo with him, as I hear it is, that you can-"not fight him again without danger; he does not ſeem "to have fled from *Modena*, but to have changed onely "the ſeat of the war. Wherefore men are now quite dif-"ferent from what they were: ſome even complain, that "you did not purſue him; and think, that he might have "been deſtroyed, if diligence had been uſed: ſuch is the "temper of people, and above all of ours, to abuſe their "liberty againſt thoſe, by whom they obtained it: it is "your part however to take care, that there be no real "ground of complaint. The truth of the caſe is; he, "who oppreſſes ANTONY, puts an end to the war. What "the force of that is, it is better for you to conſider, than "for me to write more explicitly [*t*]."

D. BRUTUS, in his anſwer, gives him the reaſons, why he could not follow ANTONY, ſo ſoon as he wiſhed: "I "had no horſe, ſays he; no carriages; did not know that "HIRTIUS was killed; had no confidence in CÆSAR, before "I met

[*s*] Cum & Lepido omnes Imperatores forent meliores, & multis Antonius, dum erat ſobrius. Vell. Pat. 2. 63.

[*t*] Ep. fam. xi. 12.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. " I met and talked with him; thus the firſt day paſſed.
" The next morning early, I was ſent for by PANSA to
" *Bologna*; but on the road, met with an account of his
" death: I ran back to my little army; for ſo I may truly
" call it: it is extremely reduced, and in ſad condition
" for want of all things: ſo that ANTONY gained two days
" of me, and made much greater journeys in flying, than
" I could in purſuing; for his troops went ſtraggling;
" mine in order. Where-ever he paſſed, he opened all
" the priſons, carried away the men, and ſtopt no where,
" till he came to the Fords. This place lies between the
" *Apennine* and the *Alps*; a moſt difficult country to
" march through: when I was thirty miles from him,
" and VENTIDIUS had already joined him, a copy of his
" ſpeech was brought to me, in which he begs of his
" ſoldiers, to follow him croſs the *Alps*; and declares, that
" he acted in concert with LEPIDUS: but the ſoldiers cried
" out, eſpecially thoſe of VENTIDIUS, for he has very few
" of his own, that they would either conquer or periſh
" in *Italy*; and began to beg, that he would go to *Pol-*
" *lentia*: when he could not over-rule them, he put off
" his march to the next day. Upon this intelligence, I
" preſently ſent five Cohorts before me to *Pollentia*, and
" followed them myſelf with the army: my detachment
" came to the place, an hour before TREBELLIUS, with
" ANTONY's horſe: this gave me an exceding joy; for I
" eſteem it equal to a victory, &c. [*u*]."

IN another Letter, he ſays, " that if CÆSAR would have
" been perſuaded by him to croſs the *Apennine*, he could
" have reduced ANTONY to ſuch ſtraits, that he muſt have
" been deſtroyed by want, rather than the ſword: but
" that

[*u*] Ibid. 13.

" that they could neither command CÆSAR, nor CÆSAR A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.
" his own troops; both which circumſtances were very
" bad, &c. [x]." This authentic account from D. BRUTUS confutes two facts, which are delivered by an old Hiſtorian, and generally received by all the moderns; firſt, that OCTAVIUS, *after the victory, refuſed to have any conference with* D. BRUTUS; *and that* BRUTUS, *for that reaſon, forbad him to enter his Province, or to purſue* ANTONY: ſecondly, *that* PANSA, *in his laſt moments, ſent for* OCTAVIUS, *and adviſed him to an union with* ANTONY, *againſt the Senate* [y]. For it is evident, that on the very day of the victory, there was actually a conference between the two firſt; which paſſed in ſo amicable a manner, *as to eaſe* BRUTUS *of the jealouſy, which he had before conceived of* OCTAVIUS: *and* PANSA's *death happened ſo early the next morning*, that it left no room for the pretended advice and ſpeech, which is made for him to OCTAVIUS: eſpecially ſince it appears on the contrary, that inſtead of OCTAVIUS, PANSA *really ſent for* D. BRUTUS, when he found himſelf dying, as if diſpoſed rather to communicate ſomething for the ſervice of that cauſe, in which he had loſt his life. But both the ſtories were undoubtedly forged afterwards, to ſave OCTAVIUS's honor, and give a better color to that ſudden change of meaſures, which from this hour he was determined to purſue [z].

C. ANTONY

[x] Quod ſi me Cæſar audiſſet, atque Apenninum tranſiſſet, in tantas anguſtias Antonium compuliſſem, ut inopia potius quam ferro conficeretur. Sed neque Cæſari imperari poteſt, nec Cæſar exercitui ſuo: quod utrumque peſſimum eſt.—ib. x.

[y] Vid. Appian. l. 3. p. 573. it. Hiſt. Rom. par Catrou & Rouillè. T. 17. l. 4. p. 433, &c.

[z] There is an original Medal ſtill remaining, that gives no ſmall confirmation to this notion; and was ſtruck probably at *Rome*, either by PANSA himſelf, upon his marching out towards *Modena*, or by the Senate ſoon after PANSA's death, in teſtimony of the ſtrict union, that ſubſiſted between him and D. BRUTUS ALBINUS. For on the one ſide, there is the Head of a *Silenus*, as it is called, or rather of PAN, which is frequent on PANSA's coins, with the inſcription alſo of his name, C. PANSA: and on the other, ALBINVS. BRVTI. F. with *two right hands joined, holding a Caduceus*, as an emblem of the ſtricteſt amity and concord.—See Famil. Vibia. in Vaillant or Morel.—

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

C. ANTONY was ſtill a priſoner with M. BRUTUS, whoſe indulgence gave him an opportunity of practiſing upon the ſoldiers, and raiſing a ſedition in the Camp, which created no ſmall trouble to BRUTUS. The ſoldiers however ſoon repented of their raſhneſs, and killed the authors of it; and *would have killed* ANTONY *too, if* BRUTUS *would have delivered him into their hands:* but he could not be induced to take his life, though this was the ſecond offence of the ſame kind; but pretending, *that he would order him to be thrown into the Sea, ſent him to be ſecured on ſhip-board, either from doing or ſuffering any farther miſchief* [*a*]: of which he wrote an account to CICERO, who returned the following anſwer.

" As to the ſedition in the fourth Legion, about C. " ANTONY, you will take what I ſay in good part; I am " better pleaſed with the ſeverity of the ſoldiers, than " with yours. I am extremely glad, that you have had " a trial of the affection of your Legions, and the horſe--- " as to what you write, that I am purſuing the ANTONY's " much at my eaſe, and praiſe me for it; I ſuppoſe you " really think ſo: but I do not by any means approve " your diſtinction, when you ſay, that our animoſity " ought to be exerted rather in preventing civil wars, " than in revenging ourſelves on the vanquiſhed. I differ " widely from you, BRUTUS, not that I yield to you in " clemency; but a ſalutary ſeverity is always preferable to " a ſpecious ſhew of mercy. If we are ſo fond of par- " doning, there will be no end of civil wars: but you are to " look to that: for I can ſay of myſelf, what PLAUTUS's " old man ſays in the *Trinummus*; *life is almoſt over* " *with me*; *it is you, who are the moſt intereſted in it.*

" You

[*a*] Dio. l. 47. p. 340.

" You will be undone, BRUTUS, believe me, if you do A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.
" not take care: for you will not always have the people,
" nor the Senate, nor a Leader of the Senate, the ſame
" as now. Take this, as from *the Pythian Oracle*; no-
" thing can be more true [*b*]."

BRUTUS's wife, PORCIA, notwithſtanding the tragical ſtory, which the old writers have dreſſed up, of the manner of her killing herſelf upon the news of her huſband's unhappy fate [*c*], died moſt probably about this time *at* Rome, *of a lingering illneſs.* She ſeems to have been in a bad ſtate of health, when BRUTUS left *Italy*; where ſhe is ſaid to have parted from him with the utmoſt grief and floods of tears, as if conſcious, that ſhe was taking her laſt leave of him: and PLUTARCH ſays, *that there was a Letter of* BRUTUS *extant in his days, if it was genuin, in which he lamented her death, and complained of his friends for neglecting her, in her laſt ſickneſs:* this however is certain, that in a Letter to ATTICUS, he gives a hint *of* PORCIA's *indiſpoſition, with a ſlight compliment to* ATTICUS *for his care of her* [*d*]: and the following Letter of condolence to him from CICERO, can hardly be applied to any other occaſion, but that of her death.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

" I ſhould perform the ſame office, which you formerly
" did in my loſs, of comforting you by Letter, did I not
" know, that you cannot want thoſe remedies in your
" grief, with which you relieved mine. I wiſh onely,
" that you may now cure yourſelf more eaſily, than at

[*b*] Ad Brut. 2.
[*c*] App. l. iv. 669. Dio. l. 47. 356. Val. Max. 4. 6.
[*d*] Valetudinem *Porciæ* meæ tibi curæ eſſe, non miror. Ad Brut. 17.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

" that time you cured me: for it would be ſtrange in ſo
" great a man as you, not to be able to practiſe, what
" he had preſcribed to another. As for me, not onely the
" reaſons, which you then collected, but your very au-
" thority deterred me from indulging my ſorrow to exceſs.
" For when you thought me to behave myſelf with greater
" ſoftneſs, than became a man; eſpecially one, who uſed
" to comfort others, you chid me with more ſeverity,
" than it was uſual for you to expreſs: ſo that, out of a
" reverence to your judgement, I rouſed myſelf; and by
" the acceſſion of your authority, took every thing, that
" I had learnt or read, or heard on that ſubject, to have
" the greater weight. Yet my part, BRUTUS, at that time
" was onely to act agreeably to duty and to nature: but
" yours, as we ſay, is to be acted *on the ſtage*, and before
" the people. For when the eyes, not onely of your
" army, but of all the City, nay of all the world are upon
" you, it is wholly indecent for one, by whom we other
" mortals are made the ſtouter, to betray any dejection
" or want of courage. You have ſuffered indeed a great
" loſs; (for you have loſt that, which has not left it's
" fellow on earth) and muſt be allowed to grieve under
" ſo cruel a blow; leſt to want all ſenſe of grief ſhould be
" thought more wretched than grief itſelf: but to do it
" with moderation, is both uſefull to others, and neceſ-
" ſary to yourſelf. I would write more, if this was not
" already too much: we expect you and your army:
" without which, though all other things ſuccede to our
" wiſhes, we ſhall hardly ever be free [*e*]."

As the time of chuſing Magiſtrates now drew on, and particularly of filling up *the Colleges of Prieſts*, in which there

[*e*] Ibid. 9.

there were many vacancies; ſo BRUTUS was ſending home many of his young Nobles to appear as Candidates at the election; the two BIBULUS's, DOMITIUS, CATO, LENTULUS; whom he ſeverally recommends to CICERO's protection. CICERO was deſirous, *that his ſon alſo ſhould come with them, to be elected a Prieſt*; and wrote to BRUTUS, to know his mind about it; and if he thought proper, to ſend him away immediately; for though he might be choſen in abſence, yet his ſucceſs would be much eaſier, if he was preſent [*f*]. He touches this little affair in ſeveral of his Letters; but finding the public diſorders increaſe ſtill every day, he procured *the election of Prieſts to be thrown off to the next year*: and BRUTUS having ſent him word in the mean while, *that his ſon had actually left him, and was coming towards* Rome, he inſtantly diſpatched a meſſenger, to meet him on the road, with orders to ſend him back again, though he found him landed in *Italy: ſince nothing*, he ſays, *could be more agreeable either to himſelf, or more honorable to his ſon, than his continuance with* BRUTUS [*g*]. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

NOT long after the battel of *Modena*, the news of DOLABELLA's *defeat, and death from* Aſia, brought a freſh occaſion of joy to CICERO, and his friends at *Rome*. DOLABELLA, after his ſucceſs againſt TREBONIUS, having pillaged that Province of it's money, and of all things uſefull for war, marched forward to execute his grand deſign upon *Syria*; for which he had been making all this preparation: but CASSIUS was beforehand with him, and having

[*f*] Sed quamvis liceat abſentis rationem haberi, tamen omnia ſunt præſentibus faciliora—ad Brut. 5.

[*g*] Ego autem, cum ad me de Ciceronis abs te diſceſſu ſcripſiſſes, ſtatim extruſi tabellarios, litteraſque ad Ciceronem; ut etiam ſi in Italiam veniſſet, ad te rediret. Nihil enim mihi jucundius, illi honeſtius. Quamquam aliquoties ei ſcripſeram, ſacerdotum comitia, mea ſumma contentione in alterum annum eſſe rejecta, &c. Ad Brut. 14. vid. it. 5, 6, 7.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. got poſſeſſion of that Country, and of all the armies in it, was much ſuperior to him in force. DOLABELLA however made his way with ſome ſucceſs through *Cilicia*, and came before *Antioch* in *Syria*, but was denied admittance into it; and after ſome vain attempts to take it, being repulſed with loſs, marched to *Laodicea*; which had before invited, and now opened it's gates to him. Here CASSIUS came up with him, and preſently inveſted the place: where, after he had deſtroyed DOLABELLA's fleet, in two or three naval engagements, he ſhut him up cloſely by ſea, as well as land: till DOLABELLA, ſeeing no way to eſcape, and the Town unable to hold out any longer, *killed himſelf, to prevent his falling alive into* CASSIUS's *hands*, and ſuffering the ſame treatment, which he had ſhewn to TREBONIUS: but CASSIUS generouſly ordered his body to be buried, with that *of his Lieutenant* OCTAVIUS, *who killed himſelf alſo with him* [*b*].

D. BRUTUS was now at laſt purſuing ANTONY, or rather obſerving the motions of his flight: he had with him, beſides his own forces, *the new Legions* of the late Conſuls, while all the Veterans put themſelves under the command of OCTAVIUS: ſo that after ANTONY was joined by VENTIDIUS with three Legions, BRUTUS was hardly ſtrong enough either to fight with him, or, what he rather aimed at, to hinder his croſſing the *Alps* to LEPIDUS. He deſired CICERO therefore, *to write to* LEPIDUS, *not to receive him, though he was ſure*, he ſays, *that* LEPIDUS *would never do any thing that was right*; and wiſhes likewiſe, *that* CICERO *would confirm* PLANCUS; ſince by ſome of ANTONY's papers, which fell into his hands, he perceived, *that* ANTONY *had not loſt all hopes of him*; *and thought himſelf*

[*b*] Ep. fam. 12, 13, 15. App. l. 4. 625. Dio. l. 47. 344.

himſelf ſure of LEPIDUS *and* POLLIO. Of which he gave PLANCUS immediate notice, and ſignified, that he was coming forward with all expedition to join with him [*i*]. But he complains much in all his Letters, of his want of money, and the ſad condition of his army; which was not contemptible for the number, but the kind of his troops; being for the moſt part, *new raiſed men, bare and needy of all things* [*k*]. "I cannot, ſays he, maintain my "ſoldiers any longer. When I firſt undertook to free "the Republic, I had above *three hundred thouſand* "*pounds* of my own in money: but am now ſo far from "having any thing, that I have involved all my friends "in debt for me. I have ſeven Legions to provide for: "conſider with what difficulty: had I the treaſures of "VARRO, I could not ſupport the expence [*l*]." He deſired therefore a preſent ſupply of money, and ſome Veteran Legions, eſpecially *the fourth and Martial*, which continued ſtill with OCTAVIUS. This was decreed to him readily by the Senate, at the motion *of* DRUSUS *and* PAULLUS, LEPIDUS's *brother* [*m*]: but CICERO wrote him word, "that all, who knew thoſe Legions the beſt, af-"firmed, that they would not be induced by any terms "to ſerve under him: that money however ſhould cer-"tainly be provided for him"---and concludes by obſerving, "that if LEPIDUS ſhould receive ANTONY, it would "throw

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

[*i*] In primis rogo te, ad hominem ventoſiſſimum Lepidum mittas, ne bellum nobis redintegrare poſſit, Antonio ſibi conjuncto.—— Mihi perſuaſiſſimum eſt, Lepidum recte facturum nunquam—Plancum quoque confirmetis, oro; quem ſpero, pulſo Antonio, Reipub. non defuturum.—Ep. fam. xi. 9.

Antonius ad Lepidum proficiſcitur, ne de Planco quidem ſpem adhuc abjecit, ut ex libellis ſuis animadverti, qui in me inciderunt. Ib. 11.

[*k*] Cum ſim cum tironibus egentiſſimis. Ib. 19.

[*l*] Alere jam milites non poſſum. Cum ad Rempub. liberandam acceſſi, HS. mihi fuit pecuniæ cccc amplius. Tantum abeſt ut meæ rei familiaris liberum ſit quidquam, ut omnes jam meos amicos ære alieno obſtrinxerim. Septenum numerum nunc legionum alo, qua difficultate, tu arbitrare. Non, ſi Varronis theſauros haberem, ſubſiſtere ſumptui poſſem. Ib. 10.

[*m*] Ep. fam. xi. 19.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

" throw them again into great difficulties: but that it was " BRUTUS's part, to take care, that they ſhould have no " cauſe to fear the event: for as to himſelf, that he could " not poſſibly do more, than he had already done: but " wiſhed to ſee D. BRUTUS the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious " of men [*n*]."

PLANCUS, as it is hinted above, was carrying on a negotiation with LEPIDUS, to unite their forces againſt ANTONY: it was managed on PLANCUS's ſide by FURNIUS; on LEPIDUS's, by LATERENSIS, one of his Lieutenants; a true friend to the Republic, and zealous to engage his General to it's intereſts; and LEPIDUS himſelf diſſembled ſo well, as to perſuade them of his ſincerity; ſo that PLANCUS was marching forward in great haſt to join with him; of which he gave CICERO a particular account.

PLANCUS to CICERO.

" AFTER I had written my Letters, I thought it of " ſervice to the public, that you ſhould be informed of " what has ſince happened. My diligence, I hope, has " been of uſe both to myſelf and to the Commonwealth: " for I have been treating with LEPIDUS by perpetual meſ- " ſages; that laying aſide all former quarrels, he would " be reconciled, and ſuccour the Republic in common with " me, and ſhew more regard to himſelf, his children, and " the City, than to a deſperate abandoned Robber; in which " caſe, he might depend on my ſervice and aſſiſtance for all " occaſions: I tranſacted the affair by LATERENSIS. He " pawned his faith, that if he could not keep ANTONY " out

[*n*] Legionem Martiam & quartam negant, qui illas norunt, ulla conditione ad te poſſe perduci. Pecuniæ, quam deſideras, ratio poteſt haberi, eaque habebitur—ego plus quam feci, facere non poſſum. Te tamen, id quod ſpero, omnium maximum & clariſſimum videre cupio. Ib. 14.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

" out of his Province, he would purſue him by open war ; " begged, that I would come and join forces with him, and " ſo much the more, becauſe ANTONY was ſaid to be ſtrong " in Horſe ; whereas LEPIDUS's could hardly be called in- " different : for not many days before, even out of his " ſmall number, ten, who were reckoned his beſt, came " over to me. As ſoon as I was informed of this, I re- " ſolved without delay, to ſupport LEPIDUS in the execu- " tion of his good intentions : I ſaw, of what benefit my " joining him would be, either for purſuing and deſtroy- " ing ANTONY's Horſe with mine, or for correcting and " reſtraining, by the preſence of my army, the corrupt and " diſaffected part of LEPIDUS's. Having made a bridge " therefore in one day, over the *Iſere*, a very great river " in the territory of the *Allobroges*, I paſſed with my army " on the twelfth of *May* : but having been informed, " that L. ANTONY was ſent before with ſome Horſe and " Cohorts to *Forum Julii*, I had ſent my brother the day " before with four thouſand horſe to meet with him, in- " tending to follow myſelf by great journeys with four " Legions and the reſt of my horſe, without the heavy " baggage. If we have any tolerable fortune for the Re- " public, we ſhall here put an end to the audaciouſneſs of " the deſperate ; and to all our own trouble : but if the " Robber, upon hearing of my arrival, ſhould run back " again into *Italy*, it will be BRUTUS's part to meet with " him there : who will not be wanting, I know, either in " counſil or courage : but if that ſhould happen, I will " ſend my brother alſo with the Horſe, to follow and pre- " ſerve *Italy* from being ravaged by him. Take care of " your health, and love me as I love you [*o*]."---

BUT

[*o*] Ep. x. 15.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

BUT LEPIDUS was acting all the while a treacherous part, being determined at all hazards to ſupport ANTONY; and though he kept him at a diſtance for ſome time, and ſeemed to be conſtrained at laſt by his own ſoldiers to receive him; yet that was onely to ſave appearances, till he could do it with advantage and ſecurity to them both: his view in treating with PLANCUS was probably, to amuſe and draw him ſo near to them, that when he and ANTONY were actually joined, they might force him into the ſame meaſures, without his being able to help it, or to retreat from them. When he was upon the point therefore of joining Camps with ANTONY, he ſent word to PLANCUS, who was within forty miles of him, to ſtay where he then was, till he ſhould come up to him: but PLANCUS, ſuſpecting nothing, thought it better ſtill to march on; till LATERENSIS, perceiving how things were turning, wrote him word in all haſt, *that neither* LEPIDUS, *nor his army were to be truſted; and that he himſelf was deſerted;* " exhorting PLANCUS to look to himſelf, leſt he ſhould be " drawn into a ſnare, and to perform his duty to the Re- " public; for that he had diſcharged his faith, by giving " him this warning, *&c.* [*p*]."

PLANCUS gave CICERO a particular account of all theſe tranſactions: he acquaints him, " that LEPIDUS and AN- " TONY joined their camps on the twenty eighth of *May*, " and the ſame day marched forward towards him: of all " which he knew nothing, till they were come within twenty " miles of him: that upon the firſt intelligence of it, " he retreated in all haſt; repaſſed the *Iſere*; and broke " down

[*p*] At Laterenſis, vir ſanctiſſimus, ſuo chirographo mittit mihi litteras, in eiſque deſperans de ſe, de exercitu, de Lepidi fide, querenſque ſe deſtitutum: in quibus aperte denuntiat, videam ne fallar: ſuam fidem ſolutam eſſe, Reipub. ne deſim.—Ib. 21.

" down the bridges, which he had built upon it, that A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.
" he might have leiſure to draw all his forces together,
" and join them with his Collegue D. BRUTUS, whom he
" expected in three days----that LATERENSIS, whoſe ſin-
" gular fidelity he ſhould ever acknowledge, when he
" found himſelf duped by LEPIDUS, laid violent hands
" upon himſelf; but being interrupted in the act, was
" thought likely to live----he deſires, that OCTAVIUS
" might be ſent to him with his forces; or if he could
" not come in perſon, that his army however might be
" ſent, ſince his intereſt was ſo much concerned in it---
" that as the whole body of the Rebels was now drawn
" into one Camp, they ought to act againſt them with
" the whole force of the Republic, &c. [q]."

THE day after his union with ANTONY, LEPIDUS wrote a ſhort Letter to the Senate, wherein, " he calls the Gods
" and men to witneſs, that he had nothing ſo much at
" heart as the public ſafety and liberty; of which he
" ſhould ſhortly have given them proofs, had not fortune
" prevented him: for that his ſoldiers, by a general mu-
" tiny and ſedition, had plainly forced him to take ſo
" great a multitude of Citizens under his protection. He
" beſeeches them, that laying aſide all their private
" grudges, they would conſult the good of the whole
" Republic; nor in a time of civil diſſenſion treat his
" clemency and that of his army, as criminal and trai-
" terous [r]."

D. BRUTUS on the other hand joined his army with PLANCUS, who acted with him for ſome time with great concord, and the affection of the whole Province on their ſide: which being ſignified in their common Letters to

[q] Ep. fam. x. 23. [r] Ibid. 35. 2

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

Rome, gave great hopes ſtill and courage to all the honeſt there. In a Letter of PLANCUS to CICERO, "you know, "ſays he, I imagine, the ſtate of our forces: in my "Camp, there are three Veteran Legions, with one new, "but the beſt of all others of that ſort: in BRUTUS's, "one Veteran Legion, another of two years ſtanding, "eight of new levies: ſo that our whole army is great in "number, little in ſtrength: for what ſmall dependence "there is on a freſh ſoldier, we have oft experienced to "our coſt. If the *African* troops, which are Veteran, "or CÆSAR's ſhould join us, we ſhould willingly put all "to the hazard of a battel: as I ſaw CÆSAR's to be the "neareſt, ſo I have never ceaſed to preſs him, nor he to "aſſure me, that he would come inſtantly, though I "perceive, that he had no ſuch thought, and is quite gone "off into other meaſures: yet I have ſent our friend "FURNIUS again to him, with Letters and inſtructions, if "he can poſſibly do any good with him. You know, "my dear CICERO, that as to the love of young CÆSAR, "it belongs to me in common with you: for on the ac-"count either of my intimacy with his uncle when alive, "it was neceſſary for me to protect and cheriſh him; or "becauſe he himſelf, as far as I have been able to obſerve, "is of a moſt moderate and gentle diſpoſition; or that "after ſo remarkable a friendſhip with C. CÆSAR, it would "be a ſhame for me, not to love him, even as my own "child, whom he had adopted for his ſon. But what I "now write, I write out of grief, rather than ill will: "that ANTONY now lives; that LEPIDUS is joined with "him; that they have no contemptible army; that they "have hopes, and dare purſue them; is all intirely owing "to CÆSAR. I will not recall what is long ſince paſſed:

"but

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

" but if he had come at the time, when he himſelf de-
" clared that he would, the war would have been either
" now ended, or removed, to their great diſadvantage, into
" *Spain*, a Province utterly averſe to them. What motive,
" or whoſe counſils drew him off from a part ſo glorious,
" nay ſo neceſſary too, and ſalutary to himſelf, and turned
" him ſo abſurdly to the thoughts of *a two months Con-*
" *ſulſhip*, to the terror of all people, I cannot poſſibly
" comprehend. His friends ſeem capable of doing much
" good on this occaſion, both to himſelf and the Re-
" public; and above all others, you; to whom he has
" greater obligations, than any man living, except my-
" ſelf; for I ſhall never forget, that I am indebted to you
" for the greateſt. I have given orders to FURNIUS to
" treat with him on theſe affairs; and if I had as much
" authority with him, as I ought, ſhould do him great
" ſervice. We in the mean time have a very hard part
" to ſuſtain in the war: for we neither think it ſafe to
" venture a battel, nor yet by turning our backs, to give
" the enemy an opportunity of doing greater miſchief to
" the Republic: but if either CÆSAR would regard his
" honor, or the *African* Legions come quickly, we ſhall
" make you all eaſy from this quarter. I beg you to con-
" tinue your affection to me, and aſſure yourſelf, that I
" am ſtrictly yours [*s*]."

UPON the news of LEPIDUS's *union with* ANTONY, the Senate, after ſome little time ſpent in conſidering the effects of it, being encouraged by the concord of D. BRUTUS and PLANCUS, and depending on the fidelity of their united forces, voted LEPIDUS *an enemy, on the thirtieth of* June; *and demoliſhed the gilt ſtatue, which they had lately erected*

[*s*] Ep. fam. x. 24.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

to him; reſerving ſtill a liberty to him and his adherents of returning to their duty by the firſt of September [*t*]. LEPIDUS's wife was M. BRUTUS's ſiſter; by whom he had ſons, whoſe fortunes were neceſſarily ruined by this vote, which confiſcated the Father's eſtate: for which reaſon SERVILIA, their grandmother, and CASSIUS's *wife*, their aunt, ſollicited CICERO very earneſtly, either *that the decree itſelf might not paſs, or that the children ſhould be excepted out of it:* but CICERO could not conſent to oblige them: for ſince the firſt was thought neceſſary, the ſecond followed of courſe: he gave BRUTUS however a particular account of the caſe by Letter.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

"THOUGH I was juſt going to write to you by MESSALA CORVINUS, yet I would not let our friend VETUS "come without a Letter. The Republic, BRUTUS, is now "in the utmoſt danger, and after we had conquered, we "are forced again to fight, by the perfidy and madneſs "of M. LEPIDUS. On which occaſion, when for the care, "with which I have charged myſelf, of the Republic, I had "many things to make me uneaſy, yet nothing vexed me "more, than that I could not yield to the prayers of your "mother and ſiſter; for I imagined, that I ſhould eaſily "ſatisfy you, on which I lay the greateſt ſtreſs. For "LEPIDUS's caſe could not by any means be diſtinguiſhed "from ANTONY's; nay, in all people's judgement, was "even worſe; ſince after he had received the higheſt "honors from the Senate, and but a few days before had "ſent

[*t*] Lepidus tuus affinis, meus familiaris prid. Kal. Quint. ſententiis omnibus hoſtis a Senatu judicatus eſt; cæterique qui una cum illo a Repub. defecerunt: quibus tamen ad ſanitatem redeundi ante Kal. Sept. poteſtas facta eſt. Ep. fam. 12. 10.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

" ſent an excellent Letter to them; on a ſudden, he not " onely received the broken remains of our enemies, but " now wages a moſt cruel war againſt us by land and ſea; " the event of which is wholly uncertain. When we are " deſired therefore to extend mercy to his children, not " a word is ſaid, why, if their Father ſhould conquer, " (which the Gods forbid) we are not to expect the laſt " puniſhment from him. I am not ignorant, how hard " it is, that Children ſhould ſuffer for the crimes of their " Parents: but it was wiſely contrived by the laws, that " the love of their Children ſhould make parents more " affectionate to their Country. Wherefore it is LEPIDUS', " who is cruel to his children, not he, who adjudges LE- " PIDUS an enemy: for if, laying down his arms, he were " to be condemned onely of violence, in which no defence " could be made for him, his children would ſuffer the " ſame calamity by the confiſcation of his eſtate. Yet " what your mother and ſiſter are now ſolliciting againſt, " in favor of the children, the very ſame and much " worſe, LEPIDUS, ANTONY, and our other enemies are " at this very moment threatening to us all. Wherefore " our greateſt hope is in you and your army: it is of the " utmoſt conſequence both to the Republic in general, " and to your honor and glory in particular, that, as I " wrote to you before, you come as ſoon as poſſible into " *Italy*: for the Republic is in great want not onely of " your forces, but of your counſils. I ſerved VETUS with " pleaſure, as you deſired me, for his ſingular benevolence " and duty to you: I found him extremely zealous and " affectionate both to you and the Republic: I ſhall ſee " my Son, I hope, very ſoon; for I depend on his coming " with you quickly to *Italy* [*u*]." BRUTUS,

[*u*] Ad Brut. 12.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

BRUTUS, before he had received this Letter, having heard from other friends, what they were designing at *Rome* againſt LEPIDUS, wrote about the ſame time, and on the ſame ſubject to CICERO.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

" OTHER people's fears oblige me to entertain ſome ap-
" prehenſions myſelf on LEPIDUS's account: if he ſhould
" withdraw himſelf from us, (which will prove, I hope,
" a raſh and injurious ſuſpicion of him) I beg and beſeech
" you, CICERO, conjuring you by our friendſhip and your
" affection to me, to forget, that my Siſter's children are
" LEPIDUS's ſons, and to conſider me in the place of their
" Father. If I obtain this of you, you will not ſcruple, I
" am ſure, to do whatever you can for them. Other
" people live differently with their friends: but I can never
" do enough for my Siſter's children, to ſatisfy either my
" inclination or my duty. But what is there, in which
" honeſt men can oblige me, (if in reality I have deſerved
" to be obliged in any thing) or in which I can be of ſer-
" vice to my mother, ſiſter, and the boys; if their uncle
" BRUTUS has not as much weight with you and the Se-
" nate, to protect, as their Father LEPIDUS, to hurt them?
" I feel ſo much uneaſineſs and indignation, that I neither
" can, nor ought to write more fully to you: for if, in a
" caſe ſo important and ſo neceſſary, there could be any
" occaſion for words, to excite and confirm you, there is
" no hope that you will do what I wiſh, and what is
" proper. Do not expect therefore any long prayers from
" me: conſider onely what I am: and that I ought to
" obtain it; either from CICERO, a man the moſt inti-
" mately united with me; or without regard to our pri-

" vate

"vate friendſhip, from a conſular Senator of ſuch emi- A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.
"nence: pray ſend me word, as ſoon as you can, what
"you reſolve to do. *July* the firſt [*x*]."

CICERO perceiving from this Letter, what he had no notion of before, how great a ſtreſs BRUTUS laid on procuring this favor for his Nephews, prevailed with the Senate to ſuſpend the execution of their act, as far as it related to them, till the times were more ſettled [*y*].

LEPIDUS and ANTONY were no ſooner joined, than a correſpondence was ſet on foot between them and OCTAVIUS; who, from the death of the Conſuls, ſhewed but little regard to the authority of CICERO, or the Senate; and wanted onely a pretence for breaking with them. He waited however awhile, to ſee what became of ANTONY; till finding him received and ſupported by LEPIDUS, he began to think it his beſt ſcheme, to enter into the league with them; and to concur, in what ſeemed to be more peculiarly his own part, the deſign of revenging the death of his Uncle. Inſtead therefore of proſecuting the war any farther, he was perſuaded by his friends, to make a demand of the Conſulſhip, though he was not yet above *twenty years old*. This ſtep ſhocked and terrified the City; not that the Conſulſhip could give him any power, which his army had not already given; but as it indicated a dangerous and unſeaſonable ambition, grounded on a contempt of the laws and the Senate; and above all, raiſed a juſt apprehenſion of ſome attempt againſt the public liberty: ſince, inſtead of leading his army, where it was wanted and deſired, againſt their enemies abroad, he choſe to march

[*x*] Ibid. 13.
[*y*] Sororis tuæ filiis quam diligenter conſulam, ſpero te ex matris & ex ſororis litteris cogniturum, &c. ib. 15. it. 18.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

march with it towards *Rome*, as if he intended to ſubdue the Republic itſelf.

THERE was a report ſpread in the mean while through the Empire, that CICERO *was choſen Conſul*: BRUTUS, mentioning it in a Letter to him, ſays, *if I ſhould ever ſee that day, I ſhall then begin to figure to myſelf the true form of a Republic, ſubſiſting by it's own ſtrength* [z]. It is certain, that he might have been declared Conſul, by the unanimous ſuffrage of the people, if he had deſired it; but in times of ſuch violence, the title of ſupreme Magiſtrate without a real power to ſupport it, would have expoſed him onely to more immediate danger and inſults from the ſoldiers; *whoſe faſtidious inſolence in their demands*, was grown, as he complains, inſupportable [a]. Some old writers ſay, what the moderns take implicitly from them, that he was duped, and drawn in by OCTAVIUS, to favor his pretenſions to the Conſulſhip, by the hopes of being made his Collegue, and governing him in the office [b]. But the contrary is evident from ſeveral of his Letters; and that of all men, he was the moſt averſe to OCTAVIUS's deſign, and the moſt active in diſſuading him from purſuing it. Writing upon it to BRUTUS; "as to "CÆSAR, ſays he, who has been governed hitherto by "my advice, and is indeed of an excellent diſpoſition, "and wonderfull firmneſs, ſome people, by moſt wicked "Letters, meſſages, and fallacious accounts of things, have "puſhed him to an aſſured hope of the Conſulſhip: as "ſoon as I perceived it, I never ceaſed admoniſhing him "in abſence, nor reproaching his friends, who are preſent, "and

[z] His litteris ſcriptis, te Conſulem factum audivimus; tum vero incipiam proponere mihi Rempub. juſtam & jam ſuis nitentem viribus, ſi iſthuc videro. Ad Brut. 4.

[a] Illudimur, Brute, cum militum deliciis, tum Imperatoris inſolentia. Ib. 10.

[b] Plutar. in Cic.

" and who ſeem to encourage his ambition: nor did I
" ſcruple to lay open the ſource of thoſe traiterous counſils
" in the Senate: nor do I ever remember the Senate or
" the Magiſtrates to have behaved better on any occaſion:
" for it never happened before, in voting an extraordi-
" nary honor to a powerfull, or rather moſt powerfull
" man, (ſince power is now meaſured by force and arms)
" that no Tribun, or any other Magiſtrate, nor ſo much
" as a private Senator would move for it: yet in the midſt
" of all this firmneſs and virtue, the City is greatly alarmed:
" for we are abuſed, BRUTUS, both by the licentiouſneſs
" of the ſoldiers, and the inſolence of the General. Every
" one demands, to have as much power in the ſtate, as he
" has means to extort it: no reaſon, no moderation, no Law,
" no cuſtom, no duty is at all regarded; no judgement or
" opinion of the Citizens; no ſhame of poſterity; &c. [c]."

WHAT CICERO ſays in this Letter, is very remarkable, *that in all this heigth of young* CÆSAR's *power, there was not a Magiſtrate, nor ſo much as a ſingle Senator, who would move for the decree of his Conſulſhip:* the demand of it therefore was made by *a deputation of his Officers*; and when the Senate received it more coldly than they expected, CORNELIUS, *a Centurion, throwing back his robe and ſhewing them his ſword, boldly declared, that if they would not make him Conſul, that ſhould.* But OCTAVIUS himſelf ſoon put an end to their ſcruples, *by marching with his Legions in an hoſtile manner to the City* [d]; *where he was choſen*

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS, Q. PEDIUS.

[c] Ad Brut. 10.

[d] Conſulatum vigeſimo ætatis anno invaſit, admotis hoſtiliter ad urbem legionibus, miſſiſque, qui ſibi exercitus nomine depoſcerent. Cum quidem cunctante Senatu, Cornelius Centurio, princeps legationis, rejecto ſagulo, oſtendens gladii capulum, non dubitaſſet in curia dicere; hic faciet, ſi vos non feceritis. Sueton. Aug. c. 26.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius,

Conſul with Q. Pedius, *his Kinſman*, and coheir in part of his Uncle's eſtate, in the month of *Sextilis*; which, on the account of this fortunate beginning of his honors, was called afterwards, from his own ſurname, *Auguſtus* [e].

The firſt act of his Magiſtracy was, to ſecure all the public money, which he found in *Rome*, and make a dividend of it to his ſoldiers. He complained loudly of the Senate, "that inſtead of paying his army the rewards, "which they had decreed to them, they were contriving "to haraſs them with perpetual toils, and to engage them "in freſh wars againſt Lepidus and Antony: and likewiſe, that in the commiſſion granted to ten Senators, "to provide lands for the Legions after the war, they had "not named him [f]." But there was no juſt ground for any ſuch complaints; for thoſe rewards were not decreed, nor intended to be diſtributed, till the war was quite ended; and the leaving Cæsar out of the commiſſion, was not from any particular ſlight, but a general exception of all, *who had the command of armies*, as improper to be employed in ſuch a charge; though Cicero indeed was of a different opinion, *and preſſed for their being taken in.* D. Brutus and Plancus were excluded as well as Cæsar; and both of them ſeem likewiſe to have been diſguſted at it; ſo that Cicero, who was one of the number, in order to retrieve the imprudence of a ſtep, which gave ſuch offence, *would not ſuffer his Collegues to do any thing of moment, but reſerved the whole affair to the arrival of* Cæsar *and the reſt* [g].

But

[e] Sextilem menſem e ſuo cognomine nominavit, magis quam Septembrem, in quo erat natus, quia hoc ſibi & primus Conſulatus, &c. Suet. Aug. 31.

[f] Appian. 3. 581.

[g] Cum ego ſenſiſſem, de iis qui exercitus haberent, ſententiam ferri oportere, iidem illi, qui ſolent, reclamarunt. Itaque excepti etiam eſtis, me vehementer repugnante—itaque cum quidam de Collegis noſtris agrariam curationem ligurirent, diſturbavi rem, totamque integram vobis reſervavi. Ep. fam. xi. 21. it. 20, 23.

A. Urb. 710. Coſſ. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

But Cæsar, being now wholly bent on changing ſides and meaſures, was glad to catch at every occaſion of quarrelling with the Senate: he charged them, *with calling him a boy, and treating him as ſuch* [*h*]; and found a pretext alſo againſt Cicero himſelf, whom, after all the ſervices received from him, his preſent views obliged him to abandon: for ſome buſy informers had told him, *that* Cicero *had ſpoken of him in certain ambiguous terms, which carried a double meaning, either of advancing, or taking him off*----which Octavius was deſirous to have reported every where, and believed in the worſt ſenſe. D. Brutus gave Cicero the firſt notice of it in the following Letter.

D. Brutus, Emperor, Conſul Elect to M. T. Cicero.

" What I do not feel on my own account, my love " and obligations to you make me feel on yours; that is, " fear. For after I had been often told, what I did not " wholly ſlight, Labeo Segulius, a man always like " himſelf, juſt now informs me, that he has been with " Cæsar, where there was much diſcourſe on you: that " Cæsar himſelf had no other complaint againſt you, but " for a certain ſaying, which he declared to have been " ſpoken by you; *that the young man was to be praiſed,* " *adorned, taken off* [*i*]; but he would not be ſo ſilly, he ſaid, " as to put it into any man's power, *to take him off*. This, " I dare ſay, was firſt carried to him, or forged by Segu- " lius himſelf, and did not come from the young man. " Segulius had a mind likewiſe to perſuade me, that the " Veterans talk moſt angrily againſt you; and that you " are in danger from them; and that the chief cauſe of

[*h*] Dio. l. 46. 318. Suet. Aug. 12.

[*i*] Laudandum adoleſcentem, ornandum, *tollendum*. Which laſt word ſignifies, either to *raiſe to honors*, or *take away life*.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

"their anger is, becauſe neither Cæsar nor I am in the "commiſſion of the ten, but all things tranſacted by your "will and pleaſure: upon hearing this, though I was then "upon my march, I did not think it proper to paſs the "*Alps*, till I could firſt learn, how matters were going "amongſt you, &c. [*k*]."

To this Cicero anſwered.

"The Gods confound that Segulius, the greateſt "knave, that is, or was, or ever will be. What? do you "imagine, that he told his ſtory onely to you, and to "Cæsar? he told the ſame to every ſoul, that he could "ſpeak with: I love you, however, my Brutus, as I "ought, for acquainting me with it, how trifling ſoever "it be: 'tis a ſure ſign of your affection. For as to what "Segulius ſays, of the complaint of the Veterans, becauſe "you and Cæsar were not in the Commiſſion: I wiſh, "that I was not in it myſelf; for what can be more trou-"bleſom? but when I propoſed, that thoſe, who had the "command of armies, ſhould be included in it; the ſame "men, who uſed to oppoſe every thing, remonſtrated "againſt it; ſo that you were excepted, wholly againſt "my vote and opinion, &c. [*l*]."

As for the ſtory of *the words*, he treats it, we ſee, as too contemptible to deſerve an apology, or the pains of diſ-claming it: and it ſeems indeed incredible, that a man of his prudence could ever ſay them. If he had harboured ſuch a thought, or had been tempted on any occaſion to throw out ſuch a hint, we might have expected to find it in his Letters to Brutus; yet on the contrary, he ſpeaks always of Octavius, in terms highly advantageous, even where he was likely to give diſguſt by it. But nothing was more

[*k*] Ep. fam. xi. 20. [*l*] Ibid. 21.

more common, than to have *ſayings* forged for *his*, which he had never ſpoken; and this was one of that ſort; contrived to inſtill a jealouſy into OCTAVIUS, or to give him a handle at leaſt for breaking with CICERO, which, in his preſent circumſtances, he was glad to lay hold of: and when the ſtory was once become public, and ſuppoſed to have gained credit with OCTAVIUS, it is not ſtrange to find it taken up by the writers of the following ages, VELLEIUS and SUETONIUS; though not without an intimation from the latter of it's ſuſpected credit [*m*].

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS, Q. PEDIUS.

WHILE the City was in the utmoſt conſternation on CÆSAR's approach with his army, *two Veteran Legions from* Afric happened to arrive in the *Tiber*, and were received as a ſuccour ſent to them from heaven: but this joy laſted not long; for preſently after their landing, being corrupted by the other ſoldiers, they deſerted the Senate, who ſent for them, and joined themſelves to CÆSAR. POLLIO likewiſe, about the ſame time, with *two of his beſt Legions from* Spain, came to the aſſiſtance of ANTONY and LEPIDUS: ſo that all the Veterans of the weſtern part of the Empire were now plainly forming themſelves into one body, to revenge the death of their old General. The conſent of all theſe armies, and the unexpected turn of ANTONY's affairs, ſtaggered the fidelity of PLANCUS, and induced him alſo at laſt, to deſert his Collegue D. BRUTUS, with whom he had hitherto acted with much ſeeming concord: POLLIO made his peace, and good terms for him with ANTONY and LEPIDUS; and ſoon after brought him over to their Camp with all his troops.

D. BRUTUS being thus abandoned and left to ſhift for himſelf, with a needy, mutinous army; eager to deſert, and

[*m*] Vell. Pat. 2. 62. Sueton. Aug. c. 12.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

and ready to give him up to his enemies; had no other way to ſave himſelf, than by flying to his name-ſake in *Macedonia*: but the diſtance was ſo great, and the country ſo guarded, that he was often forced to change his road, for fear of being taken; till having diſmiſſed all his attendants, and wandered for ſome time alone in diſguiſe and diſtreſs, he committed himſelf to the protection of an old acquaintance and hoſt, whom he had formerly obliged; where, either through treachery or accident, he was ſurprized by Antony's ſoldiers, who immediately killed him, and returned with his head to their General [*n*].

Several of the old writers have reproached his memory with a ſhamefull cowardice in the manner of ſuffering his death; unworthy of the man, who had killed Cæsar, and commanded armies. But their accounts are ſo various, and ſo inconſiſtent with the character of his former life, that we may reaſonably ſuſpect them to be forged by thoſe, who were diſpoſed to throw all kinds of contumely *on the murtherers of* Cæsar [*o*].

But what gave the greateſt ſhock to the whole Republican party, was a law contrived by Cæsar, and publiſhed by his Collegue Pedius, *to bring to trial and juſtice all thoſe, who had been concerned, either in adviſing, or effecting* Cæsar's *death*: in conſequence of which, all the conſpirators were preſently impeached in form by different accuſers; and as none of them ventured to appear to their citations, they were all condemned of courſe; and by a ſecond law *interdicted from fire and water*: Pompey alſo, though he had born no part in that act, was added to the number, as an irreconcileable enemy to *the Cæſarian cauſe*: after

[*n*] Vell. Pat. 2. 64. App. l. 3. 588. [*o*] Senec. Ep. 82. 543. Dio. l. 46. 325. Val. Max. 9. 13.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

after which, Cæsar, to make amends for the unpopularity of his law, diſtributed to the Citizens *the Legacies, which his Uncle had left them by will* [*p*].

Cicero foreſaw, that things might poſſibly take this turn, and Plancus himſelf prove treacherous; and for that reaſon was conſtantly preſſing Brutus and Cassius *to haſten to* Italy, as the moſt effectual means to prevent it: every ſtep, that Cæsar took, confirmed his apprehenſions, and made him more importunate with them to come, eſpecially after the union of Antony and Lepidus. In his Letters to Brutus, "fly to us, ſays he, I beſeech "you, and exhort Cassius to the ſame; for there is no "hope of liberty but from your troops [*q*]. If you have "any regard for the Republic, for which you were born, "you muſt do it inſtantly; for the war is renewed by the "inconſtancy of Lepidus; and Cæsar's army, which was "the beſt, is not onely of no ſervice to us, but even obliges "us to call for yours: as ſoon as ever you touch *Italy*, "there is not a man, whom we can call a Citizen, who "will not immediately be in your Camp. We have "D. Brutus indeed happily united with Plancus: but "you are not ignorant, how changeable men's minds are, "and how infected with party, and how uncertain the events "of war: nay, ſhould we conquer, as I hope we ſhall, "there will be a want of your advice and authority to "ſettle all affairs. Help us therefore for God's ſake; "and as ſoon as poſſible; and aſſure yourſelf, that you "did not do a greater ſervice to your country on *the Ides* "of *March*, when you freed it from ſlavery, than you "will do by coming quickly [*r*]." After

[*p*] App. l. 3. 586. Dio. 46. 322.

[*q*] Quamobrem advola, obſecro—hortare idem per litteras Caſſium. Spes libertatis nuſquam niſi in veſtrorum caſtrorum principiis eſt. Ad Brut. 10.

[*r*] Subveni igitur, per Deos, idque quam primum; tibique perſuade, non te *Idibus Martiis*, quibus ſervitutem a tuis civibus repuliſti, plus profuiſſe patriæ, quam, ſi mature veneris, profuturum. Ib. 14.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

After many remonſtrances of the ſame kind, he wrote alſo the following Letter.

Cicero to Brutus.

" After I had often exhorted you by Letters, to come " as ſoon as poſſible to the relief of the Republic, and " bring your army into *Italy*, and never imagined, that " your own people had any ſcruples about it; I was de- " ſired by that moſt prudent and diligent woman, your " Mother, all whoſe thoughts and cares are employed on " you, that I would come to her on the twenty fourth of " *July*; which I did, as I ought, without delay. When " I came, I found Casca, Labeo, and Scaptius with " her. She preſently entered into the affair, and aſked " my opinion, whether we ſhould ſend for you to *Italy*; " and whether I thought it beſt for you to come, or to " continue abroad. I declared, what I took to be the " moſt for your honor and reputation, that without loſs " of time you ſhould bring preſent help to the tottering " and declining ſtate. For what miſchief may not one " expect from that war, where the conquering armies re- " fuſed to purſue a flying enemy? where a General un- " hurt, unprovoked, poſſeſſed of the higheſt honors, and " the greateſt fortunes, with a wife, children, and near " relation to you, has declared war againſt the Common- " wealth? I may add, where in ſo great a concord of " the Senate and People, there reſides ſtill ſo much diſ- " order within the walls? but the greateſt grief, which I " feel, while I am now writing, is to reflect, that when " the Republic had taken my word for *a youth*, or rather " *a boy*, I ſhall hardly have it in my power, to make good " what I promiſed for him. For it is a thing of much

" greater

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

" greater delicacy and moment, to engage oneſelf for an-
" other's ſentiments and principles, eſpecially in affairs of
" importance, than for money: for money may be paid,
" and the loſs itſelf be tolerable: but how can you
" pay what you are engaged for to the Republic, unleſs
" he, for whom you ſtand engaged, will ſuffer it to be
" paid? yet I am ſtill in hopes to hold him; though
" many are plucking him away from me: for his diſpo-
" ſition ſeems good, though his age be flexible; and many
" always at hand to corrupt him; who, by throwing in
" his way the ſplendor of falſe honor, think themſelves
" ſure of dazzling his good ſenſe and underſtanding.
" Wherefore to all my other labors this new one is added,
" of ſetting all engines at work to hold faſt the young
" man, leſt I incur the imputation of raſhneſs. Though
" what raſhneſs is it after all? for in reality, I bound
" him, for whom I was engaged, more ſtrongly than
" myſelf: nor has the Republic as yet any cauſe to
" repent, that I was his ſponſor: ſince he has hitherto
" been the more firm and conſtant in acting for us, as well
" from his own temper, as for my promiſe. The greateſt
" difficulty in the Republic, if I miſtake not, is the want
" of money: for honeſt men grow every day more and
" more averſe to the name of Tribute; and what was
" gathered from the hundredth penny, where the rich
" are ſhamefully rated, is all ſpent in rewarding the two
" Legions. There is an infinite expence upon us, to ſup-
" port the armies, which now defend us; and alſo yours;
" for our Cassius ſeems likely to come ſufficiently pro-
" vided. But I long to talk over this, and many other
" things with you in perſon; and that quickly. As to
" your ſiſter's children, I did not wait, Brutus, for your

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Cæſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

" writing to me: the times themſelves, ſince the war will
" be drawn into length, reſerve the whole affair to you:
" but from the firſt, when I could not foreſee the con-
" tinuance of the war, I pleaded the cauſe of the Children
" in the Senate, in a manner, which you have been in-
" formed of, I gueſs, by your mother's Letters: nor can
" there ever be any caſe, where I will not both ſay and
" do, even at the hazard of my life, whatever I think
" agreeable either to your inclination, or to your intereſt.
" The twenty ſixth of *July* [*s*]."

In a Letter likewiſe to Cassius, he ſays, " we wiſh to
" ſee you in *Italy*, as ſoon as poſſible; and ſhall imagine,
" that we have recovered the Republic, when we have you
" with us. We had conquered nobly, if Lepidus had not
" received the routed, diſarmed, fugitive, Antony:
" wherefore Antony himſelf was never ſo odious to the
" City, as Lepidus is now: for he began a war upon us
" from a turbulent ſtate of things; this man from peace
" and victory. We have the Conſuls elect to oppoſe him:
" in whom indeed we have great hopes; yet not with-
" out an anxious care for the uncertain events of battels.
" Aſſure yourſelf therefore, that all our dependence is on
" you, and your Brutus; that you are both expected,
" but Brutus immediately, *&c.* [*t*]."

But after all theſe repeated remonſtrances of Cicero, neither Brutus nor Cassius ſeem to have entertained the leaſt thought of coming with their armies to *Italy*. Cassius indeed, by being more remote, could not come ſo readily, and was not ſo much expected as Brutus; who, before the battel of *Modena*, had drawn down all his legions to the ſea coaſt, and kept them at *Apollonia* and *Dyrrhachium*,

[*s*] Ad Brut. 18. [*t*] Ep. fam. 12. 10.

Dyrrhachium, waiting the event of that action, and ready to embark for *Italy*, if any accident had made his aſſiſtance neceſſary; for which CICERO highly commends him [*u*]. But upon the news of ANTONY's defeat, taking all the danger to be over, he marched away directly to the remoteſt parts of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, to oppoſe the attempts of DOLABELLA; and from that time ſeemed deaf to the call of the Senate, and to all CICERO's letters, which urged him ſo ſtrongly to come to their relief. It is difficult at this diſtance to penetrate the motives of his conduct: he had a better opinion of LEPIDUS, than the reſt of his party had; and being naturally poſitive, might affect to ſlight the apprehenſions of LEPIDUS's treachery, which was the chief ground of their calling ſo earneſtly for him. But he had other reaſons alſo, which were thought to be good; ſince ſome of his friends at *Rome*, as we may collect from CICERO's Letter, were of a different mind from CICERO, on the ſubject of his coming. They might ſuſpect the fidelity of his troops; and that they were not ſufficiently confirmed and attached to him, to be truſted in the field againſt the Veterans in *Italy*; whoſe example and invitation, when they came to face each other, might poſſibly induce them to deſert, as the other armies had done, and betray their commanders. But whatever was their real motive, D. BRUTUS, who was the beſt judge of the ſtate of things at home, was intirely of CICERO's opinion: he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded with Veteran armies, diſaffected to the cauſe of liberty; knew the perfidy of LEPIDUS; the ambition of young CÆSAR; and the irreſolution of his Collegue PLANCUS; and admoniſhed CICERO therefore in

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS, Q. PEDIUS.

[*u*] Tuum conſilium vehementer laudo, quod non prius exercitum Apollonia Dyrrhachioque moviſti, quam de Antonii fuga audiſti, Bruti eruptione, populi Romani victoria. Ad Brut. 2.

A. Urb. 711. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

all his Letters, to urge his nameſake to haſten his march to them [x]. So that on the whole, it ſeems reaſonable to believe, that if Brutus and Cassius had marched with their armies towards *Italy*, at the time when Cicero firſt preſſed it, before the defection of Plancus, and the death of Decimus, it muſt have prevented the immediate ruin of the Republic.

The want of money, of which Cicero complains at this time, as the greateſt evil that they had to ſtruggle with, is expreſſed alſo very ſtrongly in another Letter to Cornificius, the Proconſul of *Afric*, who was urging him to provide a fund for the ſupport of his Legions: "As to the expence, ſays he, which you have made, and "are making in your military preparations, it is not in "my power to help you; becauſe the Senate is now with-"out a head, by the death of the Conſuls, and there is "an incredible ſcarcity of money in the treaſury; which "we are gathering however from all quarters, to make "good our promiſes to the troops, that have deſerved it "of us; which cannot be done in my opinion without "a tribute [y]." This tribute was a ſort of capitation tax, proportioned to each man's ſubſtance, but had been wholly diſuſed in *Rome*, from the conqueſt of *Macedonia by* Paulus Æmilius, which furniſhed money and rents ſufficient to eaſe the City ever after of that burthen, till the neceſſity of the preſent times obliged them to renew it [z]. But from what Cicero intimates of the general averſion to

[x] De Bruto autem nihil adhuc certi. Quem ego, quemadmodum præcipis, privatis litteris ad bellum commune vocare non deſino, Ep. fam. xi. 25. it. 26.

[y] De ſumtu, quem te in rem militarem facere & feciſſe dicis, nihil ſane poſſum tibi opitulari, propterea quod & orbus Senatus, Conſulibus amiſſis, & incredibiles anguſtiæ pecuniæ publicæ, &c. Ep. fam. 12. 30.

[z] At Perſe Rege devicto Paullus, eum Macedonicis opibus veterem atque hereditariam Urbis noſtræ paupertatem eo uſque ſatiaſſet, ut illo tempore primum populus Romanus tributi præſtandi onere ſe liberaret.—Val. Max. 4. 3. it. Plin. Hiſt. N. 33. 3.

to the revival of it, one cannot help obſerving the fatal effects of that indolence and luxury, which had infected even the honeſt part of *Rome*; who, in this utmoſt exigency of the Republic, were ſhocked at the very mention of an extraordinary tax; and would not part with the leaſt ſhare of their money, for the defence even of their liberty: the conſequence of which was, what it muſt always be in the like caſe, that by ſtarving the cauſe, they found not onely their fortunes, but their lives alſo ſoon after at the mercy of their enemies. CICERO has a reflection in one of his ſpeeches, that ſeems applicable alſo to the preſent caſe, and to be verified by the example of theſe times. "The Republic, ſays he, is attacked always with greater "vigor, than it is defended: for the audacious and pro- "fligate, prompted by their natural enmity to it, are "eaſily impelled to act upon the leaſt nod of their leaders: "whereas the honeſt, I know not why, are generally ſlow, "and unwilling to ſtir; and neglecting always the begin- "nings of things, are never rouſed to exert themſelves, "but by the laſt neceſſity: ſo that through irreſolution "and delay, when they would be glad to compound at "laſt for their quiet, at the expence even of their honor, "they commonly loſe them both [*a*]."

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS, Q. PEDIUS.

THIS obſervation will ſerve to vindicate the conduct of CASSIUS, from that charge of violence and cruelty, which he is ſaid to have practiſed, in exacting money and other neceſſaries from the Cities of *Aſia*. He was engaged in an inexpiable war, where he muſt either conquer, or periſh with the Republic itſelf; and where his Legions were not onely to be ſupported, but rewarded: the revenues of the Empire were exhauſted; contributions came in ſparingly; and the

[*a*] Pro Sextio. 47.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

the ſtates abroad were all deſirous to ſtand neuter; as doubtfull of the iſſue, and unwilling to offend either ſide. Under theſe difficulties, where money was neceſſary, and no way of procuring it but force, extortion became lawfull; the neceſſity of the end juſtified the means; and when the ſafety of the Empire, and the liberty of *Rome* were at ſtake, it was no time to liſten to ſcruples. This was Cassius's way of reaſoning, and the ground of his acting; who applied all his thoughts to ſupport the cauſe, that he had undertaken; and kept his eyes, as Appian ſays, *wholly fixt upon the war, as a Gladiator upon his Antagoniſt* [*b*].

Brutus, on the other hand, being of a temper more mild and ſcrupulous, contented himſelf generally with the regular methods of raiſing money; and from his love of Philoſophy, and the politer ſtudies, having contracted an affection for the Cities of *Greece*, inſtead of levying contributions, uſed to divert himſelf, where-ever he paſſed, with ſeeing *their games and exerciſes, and preſiding at their philoſophical diſputations*; as if travelling rather for curioſity, than to provide materials for a bloody war [*c*]. When he and Cassius therefore met, the difference of their circumſtances ſhewed the different effects of their conduct. Cassius, without receiving a penny from *Rome*, came rich and amply furniſhed with all the ſtores of war; Brutus, who had received large remittances from *Italy*, came empty and poor, and unable to ſupport himſelf without the help of Cassius; who was forced to give him a third part

[*b*] ὁ μὲν Κάσσιος ἀμέλαςρεπῶς, καθάπερ ἐς τὸν ἀγωνις ὴν οἱ μονομαχῆνλες, ἐς μόνον τὸν πόλεμον ἀφεώρα. App. l. 4. 667.

[*c*] ὁ δὲ Βρῦτος, ὅπη γίγνοῖτο, καὶ φιλοθεάμων ἦν καὶ φιλήκοος, ἄλε καὶ φιλοσοφήσας ἐκ ἀγεννῶς. Ibid.

part of that treaſure, which he had been gathering with ſo much envy to himſelf for the common ſervice [*d*]. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

While Cicero was taking all this pains, and ſtruggling thus glorioufly in the ſupport of their expiring liberty, Brutus, who was naturally peeviſh and querulous, being particularly chagrined by the unhappy turn of affairs in *Italy*, and judging of counſils by events, was diſpoſed at laſt to throw all the blame upon him; charging him chiefly, *that, by a profuſion of honors on young* Cæsar, he had inſpired him with an ambition, incompatible with the ſafety of the Republic, and armed him with that power, which he was now employing to oppreſs it: whereas the truth is, that by thoſe honors Cicero did not intend to give Cæsar any new power, but to apply that, which he had acquired by his own vigor, to the public ſervice and the ruin of Antony: in which he ſucceeded even beyond expectation; and would certainly have gained his end, had he not been prevented by accidents, which could not be foreſeen. For it is evident from the facts above mentioned, that he was always jealous of Cæsar, and inſtead of increaſing, was contriving ſome check to his authority, till by the death of the Conſuls, he ſlipt out of his hands, and became too ſtrong to be managed by him any longer. Brutus, by being at ſuch a diſtance, was not well apprized of the particular grounds of granting thoſe honors; but Decimus, who was all the while in *Italy*, ſaw the uſe and neceſſity of them, and ſeems to hint in ſome of his Letters, *that they ought to have decreed ſtill greater* [*e*].

But whatever Brutus, or any one elſe may have ſaid, if we reflect on Cicero's conduct, from the time of Cæ-

SAR'S

[*d*] Plutarch. in Bruto.

[*e*] Mirabiliter, mi Brute, lætor, mea conſilia, meaſque ſententias a te probari, de Decemviris, de ornando adoleſcente. Ep. fam. xi. 14. it. 20.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

SAR's death to his own, we ſhall find it in all reſpects uniform, great and glorious; never deviating from the grand point, which he had in view, the liberty of his country: whereas, if we attend to BRUTUS's, we cannot help obſerving in it, ſomething ſtrangely various and inconſiſtent with itſelf. In his outward manners and behaviour, he affected the rigor of a Stoic, and the ſeverity of an old *Roman*; yet by a natural tenderneſs and compaſſion, was oft betrayed into acts of an effeminate weakneſs. To reſtore the liberty of his country, he killed his Friend and Benefactor; and declares, that for the ſame cauſe *he would have killed even his Father* [*f*]: yet he would not take ANTONY's life, though it was a neceſſary ſacrifice to the ſame cauſe. When DOLABELLA *had baſely murthered* TREBONIUS, *and* ANTONY openly approved the act, he could not be perſuaded to make repriſals on C. ANTONY; but through a vain oſtentation of clemency, ſuffered him to live, though with danger to himſelf. When his brother in law LEPIDUS *was declared an enemy*, he expreſſed an abſurd and peeviſh reſentment of it, for the ſake of his nephews; as if it would not have been in his power to have repaired their fortunes, if the Republic was ever reſtored; or if not, in their Father's. How contrary is this to the ſpirit of that old BRUTUS, from whom he derived his deſcent, and whom in his general conduct he pretended to imitate? He blames CICERO for *diſpenſing honors too largely*, yet claims an infinite ſhare of them to himſelf; and when he had ſeized by his private authority, what the Senate, at CICERO's motion, confirmed to him, the moſt extraordinary command, which had been granted to any man; he declares himſelf

[*f*] ——Non conceſſerim, quod in illo non tuli, ſed *ne patri quidem meo*, ſi reviviſcat, ut, patiente me, plus legibus ac Senatu poſſit. [ad Brut. 16.] ſed dominum, ne *parentem* quidem, majores noſtri voluerunt eſſe. [ib. 17.]

himſelf *an enemy to all extraordinary Commiſſions*, in what hands ſoever they were lodged [*g*]: this inconſiſtency in his character would tempt us to believe, that he was governed in many caſes by the pride and haughtineſs of his temper, rather than by any conſtant and ſettled principles of Philoſophy, of which he is commonly thought ſo ſtrict an obſerver.

A. Urb. 710. Coſſ. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

Cicero however, notwithſtanding the peeviſhneſs of Brutus, omitted no opportunity of ſerving and ſupporting him to the very laſt: as ſoon as he perceived Cæsar's intention of revenging his Uncle's death, he took all imaginable pains to diſſuade him from it, and never ceaſed from exhorting him by Letters to a reconciliation with Brutus, and the obſervance of that *amneſty*, which the Senate had decreed, as the foundation of the public peace. This was certainly the beſt ſervice, which he could do, either to Brutus, or the Republic; and Atticus imagining, that Brutus would be pleaſed with it, ſent him a copy of what Cicero had written on that ſubject: but inſtead of pleaſing, it provoked Brutus onely the more: he treated it as baſe and diſhonorable, to aſk any thing of a boy, or to imagine the ſafety of Brutus, to depend on any one but himſelf: and ſignified his mind upon it, both to Cicero and Atticus in ſuch a ſtile, as confirms what Cicero had long before obſerved, and more than once declared of him, *that his Letters were generally churliſh, unmannerly and arrogant; and that he regarded neither what, or to whom he was writing* [*h*]. But their own Letters to each other will be the beſt vouchers of what I have been remarking, and enable us to form the ſureſt judge-

[*g*] Ego certe—cum ipſa re bellum geram, hoc eſt cum regno, & imperiis extraordinariis & dominatione & potentia.—Ad Brut. 17.

[*h*] Ad Att. 6. 1; 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

ment of the different ſpirit and conduct of the men. After Brutus therefore had frequently intimated his diſſatisfaction and diſlike of Cicero's management, Cicero took occaſion, in the following Letter, to lay open the whole progreſs of it, from the time of Cæsar's death, in order to ſhew the reaſonableneſs and neceſſity of each ſtep.

Cicero to Brutus.

" You have Messala now with you. It is not poſ-
" ſible therefore for me to explane by Letter, though ever
" ſo accurately drawn, the preſent ſtate of our affairs ſo
" exactly as he, who not onely knows them all more per-
" fectly, but can deſcribe them more elegantly than any
" man: for I would not have you imagine, Brutus,
" (though there is no occaſion to tell you, what you know
" already yourſelf, but that I cannot paſs over in ſilence
" ſuch an excellence of all good qualities:) I would not
" have you imagine, I ſay, that for probity, conſtancy,
" and zeal for the Republic, there is any one equal to
" him; ſo that eloquence, in which he wonderfully ex-
" cells, ſcarce finds a place among his other praiſes:
" ſince even in that, his wiſdom ſhines the moſt eminent,
" by his having formed himſelf with ſo much judgement
" and ſkill to the trueſt manner of ſpeaking. Yet his
" induſtry all the while is ſo remarkable, and he ſpends
" ſo much of his time in ſtudy, that he ſeems to owe
" but little to his parts, which ſtill are the greateſt. But
" I am carried too far by my love for him: for it is not
" the purpoſe of this Epiſtle to praiſe Messala, eſpecially
" to Brutus, to whom his virtue is not leſs known, than
" to myſelf; and theſe very ſtudies, which I am praiſ-
" ing, ſtill more: whom when I could not part with
" without

" without regret, I comforted myſelf with reflecting, that A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.
" by his going away to you, as it were, to my ſecond ſelf,
" he both diſcharged his duty, and purſued the ſureſt
" path to glory. But ſo much for that [*i*]. I come
" now, after a long interval, to conſider a certain Letter
" of yours, in which, while you allow me to have done
" well in many things, you find fault with me for one;
" that in conferring honors, I was too free, and even pro-
" digal. You charge me with this; others probably, with
" being too ſevere in puniſhing, or you yourſelf perhaps
" with both: if ſo, I deſire, that my judgement and ſen-
" timents on each may be clearly explaned to you: not,
" that I mean to juſtify myſelf by the authority of Solon,
" the wiſeſt of the ſeven, and the onely Legiſlator of
" them all; who uſed to ſay, that the public weal was

[*i*] Publius Valerius Messala Corvinus, of whom Cicero here gives ſo fine a character, was one of the nobleſt as well as the moſt accompliſhed perſons of his age, who lived long afterwards the general favorite of all parties, and a principal ornament of Augustus's court. Being in arms with Brutus, he was proſcribed of courſe by *the Triumvirate*, yet was excepted ſoon after by a ſpecial edict; but refuſed the benefit of that grace, and adhered to the cauſe of liberty, till he ſaw it expire with his friend. After the battel of *Philippi*, the troops, that remained, freely offered themſelves to his command; but he choſe to accept peace, to which he was invited by the Conquerors, and ſurrendered himſelf to Antony, with whom he had a particular acquaintance. When Cæsar was defeated not long after by S. Pompey on the coaſt of *Sicily*, being in the utmoſt diſtreſs and danger of life, he committed himſelf with one domeſtic to the fidelity of Messala; who inſtead of revenging himſelf on one, who had ſo lately proſcribed and ſet a price upon his head, generouſly protected and preſerved him. He continued ſtill in the friendſhip of Antony, till the ſcandal of Antony's life, and ſlaviſh obſequiouſneſs to Cleopatra, threw him wholly into the intereſts of Cæsar, by whom he was declared Conſul in Antony's place, greatly intruſted in the battel of *Actium*; and honored at laſt with a Triumph, for reducing the rebellious *Gauls* to their obedience. He is celebrated by all writers, as one of the firſt Orators of *Rome*; and having been the diſciple of Cicero, was thought by ſome to excell even his maſter, in the ſweetneſs and correctneſs of his ſtile; preſerving always a dignity, and demonſtrating his nobility, by the very manner of his ſpeaking. To the perfection of his eloquence he had added all the accompliſhments of the other liberal arts; was a great admirer of Socrates, and the ſeverer ſtudies of Philoſophy, yet an eminent Patron of all the Wits and Poets of thoſe times. Tibullus was the conſtant companion of all his foreign expeditions, which he celebrates in his Elegies; and Horace, in one of his odes, calls for his choiceſt wines, for the entertainment of ſo noble a gueſt. Yet this polite and amiable man, impaired by ſickneſs, and worn out at laſt by age, is ſaid to have outlived his ſenſes and memory, till he had forgotten even his very name. See App. p. 611, 736. Tacit. Dial. 18. Quintil. x. 1. Tibull. Eleg. lib. 1. 7. Hor. Carm. 3. 21. Plin. Hiſt. N. 7. 24.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

" comprized in two things, *rewards and puniſhments*;
" in which however, as in every thing elſe, a certain me-
" dium and temperament is to be obſerved. But it is not
" my deſign at this time to diſcuſs ſo great a ſubject: I
" think it proper onely, to open the reaſons of my votes
" and opinions in the Senate, from the beginning of this
" war. After the death of Cæsar, and thoſe your me-
" morable *Ides of March*, you cannot forget, Brutus,
" what I declared to have been omitted by you, and what
" a tempeſt I foreſaw hanging over the Republic: you
" had freed us from a great plague; wiped off a great ſtain
" from the *Roman* people; acquired to yourſelves divine
" glory: yet all the equipage and furniture of Kingly
" power was left ſtill to Lepidus and Antony; the one
" inconſtant, the other vicious; both of them afraid of
" peace, and enemies to the public quiet. While theſe
" men were eager to raiſe freſh diſturbances in the Re-
" public, we had no guard about us to oppoſe them;
" though the whole City was eager and unanimous in aſ-
" ſerting it's liberty: I was then thought too violent;
" while you perhaps more wiſely withdrew yourſelves
" from that City, which you had delivered, and refuſed
" the help of all *Italy*, which offered to arm itſelf in
" your cauſe. Wherefore when I ſaw the City in the
" hands of traitors, oppreſſed by the arms of Antony,
" and that neither you nor Cassius could be ſafe in it;
" I thought it time for me to quit it too: for a City
" overpowered by traitors, without the means of relieving
" itſelf, is a wretched ſpectacle: Yet my mind, always
" the ſame, and ever fixed on the love of my Country,
" could not bear the thought of leaving it in it's diſtreſs:
" in the midſt therefore of my voyage to *Greece*, and in

" the

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS, Q. PEDIUS.

" the very ſeaſon of the *Eteſian* winds, when an uncom-
" mon South wind, as if diſpleaſed with my reſolution,
" had driven me back to *Italy*, I found you at *Velia*, and
" was greatly concerned at it: for you were retreating,
" BRUTUS; were retreating, I ſay; ſince your *Stoics* will
" not allow their wiſeman *to fly*. As ſoon as I came to
" *Rome*, I expoſed myſelf to the wickedneſs and rage of
" ANTONY; and when I had exaſperated him againſt me,
" began to enter into meaſures, in the very manner of the
" BRUTUS's, (for ſuch are peculiar to your blood) for de-
" livering the Republic. I ſhall omit the long recital of
" what followed, ſince it all relates to myſelf; and ob-
" ſerve onely, that young CÆSAR, by whom, if we
" will confeſs the truth, we ſubſiſt at this day, flowed
" from the ſource of my counſils. I decreed him no ho-
" nors, BRUTUS, but what were due; none but what were
" neceſſary: for as ſoon as we began to recover any
" liberty, and before the virtue of D. BRUTUS had yet
" ſhewn itſelf ſo far, that we could know it's divine force;
" and while our whole defence was in the boy, who re-
" pelled ANTONY from our necks; what honor was not
" really due to him? though I gave him nothing yet, but
" the praiſe of words; and that but moderate. I decreed
" him indeed a legal command: which, though it ſeemed
" honorable to one of that age, was yet neceſſary to one,
" who had an army: for what is an army without the com-
" mand of it? PHILIP voted him a ſtatue; SERVIUS the
" privilege of ſuing for offices before the legal time; which
" was ſhortened ſtill by SERVILIUS: nothing was then
" thought too much: but we are apt, I know not how,
" to be more liberal in fear, than gratefull in ſucceſs.
" When D. BRUTUS was delivered from the ſiege, a day

" of

A. Urbi 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

" of all others the moſt joyous to the City, which hap-
" pened alſo to be his birth day, I decreed, that his name
" ſhould be aſcribed for ever to that day, in the public
" *Kalendars*. In which I followed the example of our
" anceſtors, who paid the ſame honor to a woman, La-
" rentia; at whoſe altar you Prieſts perform ſacred rites
" in the *Velabrum*: by giving this to D. Brutus, my deſign
" was, to fix in the Kalendars a perpetual memorial of
" a moſt acceptable victory: but I perceived on that day,
" that there was more malevolence than gratitude, in
" many of the Senate. During theſe ſame days, I poured
" out honors (ſince you will have it ſo) on the deceaſed
" Hirtius, Pansa and Aquila: and who can find fault
" with it, but thoſe, who, when fear is once over, forget
" their paſt danger? But beſides the grateful remembrance
" of ſervices, there was an uſe in it, which reached to
" poſterity: for I was deſirous, that there ſhould remain
" an eternal monument of the public hatred to our moſt
" cruel enemies. There is one thing, I doubt, which
" does not pleaſe you; for it does not pleaſe your friends
" here; who, though excellent men, have but little expe-
" rience in public affairs; that I decreed *an ovation* to
" Cæsar: but for my part, (though I may perhaps be
" miſtaken, for I am not one of thoſe, who approve no-
" thing, but what is my own;) I cannot but think, that
" I have adviſed nothing more prudent during this war.
" Why it is ſo, is not proper to be explaned, leſt I be
" thought to have been more provident in it, than grate-
" full: but even this is too much: let us paſs therefore to
" other things. I decreed honors to D. Brutus; decreed
" them to Plancus: they muſt be men of great ſouls,
" who are attracted by glory: but the Senate alſo is cer-

" tainly wiſe, in trying every art that is honeſt, by which
" it can engage any one to the ſervice of the Republic.
" But I am blamed in the caſe of LEPIDUS; to whom
" after I had raiſed a Statue in the Roſtra, I preſently
" threw it down. My view in that honor was, to reclame
" him from deſperate meaſures; but the madneſs of an
" inconſtant man got the better of my prudence: nor
" was there yet ſo much harm in erecting, as good, in
" demoliſhing the Statue. But I have ſaid enough con-
" cerning honors; and muſt ſay a word or two about
" puniſhments: for I have often obſerved from your Let-
" ters, that you are fond of acquiring a reputation of
" clemency, by your treatment of thoſe, whom you have
" conquered in war. I can imagine nothing to be done
" by you, but what is wiſely done: but to omit the pu-
" niſhing of wickedneſs, (which we call pardoning) though
" it be tolerable in other caſes, I hold to be pernicious in
" this war. Of all the civil wars, that have been in my
" memory, there was not one, in which, what ſide ſo-
" ever got the better, there would not have remained
" ſome form of a Commonwealth: yet in this, what ſort
" of a Republic, we are like to have, if we conquer, I would
" not eaſily affirm; but if we are conquered, we are ſure
" to have none. My votes therefore were ſevere againſt
" ANTONY; ſevere againſt LEPIDUS; not from any ſpirit
" of revenge, but to deter wicked Citizens at preſent from
" making war againſt their Country; and to leave an
" example to poſterity, that none hereafter ſhould imitate
" ſuch raſhneſs. Yet this very vote was not more mine,
" than it was every body's: in which there ſeems, I own,
" to be ſomething cruel, that the puniſhment ſhould reach
" to children, who have done nothing to deſerve it: but

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS, Q. PEDIUS.

" the

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæſar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

" the conſtitution is both ancient, and of all Cities; for
" even Themistocles's children were reduced to want:
" and ſince the ſame puniſhment falls upon Citizens,
" condemned of public crimes, how was it poſſible for us
" to be more gentle towards enemies? But how can that
" man complain of me, who, if he had conquered, muſt
" needs confeſs, that he would have treated me even with
" more ſeverity? You have now the motives of my opi-
" nions in the caſe of rewards and puniſhments: for as
" to other points, you have heard, I imagine, what my
" ſentiments and votes have been. But to talk of theſe
" things now is not neceſſary; what I am going to ſay,
" is extremely ſo, Brutus; that you come to *Italy* with
" your army as ſoon as poſſible. We are in the utmoſt
" expectation of you: whenever you ſet foot in *Italy*, all
" the world will fly to you: for whether it be our lot to
" conquer, (as we had already done, if Lepidus had not
" been deſirous to overturn all, and periſh himſelf with
" his friends) there will be a great want of your authority,
" for the ſettling ſome ſtate of a City amongſt us; or if
" there be any danger and ſtruggle ſtill behind, haſten to
" us for God's ſake: for you know, how much depends
" on opportunity, how much on diſpatch. What dili-
" gence I ſhall uſe in the care of your ſiſter's children,
" you will ſoon know, I hope, from your mother's and
" ſiſter's Letters: in whoſe cauſe I have more regard to
" your will, which is ever moſt dear to me, than, as
" ſome think, to my own conſtancy: but it is my de-
" ſire both to be, and to appear conſtant, in nothing ſo
" much as in loving you [*k*]."

[*k*] Ad Brut. 15.

Brutus

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

" I HAVE read a part of your Letter, which you ſent " to OCTAVIUS, tranſmitted to me by ATTICUS. Your " zeal and concern for my ſafety gave me no new plea- " ſure: for it is not onely common, but our daily news, " to hear ſomething, which you have ſaid or done with " your uſual fidelity, in the ſupport of my honor and " dignity. Yet that ſame part of your Letter affected " me with the moſt ſenſible grief, which my mind could " poſſibly receive. For you compliment him ſo highly " for his ſervices to the Republic; and in a ſtrain ſo ſuppliant " and abject; that,—what ſhall I ſay?----I am aſhamed " of the wretched ſtate, to which we are reduced,----yet it " muſt be ſaid---you recommend my ſafety to him; to " which what death is not preferable? and plainly ſhew, " that our ſervitude is not yet aboliſhed, but our maſter " onely changed. Recollect your words, and deny them, " if you dare, to be the prayers of a ſlave to his King. " There is one thing, you ſay, which is required and ex- " pected from him, that he would allow thoſe Citizens to " live in ſafety, of whom all honeſt men, and the people " of *Rome* think well. But what, if he will not allow it? " Shall we be the leſs ſafe for that? It is better not to be " ſafe, than to be ſaved by him. For my part, I can " never think all the Gods ſo averſe to the preſervation " of the *Roman* people, that OCTAVIUS muſt be intreated " for the life of any one Citizen; much leſs for the de- " liverers of the world. It is a pleaſure to me to talk thus " magnificently; and it even becomes me to thoſe, who " know not either, what to fear for any one, or what to " aſk of any one. Can you allow OCTAVIUS to have

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

" this power, and yet be his friend? or if you have any
" value for me, would you wiſh to ſee me at *Rome*, when
" I muſt firſt be recommended to the boy, that he would
" permit me to be there? what reaſon can you have to
" thank him, if you think it neceſſary to beg of him, that
" he would grant and ſuffer us to live with ſafety? or is it
" to be reckoned a kindneſs, that he chuſes to ſee him-
" ſelf, rather than Antony, in the condition, to have
" ſuch petitions addreſſed to him? one may ſupplicate
" indeed the ſucceſſor, but never the aboliſher of a tyranny,
" that thoſe, who have deſerved well of the Republic,
" may be ſafe. It was this weakneſs and deſpair, not
" more blameable indeed in you, than in all, which firſt
" puſhed Cæsar to the ambition of reigning; and after
" his death, encouraged Antony, to think of ſeizing his
" place; and has now raiſed this boy ſo high, that you
" judge it neceſſary to addreſs your prayers to him for
" the preſervation of men of our rank; and that we can
" be ſaved onely by the mercy of one, ſcarce yet a man;
" and by no other means. But if we had remembered our-
" ſelves to be *Romans*, theſe infamous men would not be
" more daring to aim at dominion, than we to repell it:
" nor would Antony be more encouraged by Cæsar's
" reign, than deterred by his fate. How can you, a
" Conſular Senator, and the avenger of ſo many treaſons,
" (by ſuppreſſing which, you have but poſtponed our ruin,
" I fear, for a time,) reflect on what you have done, and
" yet approve theſe things, or bear them ſo tamely, as to
" ſeem at leaſt to approve them? for what particular
" grudge had you to Antony? no other, but that he
" aſſumed all this to himſelf; that our lives ſhould be
" begged of him; our ſafety be precarious, from whom
" he

" he had received his liberty; and the Republic depend " on his will and pleaſure. You thought it neceſſary to " take arms, to prevent him from tyrannizing at this rate: " but was it your intent, that by preventing him, we " might ſue to another, who would ſuffer himſelf to be " advanced into his place, or that the Republic might be " free and miſtreſs of itſelf? as if our quarrel was not per- " haps to ſlavery, but to the conditions of it. But we " might have had, not onely an eaſy maſter in ANTONY, " if we would have been content with that, but what- " ever ſhare with him we pleaſed, of favors and honors. " For what could he deny to thoſe, whoſe patience, he " ſaw, was the beſt ſupport of his government? but no- " thing was of ſuch value to us, that we would ſell our " faith and our liberty for it. This very boy, whom the " name of CÆSAR ſeems to incite againſt the deſtroyers of " CÆSAR, at what rate would he value it (if there was any " room to traffic with him) to be enabled by our help, " to maintain his preſent power; ſince we have a mind " to live, and to be rich, and to be called Conſulars? but " then CÆSAR muſt have periſhed in vain: for what reaſon " had we to rejoice at his death, if after it, we were ſtill " to continue ſlaves? Let other people be as indolent as " they pleaſe; but may the Gods and Goddeſſes deprive " me ſooner of every thing, than the reſolution, not to " allow to the heir of him, whom I killed, what I did " not allow to the man himſelf; nor would ſuffer, even " in my Father, were he living; *to have more power* " *than the laws and the Senate.* How can you imagine, " that any one can be free under him, without whoſe " leave there is no place for us in that City? or how is " it poſſible for you after all, to obtain what you aſk?

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS, Q. PEDIUS.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

" You aſk, that he would allow us to be ſafe. Shall we
" then receive ſafety, think you, when we receive life?
" But how can we receive it, if we firſt part with our honor
" and our liberty? Do you fancy, that to live at *Rome* is
" to be ſafe? It is the thing, and not the place, which muſt
" ſecure that to me: for I was never ſafe, while Cæsar
" lived, till I had reſolved on that attempt: nor can I in
" any place live in exil, as long as I hate ſlavery and af-
" fronts above all other evils. Is not this to fall back again
" into the ſame ſtate of darkneſs; when he, who has taken
" upon him the name of the tyrant, (though in the Cities
" of *Greece*, when the Tyrants are deſtroyed, their chil-
" dren alſo periſh with them,) muſt be entreated, that
" the avengers of tyranny may be ſafe? Can I ever wiſh
" to ſee that City, or think it a City, which would not
" accept liberty when offered, and even forced upon it,
" but has more dread of the name of their late King, in
" the perſon of a boy, than confidence in itſelf; though
" it has ſeen that very King taken off in the heigth of all
" his power by the virtue of a few? As for me, do not
" recommend me any more to your Cæsar, nor indeed
" yourſelf, if you will hearken to me. You ſet a very
" high value on the few years, which remain to you at
" that age, if for the ſake of them you can ſupplicate
" that boy. But take care after all, leſt what you have
" done and are doing ſo laudably againſt Antony, in-
" ſtead of being praiſed, as the effect of a great mind,
" be charged to the account of your fear. For if you
" are ſo pleaſed with Octavius, as to petition him for
" our ſafety, you will be thought not to have diſliked a
" Maſter, but to have wanted a more friendly one. As
" to your praiſing him for the things, that he has hitherto

" done,

" done, I intirely approve it: for they deſerved to be praiſed, provided that he undertook them, to repell other men's power, not to advance his own. But when you adjudge him, not onely to have this power, but that you ought to ſubmit to it ſo far, as to entreat him that he would not deſtroy us; you pay him too great a recompenſe: for you aſcribe that very thing to him, which the Republic ſeemed to enjoy through him: nor does it ever enter into your thoughts, that if OCTAVIUS be worthy of any honors, becauſe he wages war with ANTONY; that thoſe, who extirpated the very evil, of which theſe are but the reliques, can never be ſufficiently requited by the *Roman* people; though they were to heap upon them every thing which they could beſtow: but ſee how much ſtronger people's fears are, than their memories, becauſe ANTONY ſtill lives, and is in arms. As to CÆSAR, all that could and ought to be done, is paſt, and cannot be recalled: is OCTAVIUS then a perſon of ſo great importance, that the people of *Rome* are to expect from him, what he will determine upon us? or are we of ſo little, that any ſingle man is to be entreated for our ſafety? As for me, may I never return to you, if ever I either ſupplicate any man, or do not reſtrain thoſe, who are diſpoſed to do it, from ſupplicating for themſelves: or I will remove to a diſtance from all ſuch, who can be ſlaves, and fancy myſelf at *Rome*, where-ever I can live free; and ſhall pity you, whoſe fond deſire of life, neither age, nor honors, nor the example of other men's virtue can moderate. For my part, I ſhall ever think myſelf happy, as long as I can pleaſe myſelf with the perſuaſion, that my piety has been fully requited. For what can be happier, than

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS, Q. PEDIUS.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

" for a man, conſcious of virtuous acts, and content with
" liberty, to deſpiſe all human affairs? Yet I will never
" yield to thoſe, who are fond of yielding, or be con-
" quered by thoſe, who are willing to be conquered them-
" ſelves; but will firſt try and attempt every thing; nor
" ever deſiſt from dragging our City out of ſlavery. If
" ſuch fortune attends me, as I ought to have, we ſhall
" all rejoice: if not, I ſhall rejoice myſelf. For how
" could this life be ſpent better, than in acts and thoughts,
" which tend to make my Countrymen free? I beg and
" beſeech you, Cicero, not to deſert the cauſe through
" wearineſs or diffidence: in repelling preſent evils, have
" your eye always on the future, leſt they inſinuate them-
" ſelves before you are aware. Conſider, that the forti-
" tude and courage, with which you delivered the Re-
" public, when Conſul, and now again when Conſular,
" are nothing without conſtancy and equability. The
" caſe of tried virtue, I own, is harder than of untried:
" we require ſervices from it, as debts; and if any thing
" diſappoints us, we blame with reſentment, as if we had
" been deceived. Wherefore for Cicero to withſtand
" Antony, though it be a part highly commendable,
" yet becauſe ſuch a Conſul ſeemed of courſe to promiſe
" us ſuch a Conſular, no body wonders at it: but if the
" ſame Cicero, in the caſe of others, ſhould waver at
" laſt in that reſolution, which he exerted with ſuch
" firmneſs and greatneſs of mind againſt Antony, he
" would deprive himſelf, not onely of the hopes of future
" glory, but forfeit even that which is paſt: for nothing
" is great in itſelf, but what flows from the reſult of our
" judgement: nor does it become any man, more than
" you, to love the Republic, and to be the Patron of
" liberty,

"liberty, on the account either of your natural talents, "or your former acts, or the wishes and expectation of "all men. OCTAVIUS therefore must not be entreated, "to suffer us to live in safety. Do you rather rouse your- "self so far, as to think that City, in which you have "acted the noblest part, free and flourishing, as long as "there are Leaders still to the people, to resist the designs "of Traitors [*l*]."

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS, Q. PEDIUS.

IF we compare these two Letters, we shall perceive in CICERO's, an extensive view and true judgement of things, tempered with the greatest politeness and affection for his friend, and an unwillingness to disgust, where he thought it necessary even to blame. In BRUTUS's, a churlish and morose arrogance, claming infinite honors to himself, yet allowing none to any body else; insolently chiding and dictating to one, as much superior to him in wisdom, as he was in years; the whole turning upon that Romantic maxim of *the Stoics*, enforced without any regard to times and circumstances: *that a wiseman has a sufficiency of all things within himself.* There are indeed many noble sentiments in it, worthy of old *Rome*, which CICERO, in a proper season, would have recommended as warmly as he; yet they were not principles to act upon in a conjuncture so critical; and the rigid application of them is the less excusable in BRUTUS, because he himself did not always practise what he professed; but was too apt to forget both *the Stoic* and *the Roman.*

OCTAVIUS

[*l*] Ad Brut. 16.

N. B. There is a passage indeed in BRUTUS's *Letter to* ATTICUS, where he intimates a reason of his complaint against CICERO, which was certainly a just one, if the fact of which he complains had been true; that CICERO *had reproached* CASCA *with the murther of* CÆSAR, *and called him an Assassin. I do not know,* says he, *what I can write to you but this, that the ambition and licentiousness of the boy has been inflamed, rather than restrained by* CICERO, *who carries his indulgence of him to such a length, as*

not

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

Octavius had no ſooner ſettled the affairs of the City, and ſubdued the Senate to his mind, than he marched back towards *Gaul*, to meet Antony and Lepidus; who had already paſſed *the Alps*, and brought their armies into *Italy*, in order to have a perſonal interview with him; which had been privately concerted, for ſettling the terms of *a triple league*, and dividing the power and provinces of the Empire among themſelves. All *the Three* were natural enemies to each other; Competitors for Empire; and aiming ſeverally to poſſeſs, what could not be obtained but with the ruin of the reſt: their meeting therefore was not to eſtabliſh any real amity or laſting concord, for that was impoſſible, but to ſuſpend their own quarrels for the preſent, and with common forces to oppreſs their common enemies, the friends of liberty and the Republic; without which, all their ſeveral hopes and ambitious views muſt inevitably be blaſted.

The place appointed for the interview, was *a ſmall Iſland*, about two miles from *Bononia*, formed by the river *Rhenus*, which runs near to that City [*n*]: here they met, as men of their character muſt neceſſarily meet, not without jealouſy and ſuſpicion of danger from each other;

not to refrain from abuſes upon Casca, *and ſuch, as muſt return doubly upon himſelf, who has put to death more Citizens, than one, and muſt firſt own himſelf to be an Aſſaſſin, before he can reproach* Casca, *with what he objects to him.* [Ep. ad Brut. 17.] Manutius profeſſes himſelf unable to conceive, how Cicero *ſhould ever call* Casca *a murtherer*; yet cannot collect any thing leſs from Brutus's words. But the thing is impoſſible, and inconſiſtent with every word, that Cicero had been ſaying, and every act, that he had been doing from the time of Cæsar's death: and in relation particularly to Casca, we have ſeen above, how he refuſed to enter into any meaſures with Octavius, but upon the expreſs condition of his ſuffering Casca to take quiet poſſeſſion of the *Tribunate*: it is certain therefore, that Brutus had either been miſinformed, or was charging Cicero with the conſequential meaning of ſome ſaying, which was never intended by him; in adviſing Casca perhaps to manage Octavius, in that heigth of his power, with more temper and moderation, leſt he ſhould otherwiſe be provoked to conſider him as *an Aſſaſſin*, and treat him as ſuch: for an intimation of that kind would have been ſufficient to the fierce ſpirit of Brutus, for taking it as a direct condemnation of Casca's act of ſtabbing Cæsar, to which Cicero had always given the higheſt applauſe.

[*n*] Vid. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. 1. c. 28. p. 187.

other; being all attended by their choiceſt troops, each with five legions, diſpoſed in ſeparate camps within ſight of the Iſland. LEPIDUS entered it the firſt, as an equal friend to the other two, to ſee, that the place was clear and free from treachery; and when he had given the ſignal agreed upon, ANTONY and OCTAVIUS advanced from the oppoſite banks of the river, and paſſed into the Iſland by bridges, which they left guarded on each ſide, by *three hundred of their own men.* Their firſt care, inſtead of embracing, was to ſearch one another, whether they had not brought daggers concealed under their cloaths; and when that ceremony was over, OCTAVIUS took his ſeat betwixt the other Two, in the moſt honorable place, on the account of his being Conſul.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS, Q. PEDIUS.

IN this ſituation they ſpent three days in a cloſe conference, to adjuſt the plan of their accommodation; the ſubſtance of which was; that *the Three* ſhould be inveſted jointly with ſupreme power, for the term of five years, with the title *of Triumvirs, for ſettling the ſtate of the Republic:* that they ſhould act in all caſes by common conſent; nominate the Magiſtrates and Governors both at home and abroad; and determine all affairs relating to the public by their ſole will and pleaſure: that OCTAVIUS ſhould have for his peculiar province, *Afric* with *Sicily, Sardinia, and the other Iſlands of the Mediterranean*; LEPIDUS, *Spain* with the *Narboneſe Gaul*; ANTONY, the other *two Gauls* on both ſides of the *Alps*: and to put them all upon a level, both in title and authority, that OCTAVIUS ſhould reſign the Conſulſhip to VENTIDIUS for the remainder of the year: that ANTONY and OCTAVIUS ſhould proſecute the war againſt BRUTUS

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

and Cassius; each of them at the head of *twenty legions*; and Lepidus with three legions be left to guard the City: and at the end of the war, that *eighteen Cities or Colonies*, the beſt and richeſt of *Italy*, together with their lands and diſtricts, ſhould be taken from their owners, and aſſigned to the perpetual poſſeſſion of the ſoldiers, as the reward of their faithful ſervices. Theſe conditions were publiſhed to their ſeveral armies, and received by them with acclamations of joy, and mutual gratulations for this happy union of their Chiefs; which at the deſire of the ſoldiers was ratified likewiſe by a marriage, agreed to be conſummated, between Octavius and Claudia, the daughter of Antony's *wife* Fulvia, by her firſt huſband P. Clodius.

The laſt thing, that they adjuſted, was the liſt of *a proſcription*, which they were determined to make of their enemies. This, as the writers tell us, occaſioned much difficulty and warm conteſts amongſt them; till each of them in his turn conſented to ſacrifice ſome of his beſt friends to the revenge and reſentment of his Collegues. The whole liſt is ſaid to have conſiſted *of three hundred Senators, and two thouſand Knights*; all doomed to die for a crime the moſt unpardonable to Tyrants, their adherence to the cauſe of liberty. They reſerved the publication of the general liſt to their arrival at *Rome*; excepting onely a few of the moſt obnoxious; the Heads of the Republican party, about *ſeventeen* in all; the chief of whom was Cicero. Theſe they marked out for immediate deſtruction; and ſent their Emiſſaries away directly, to ſurprize and murther them, before any notice could reach them of their danger: four of this

number

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

number were preſently taken and killed in the company of their friends; and the reſt hunted out by the ſoldiers in private houſes and temples; which preſently filled the City with an univerſal terror and conſternation, as if it had been taken by an enemy: ſo that the Conſul, Pedius, was forced to run about the ſtreets all the night, to quiet the minds, and appeaſe the fears of the people; and as ſoon as it was light, publiſhed the names of *the ſeventeen*, who were principally ſought for, with an aſſurance of ſafety and indemnity to all others: but he himſelf was ſo ſhocked and fatigued by the horror of this night's work, that *he died the day following* [o].

We have no hint from any of Cicero's Letters, (for none remain to us of ſo low a date) what his ſentiments were on this interview of *the Three Chiefs*; or what reſolution he had taken in conſequence of it. He could not but foreſee, that it muſt needs be fatal to him, if it paſſed to the ſatisfaction of Antony and Lepidus; for he had ſeveral times declared, that he expected the laſt ſeverity from them, if ever they got the better. But whatever he had cauſe to apprehend, it is certain, that it was ſtill in his power to avoid it, by going over to Brutus, in *Macedonia:* but he ſeems to have thought that remedy worſe than the evil; and had ſo great an abhorrence of entering again, in his advanced age, into a civil war, and ſo little value for the few years of life, which remained to him, that he declares it *a thouſand times better to die, than to ſeek his ſafety from camps* [p]:

[o] App. l. 4. init. Dio. p. 326. Plut. in Anton. & Cicero. Vell. Pat. 2. 65.

[p] Reipub. vicem dolebo, quæ immortalis eſſe debet; mihi quidem quantulum reliqui eſt? [ad Brut. x.] ἥττον ergo in caſtra? millies mori melius, huic præſertim ætati: [ad Att. 14. 22.] ſed abeſſe hanc ætatem longe a ſepulchro negant oportere. ib. 16. 7.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

and he was the more indifferent about what might happen to himſelf, ſince his ſon was removed from all immediate danger, by being already with Brutus.

The old Hiſtorians endeavour to perſuade us, *that* Cæsar *did not give him up to the revenge of his Collegues, without the greateſt reluctance, and after a ſtruggle of two days to preſerve him* [q]: but all that tenderneſs was artificial, and a part aſſumed, to give the better color to his deſertion of him. For Cicero's death was the natural effect of their union; and a neceſſary ſacrifice to the common intereſt of *the Three:* thoſe, who met to deſtroy liberty, muſt come determined to deſtroy him; ſince his authority was too great to be ſuffered in an enemy, and experience had ſhewn, that nothing could make him a friend to the oppreſſors of his country.

Cæsar therefore was pleaſed with it undoubtedly, as much as the reſt, and when his pretended ſqueamiſhneſs was over-ruled, ſhewed himſelf *more cruel and bloody* in urging the Proſcription, than either of the other two [r]. *Nothing*, ſays Velleius, *was ſo ſhamefull on this occaſion, as that* Cæsar *ſhould be forced to proſcribe any man; or that* Cicero *eſpecially ſhould be proſcribed by him* [s]. But there was no force in the caſe: for though, to ſave Cæsar's honor, and to extort as it were Cicero from him, Lepidus gave up his own brother, Paullus; and Antony his uncle, L. Cæsar, who were both actually put into the liſt; yet neither of them loſt their lives, but were protected from any harm by the power of their relations [t].

If

[q] Plutar. in Cicer. Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

[r] Reſtitit aliquandiu Collegis, ne qua fieret proſcriptio, ſed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit, &c. Suet. Aug. 27.

[s] Nihil tam indignum illo tempore fuit, quam quod aut Caesar aliquem proſcribere coactus eſt, aut ab illo Cicero proſcriptus eſt. Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

[t] Appian. l. 4. 610. Dio. l. 47. 330.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavia-nus, Q. Pedius.

If we look back a little, to take a general view of the conduct of *theſe Triumvirs*, we ſhall ſee Antony, rouſed at once by Cæsar's death from the midſt of pleaſure and debauch, and a moſt abject obſequiouſneſs to Cæsar's power, forming the true plan of his intereſt, and purſuing it with a ſurprizing vigor and addreſs; till after many and almoſt inſuperable difficulties, he obtained the ſoverein dominion, which he aimed at. Lepidus was the chief inſtrument that he made uſe of; whom he employed very ſucceſsfully at home, till he found himſelf in condition to ſupport his pretenſions alone, and then ſent to the other ſide of the *Alps*, that, in caſe of any diſaſter in *Italy*, he might be provided with a ſecure reſource in his army. By this management he had ordered his affairs ſo artfully, that by conquering at *Modena*, he would have made himſelf probably *the ſole Maſter of* Rome; while the onely difference of being conquered, was to admit *two partners* with him into the Empire; the one of whom at leaſt he was ſure always to govern.

Octavius's conduct was not leſs politic or vigorous: he had great parts, and an admirable genius, with a diſſimulation ſufficient to perſuade, that he had good inclinations too. As his want of years and authority made it impoſſible for him, to ſuccede immediately to his Uncle's power, ſo his firſt buſineſs was, to keep the place vacant, till he ſhould be more ripe for it; and to give the excluſion in the mean while to every body elſe. With this view, he acted *the Republican* with great gravity; put himſelf under the direction of Cicero; and was wholly governed by his advice, as far as his intereſt carried him; that is, *to depreſs* Antony, *and drive him out of* Italy; who was

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

his immediate and moſt dangerous rival. Here he ſtopt ſhort; and pauſed a while to conſider, what new meaſures this new ſtate of things would ſuggeſt: when by the unexpected death of the two Conſuls, finding himſelf at once the maſter of every thing at home, and ANTONY, by the help of LEPIDUS, riſing again the ſtronger from his fall, he ſaw preſently, that his beſt chance for Empire was, to content himſelf with a ſhare of it, till he ſhould be in condition to ſeize the whole; and from the ſame policy, with which he joined himſelf with the Republic, to deſtroy ANTONY, he now joined with ANTONY, to oppreſs the Republic, as the beſt means of ſecuring and advancing his own power.

LEPIDUS was the Dupe of them both; a vain, weak, inconſtant man; incapable of Empire, yet aſpiring to the poſſeſſion of it; and abuſing the moſt glorious opportunity of ſerving his Country, to the ruin both of his Country and himſelf. His wife was the Siſter of M. BRUTUS, and his true intereſt lay in adhering to that alliance: for if, by the advice of LATERENSIS, he had joined with PLANCUS and D. BRUTUS, to oppreſs ANTONY, and give liberty to *Rome*, the merit of that ſervice, added to the dignity of his family and fortunes, would neceſſarily have made him the firſt Citizen of a free Republic. But his weakneſs deprived him of that glory: he flattered himſelf, that the firſt ſhare of power, which he ſeemed at preſent to poſſeſs, would give him likewiſe the firſt ſhare of Empire: not conſidering, that military power depends on the reputation and abilities of him, who poſſeſſes it: in which, as his Collegues far excelled him, ſo they would be ſure always to eclipſe, and whenever they thought it proper, to

deſtroy

destroy him. This he found afterwards to be the case: when CÆSAR forced him to beg his life upon his knees, *though at the head of twenty Legions; and deposed him from that dignity, which he knew not how to sustain* [u]. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS, Q. PEDIUS.

CICERO was at his *Tusculan Villa*, with his Brother and Nephew, when he first received the news of the *Proscription*, and of their being included in it. It was the design of the Triumvirate to keep it a secret, if possible, to the moment of execution; in order to surprize those, whom they had destined to destruction, before they were aware of the danger, or had time to escape. But some of CICERO's friends found means to give him early notice of it; upon which he set forward presently with his Brother and Nephew towards *Astura*; the nearest Villa, which he had upon the sea; with intent to transport themselves directly out of the reach of their enemies. But QUINTUS being wholly unprepared for so sudden a voyage, resolved to turn back with his son to *Rome*, in confidence of lying concealed there, till they could provide money and necessaries for their support abroad. CICERO, in the mean while, found a vessel ready for him at *Astura*, in which he presently embarked: but the winds being cross and turbulent, and the sea wholly uneasy to him, after he had sailed about two leagues along the coast, he landed at *Circæum*, and spent a night near that place, in great anxiety and irresolution: the question was, what course he should steer; *and whether he should fly to* BRUTUS, *or to* CASSIUS, *or to* S. POMPEIUS; *but after all his deliberations, none of them pleased him so much, as the expedient of dying* [x]: so

[u] Spoliata, quam tueri non poterat, dignitas. Vell. Pat. 2. 8.

[x] Cremutius Cordus ait, Ciceroni, cum cogitasset, unumne Brutum an Cassium, an S. Pompeium peteret, omnia displicuisse præter mortem. Senec. Suasor. 6.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

ſo that, as Plutarch ſays, he had ſome thoughts of returning to the City, *and killing himſelf in* Cæsar's *houſe*; in order to leave the guilt and curſe of his blood upon Cæsar's perfidy and ingratitude: but the importunity of his ſervants prevailed with him to ſail forwards to *Gajeta*; where he went again on ſhoar, to repoſe himſelf in his *Formian Villa*, about a mile from the coaſt; *weary of life and the ſea; and declaring, that he would die in that Country, which he had ſo often ſaved* [y]. Here he ſlept ſoundly for ſeveral hours; though, as ſome writers tell us, "a great "number of Crows were fluttering all the while, and "making a ſtrange noiſe about his windows, as if to rouſe "and warn him of his approaching fate; and that one "of them made it's way into the chamber, and pulled "away his very bed cloaths; till his ſlaves, admoniſhed by "this prodigy, and aſhamed to ſee brute creatures more "ſolicitous for his ſafety than themſelves, forced him into "his Litter or portable Chair," and carried him away towards the ſhip, through the private ways and walks of his woods; having juſt heard, that ſoldiers were already come into the country in queſt of him, and not far from the Villa. As ſoon as they were gone, the ſoldiers arrived at the houſe; and perceiving him to be fled, purſued immediately towards the ſea, and overtook him in the wood. Their Leader was one Popilius Lænas, a Tribun or Colonel of the army, whom Cicero had formerly defended and preſerved in a capital cauſe. As ſoon as the ſoldiers appeared, *the ſervants prepared themſelves to fight, being reſolved*

[y] Tædium tandem eum & fugæ & vitæ cepit: regreſſuſque ad ſuperiorem villam, quæ paullo plus mille paſſibus a mari abeſt, *moriar inquit in patria, ſæpe ſervata.* Liv. Fragm. apud Senec. Suaſor. 1. vid. it. Plutar. Cic.

reſolved to defend their maſter's life at the hazard of their own: but CICERO *commanded them to ſet him down, and to make no reſiſtance* [z]: then looking upon his executioners with a preſence and firmneſs, which almoſt daunted them, and thruſting his neck, as forwardly as he could, out of the Litter, he bad them *do their work, and take what they wanted*: upon which they preſently cut off *his Head, and both his hands*, and returned with them in all haſt and great joy towards *Rome, as the moſt agreeable preſent, which they could poſſibly carry to* ANTONY. POPILIUS charged himſelf with the conveyance, without reflecting *on the infamy of carrying that head, which had ſaved his own* [a]: he found ANTONY in the Forum, ſurrounded with guards and crouds of people; but upon ſhewing from a diſtance the ſpoils, which he brought, he was rewarded upon the ſpot with *the honor of a Crown, and about eight thouſand pounds ſterling.* ANTONY ordered *the head to be fixed upon the Roſtra, between the two hands:* a ſad ſpectacle to the City; and what drew tears from every eye; to ſee thoſe mangled members, which uſed to exert themſelves ſo gloriouſly from that place, in defence of the lives, the fortunes, and the liberties of the *Roman* people, ſo lamentably expoſed to the ſcorn of Sycophants and Traitors. *The deaths of the reſt,* ſays an Hiſtorian of that age, *cauſed onely a private and particular ſorrow; but* CICERO's *an univerſal one* [b]: it was a triumph over the Republic itſelf;

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS, Q. PEDIUS.

[z] Satis conſtat ſervos fortiter fideliterque paratos fuiſſe ad dimicandum: ipſum deponi lecticam, & quietos pati, quod ſors iniqua cogeret, juſſiſſe. Liv. Fragment. ibid.

[a] Ea Sarcina, tanquam opimis ſpoliis alacer in urbem reverſus eſt. Neque ei ſceleſtum portanti onus ſuccurrit, illud ſe caput ferre, quod pro capite ejus quondam peroraverat. Val. Max. 5. 3.

[b] Cæterorumque cædes privatos luctus excitaverunt; illa una communem—[Cremutius Cordus. apud Senec.] Civitas lacrymas tenere non potuit, quum reciſum Ciceronis caput in illis ſuis Roſtris videretur. L. Flor. 4. 6.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

itſelf; and ſeemed to confirm and eſtabliſh the perpetual ſlavery of *Rome*. Antony conſidered it as ſuch, and ſatiated with Cicero's blood, declared the Proſcription at an end.

He was killed *on the ſeventh of* December; about ten days from the ſettlement of the Triumvirate; after he had lived *ſixty three years, eleven months, and five days* [c].

[c] Vid. Plutar. in Cic. Vell. Pat. 2. 64. Dio. l. 47. p. 330. Pighii Annal. ad A. U. Liv. Fragm. apud Senec. Appian. l. 4. 601. 710.



SECT.



SECT. XII.

THE ſtory of CICERO's death continued freſh on the minds of the *Romans* for many ages after it; and was delivered down to poſterity with all it's circumſtances, as one of the moſt affecting and memorable events of their Hiſtory: ſo that the ſpot, on which it happened, ſeems to have been viſited by travellers with a kind of religious reverence [*a*]. The odium of it fell chiefly on ANTONY; yet it left a ſtain of perfidy and ingratitude alſo on AUGUSTUS: which explanes the reaſon of that ſilence, which is obſerved about him, by the writers of that age;

[*a*] Sæpe Clodio Ciceronem expellenti & Antonio occidenti, videmur iraſci. Sen. de ira. 2. 2.

Κικέρωνι—φεύγων εἰς ἴδιον χωρίον, ὃ καθ' ἑστίαν τῇδι τῇ πάθους εἶδον. App. p. 600.

and why his name is not ſo much as mentioned either by HORACE or VIRGIL. For though his character would have furniſhed a glorious ſubject for many noble lines, yet it was no ſubject for Court Poets; ſince the very mention of him muſt have been a ſatire on the Prince; eſpecially while ANTONY lived; among the Sycophants of whoſe Court, it was faſhionable to inſult his memory by all the methods of calumny that wit and malice could invent: nay VIRGIL, on an occaſion, that could hardly fail of bringing him to his mind, inſtead of doing juſtice to his merit, choſe to do an injuſtice rather to *Rome* itſelf, by yielding the ſuperiority of eloquence to *the Greeks*, which they themſelves had been forced to yield to CICERO [*b*].

LIVY however, whoſe candor made AUGUSTUS call him *a Pompeian* [*c*], while out of complaiſance to the times, he ſeems to extenuate the crime of CICERO's murther, yet after a high encomium of his virtues, declares, *that to praiſe him as he deſerved, required the eloquence of* CICERO *himſelf* [*d*]. AUGUSTUS too, as PLUTARCH tells us, happening one day to catch his grandſon reading one of CICERO's books, which, for fear of the Emperor's diſpleaſure, the boy endeavoured to hide under his gown, took the book into his hands, and turning over a great part of it, gave it back again, and ſaid, *this was a learned man, my child, and a lover of his country* [*e*].

IN

[*b*]—Orabunt cauſas melius, &c. Æn. 6. 849.

[*c*]—T. Livius—Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit, ut Pompeianum eum Auguſtus appellaret. Tacit. Ann. 4. 34.

[*d*]—Si quis tamen virtutibus vitia penſarit, vir magnus, acer, memorabilis fuit, & in cujus laudes ſequendas Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit. Liv. Fragment. apud Senec. Suaſor. 6.

[*e*] Plutar. vit. Cicer. There is another ſtory of the ſame kind recorded by MACROBIUS, to ſhew AUGUSTUS's moderation with regard alſo to CATO: that AUGUSTUS being one day in the houſe, which had belonged to CATO, where the Maſter of it, out of compliment to his great gueſt, took occaſion to reflect on CATO's perverſeneſs, he ſtopped him ſhort by ſaying, *that he who would ſuffer no change in the conſtitution of his City, was a good Citizen, and honeſt man:* but by this character of Cato's honeſty, he gave a ſevere wound to his own, who not onely changed but uſurped the government of his country. Macrob. Saturn. 2. 4.

IN the ſucceding generation, as the particular envy to CICERO ſubſided, by the death of thoſe, whom private intereſts and perſonal quarrels had engaged to hate him when living, and defame him when dead, ſo his name and memory began to ſhine out in it's proper luſter: and in the reign even of TIBERIUS, when an eminent Senator and Hiſtorian, CREMUTIUS CORDUS was condemned to die *for praiſing* BRUTUS, yet PATERCULUS could not forbear breaking out into the following warm expoſtulation with ANTONY, on the ſubject of CICERO's death: "Thou haſt "done nothing, ANTONY; haſt done nothing, I ſay, by "ſetting a price on that divine and illuſtrious head, and "by a deteſtable reward, procuring the death of ſo great "a Conſul and preſerver of the Republic. Thou haſt "ſnatched from CICERO a troubleſome being; a declin-"ing age; a life more miſerable under thy dominion, "than death itſelf; but, ſo far from diminiſhing the "glory of his deeds and ſayings, thou haſt encreaſed it. "He lives and will live in the memory of all ages; and "as long as this ſyſtem of nature, whether by chance or "providence, or what way ſoever formed, which he alone, "of all the *Romans*, comprehended in his mind, and il-"luſtrated by his eloquence, ſhall remain intire, it will "draw the praiſes of CICERO along with it; and all "poſterity will admire his writings againſt thee, curſe "thy act againſt him---[*f*]."

FROM this period, all the *Roman* writers, whether Poets or Hiſtorians, ſeem to vie with each other in celebrating the praiſes of CICERO, as the moſt illuſtrious of all their Patriots, and *the parent of the* Roman *wit and eloquence*; who had done more honor to his country *by his writings*, than

[*f*] Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

than *all their Conquerors by their arms, and extended the bounds of their learning beyond thoſe of their Empire* [g]. So that their very Emperors, near three centuries after his death, began to reverence him in the claſs *of their inferior Deities* [h]: a rank, which he would have preſerved to this day, if he had happened to live in *Papal Rome*, where he could not have failed, as ERASMUS ſays, from *the innocence of his life*, of obtaining the honor and title of *a Saint* [i].

As to his perſon, he was tall and ſlender, with a neck particularly long; yet his features were regular and manly; preſerving a comelineſs and dignity to the laſt, with a certain air of chearfulneſs and ſerenity, that imprinted both affection and reſpect [k]. His conſtitution was naturally weak, yet was ſo confirmed by his management of it, as to enable him to ſupport all the fatigues of the moſt active, as well as the moſt ſtudious life, with perpetual health and vigor. The care, that he employed upon his body, conſiſted chiefly in bathing and rubbing, with a few turns every day in his gardens for the refreſhment of his voice from the labor of the bar [l]: yet in the ſummer, he generally gave himſelf the exerciſe of a journey, to viſit his ſeveral eſtates and villa's in different parts of *Italy*. But his principal inſtrument of health, was diet and temperance: by theſe he preſerved himſelf from all violent diſtempers; and when he happened to be attacked by any ſlight indiſpoſition,

[g] Facundiæ, latiarumque literarum parens—atque—omnium triumphorum lauream adepte majorem, quanto plus eſt ingenii Romani terminos in tantum promoviſſe, quam Imperii. Plin. Hiſt. 7. 30.

Qui effecit, ne quorum arma viceramus, eorum ingenio vinceremur. Vell. P. 2. 34.

[h] Lamprid. vit. Alex. Sever. c. 31.

[i] Quem arbitror, ſi Chriſtianam philoſophiam didiciſſet, in eorum numero cenſendum fuiſſe, qui nunc ob vitam innocenter pieque tranſactam, pro Divis honorantur. Eraſm. Ciceronian. verſ. finem.

[k] Ei quidem facies decora ad ſenectutem, proſperaque permanſit valetudo. Aſin. Poll. apud Senec. Suaſor. 6.

[l] Cum recreandæ voculæ cauſa, mihi neceſſe eſſet ambulare. Ad Att. 2. 23. Plutar. in vit.

ſition, uſed to enforce the ſeverity of his abſtinence, and ſtarve it preſently by faſting [*m*].

In his cloaths and dreſs, which the wiſe have uſually conſidered as an index of the mind, he obſerved, what he preſcribes in his book of *offices*, a modeſty and decency, adapted to his rank and character: a perpetual cleanlineſs, without the appearance of pains; free from the affectation of ſingularity; and avoiding the extremes of a ruſtic negligence, and foppiſh delicacy [*n*]: both of which are equally contrary to true dignity; the one implying an ignorance, or illiberal contempt of it; the other a childiſh pride and oſtentation of proclaming our pretenſions to it.

In his domeſtic and ſocial life, his behaviour was very amiable: he was a moſt indulgent parent, a ſincere and zealous friend, a kind and generous maſter. His Letters are full of the tendereſt expreſſions of his love for his children; in whoſe endearing converſation, as he often tells us, he uſed to drop all his cares, and relieve himſelf from all his ſtruggles in the Senate and the Forum [*o*]. The ſame affection, in an inferior degree, was extended alſo to his ſlaves; when by their fidelity and ſervices they had recommended themſelves to his favor. We have ſeen a remarkable inſtance of it in Tiro; whoſe caſe was no otherwiſe different from the reſt, than as it was diſtinguiſhed by the ſuperiority of his merit. In one of his Letters to Atticus, *I have nothing more*, ſays he, *to write*; *and my mind indeed is ſomewhat ruffled at preſent*; *for* Sositheus, *my reader, is dead*; *a hopefull youth*; *which has afflicted me more*

[*m*] Cum quidem biduum ita jejunus fuiſſem, ut ne aquam quidem guſtaram. Ep. fam. 7. 26. vid. Plutar.

[*n*] Adhibenda munditia non odioſa, neque exquiſita nimis; tantum quæ fugiat agreſtem & inhumanam negligentiam. Eadem ratio eſt habenda veſtitus: in quo, ſicut in pleriſque rebus, mediocritas optima eſt. De Offic. 1. 36.

[*o*] Ut tantum requietis habeam, quantum cum uxore, & filiola, & mellito Cicerone conſumitur. Ad Att. 1. 18.

more than one would imagine, the death of a ſlave ought to do [*p*].

He entertained very high notions of friendſhip; and of it's excellent uſe and benefit to human life; which he has beautifully illuſtrated in his entertaining treatiſe on that ſubject; where he lays down no other rules, than what he exemplified by his practice. For in all the variety of friendſhips, in which his eminent rank engaged him, he was never charged with deceiving, deſerting, or even ſlighting any one, whom he had once called his friend, or eſteemed an honeſt man. It was his delight to advance their proſperity, to relieve their adverſity; the ſame friend to both fortunes; but more zealous onely in the bad, where his help was the moſt wanted, and his ſervices the moſt diſintereſted; looking upon it not as a friendſhip, but *a ſordid traffic and merchandize of benefits*, where good offices are to be weighed by a nice eſtimate of gain and loſs [*q*]. He calls gratitude *the mother of virtues*; reckons it the moſt capital of all duties; and uſes the words, *gratefull and good*, as terms ſynonimous, and inſeparably united in the ſame character. His writings abound with ſentiments of this ſort, as his life did with the examples of them [*r*]; ſo that one of his friends, in apologizing for the importunity of a requeſt, obſerves to him with great truth, that the tenor of his life would be a ſufficient excuſe for it; ſince he had eſtabliſhed ſuch a cuſtom, *of doing every*

[*p*] Nam puer feſtivus, anagnoſtes noſter, Sositheus deceſſerat, meque plus quam ſervi mors debere videbatur, commoverat. Ad Att. 1. 12.

[*q*] Ubi illa ſancta amicitia? ſi non ipſe amicus per ſe amatur toto pectore. [de leg. 1. 18.] quam ſi ad fructum noſtrum referemus, non ad illius commoda, quem diligimus, non erit iſta amicitia, ſed mercatura quædam utilitatum ſuarum. De Nat. Deor. 1. 44.

[*r*] Cum omnibus virtutibus me affectum eſſe cupiam, tamen nihil eſt quod malim, quam me & gratum eſſe & videri. Eſt enim hæc una virtus non ſolum maxima, ſed etiam mater virtutum omnium—quæ poteſt eſſe jucunditas vitæ ſublatis amicitiis? quæ porro amicitia poteſt eſſe inter ingratos? Pro Planc. 33. de Fin. 2. 22.

every thing for his friends, that they no longer requeſted, but clamed a right to command him [*s*].

YET he was not more generous to his friends, than placable to his enemies; readily pardoning the greateſt injuries, upon the ſlighteſt ſubmiſſion; and though no man ever had greater abilities or opportunities of revenging himſelf, yet when it was in his power to hurt, he ſought out reaſons to forgive; and whenever he was invited to it, never declined a reconciliation with his moſt inveterate enemies; of which there are numerous inſtances in his hiſtory. He declared nothing to be *more laudable and worthy of a great man, than placability*; and laid it down for a natural duty, *to moderate our revenge, and obſerve a temper in puniſhing*; and held *repentance to be a ſufficient ground for remitting it*: and it was one of his ſayings, delivered to a public aſſembly, *that his enmities were mortal*, his *friendſhips immortal* [*t*].

HIS manner of living was agreeable to the dignity of his character; ſplendid and noble: his houſe was open to all the learned Strangers and Philoſophers of *Greece* and *Aſia*; ſeveral of whom were conſtantly entertained in it, as part of his family, and ſpent their whole lives with him [*u*]. His levee was perpetually crouded with multitudes of all ranks; even POMPEY himſelf not diſdaining to frequent it. The greateſt part came, not onely to pay

[*s*] Nam quod ita conſueris pro amicis laborare, non jam ſic ſperant abs te, ſed etiam ſic imperant tibi familiares. Ep. fam. 6. 7.

[*t*] Eſt enim ulciſcendi & puniendi modus. Atque haud ſcio, an ſatis ſit, eum, qui laceſſierit, injuriæ ſuæ pœnitere. [de Off. 1. xi.] nihil enim laudabilius, nihil magno viro dignius, placabilitate & clementia. [ibid. 25.]

Cum parcere vel lædere potuiſſem, ignoſcendi quærebam cauſas, non puniendi occaſiones—Fragment. Cic. ex Marcellino.—

Neque vero me pœnitet mortales inimicitias, ſempiternas amicitias habere. Pro C. Rabir. Poſt. 12.

[*u*] Doctiſſimorum hominum familiaritates, quibus ſemper domus noſtra floruit, & Principes illi, Diodotus, Philo, Antiochus, Poſidonius, a quibus inſtituti ſumus. De Nat. Deor. 1. 3.

Eram cum Diodoto Stoico; qui cum habitaviſſet apud me, mecumque vixiſſet, nuper eſt domi meæ mortuus. Brut. 433.

their compliments, but to attend him on days of buſineſs to the Senate or the Forum; where upon any debate or tranſaction of moment, they conſtantly waited to conduct him home again: but on ordinary days, when theſe morning viſits were over, as they uſually were before ten, he retired to his books, and ſhut himſelf up in his library, without ſeeking any other diverſion, but what his children afforded to the ſhort intervals of his leiſure [x]. His ſupper was his greateſt meal; and the uſual ſeaſon with all the great, of enjoying their friends at table, which was frequently prolonged to a late hour of the night: yet he was out of his bed every morning before it was light; and never uſed to *ſleep again at noon*, as all others generally did, and as it is commonly practiſed in *Rome* to this day [y].

But though he was ſo temperate and ſtudious, yet when he was engaged to ſup with others, either at home or abroad, he laid aſide his rules, and forgot the invalid; and was gay and ſprightly, and the very ſoul of the company. When friends were met together, to heighten the comforts of ſocial life, he thought it inhoſpitable, not to contribute his ſhare to their common mirth, or to damp it by a churliſh reſervedneſs. But he was really a lover of chearfull entertainments; being of a nature remarkably facetious, and ſingularly turned to raillery [z]: a talent, which was of great ſervice to him at the

[x] Cum bene completa domus eſt tempore matutino, cum ad forum ſtipati gregibus, amicorum deſcendimus—ad Att. 1. 18.

Mane ſalutamus domi bonos viros multos—ubi ſalutatio defluxit litteris me involvo—Ep. fam. 9. 20. Cum ſalutationi nos dedimus amicorum—abdo me in Bibliothecam. Ep. fam. 7. 28.

Poſt horam quartam moleſti cæteri non ſunt. Ad Att. 2. 14.

[y] Nunc quidem propter intermiſſionem forenſis operæ, & lucubrationes detraxi & meridiationes addidi, quibus uti antea non ſolebam. De Div. 2. 58.

[z] Ego autem, exiſtimes quod lubet, mirifice capior facetiis, maxime noſtratibus—[Ep. fam. 9. 15.] Nec id ad voluptatem refero, ſed ad communitatem vitæ atque victus, remiſſionemque animorum, quæ maxime ſermone efficitur

the bar, to correct the petulance of an adverſary; *relieve the ſatiety of a tedious cauſe*; *divert the minds of the Judges*; and mitigate the rigor of a ſentence, by making both the Bench and Audience merry at the expence of the Accuſer [*a*].

THIS uſe of it was always thought fair, and greatly applauded in public trials; but in private converſations, he was charged ſometimes with puſhing his raillery too far; and, through a conſciouſneſs of his ſuperior wit, exerting it often intemperately, without reflecting what cruel wounds his laſhes inflicted [*b*]. Yet of all his ſarcaſtical jokes, which are tranſmitted to us by Antiquity, we ſhall not obſerve any, but what were pointed againſt characters, either ridiculous or profligate; ſuch as he deſpiſed for their follies, or hated for their vices; and though he might provoke the ſpleen, and quicken the malice of enemies, more than was conſiſtent with a regard to his own eaſe, yet he never appears to have hurt or loſt a friend, or any one whom he valued, by the levity of jeſting.

IT is certain, that the fame of his wit was as celebrated as that his eloquence; and that ſeveral ſpurious collections of his ſayings were handed about in *Rome* in his life-time [*c*]; till his friend TREBONIUS, after he had been Conſul, thought it worth while to publiſh an authentic edition of them, in *a volume which he addreſſed to* CICERO *himſelf* [*d*]. CÆSAR likewiſe, in the heigth of his power,

ficitur familiari, qui eſt in conviviis dulciſſimus—[ib. 24.] convivio delector. Ibi loquor quod in ſolum, ut dicitur, & gemitum etiam in riſus maximos transfero. [ib. 26.]

[*a*]—Suavis eſt & vehementer ſæpe utilis jocus & facetiæ—multum in cauſis perſæpe lepore & facetiis profici vidi. De Or. 2. 54.

Quæ riſum judicis movendo & illos triſtes ſolvit affectus, & animum ab intentione rerum frequenter avertit, & aliquando etiam reficit, & a ſatietate vel a fatigatione renovat—Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.

[*b*] Noſter vero non ſolum extra judicia, ſed in ipſis etiam orationibus habitus eſt nimius riſus affectator—ibid. vid. Plutar.

[*c*] Ais enim, ut ego diſceſſerim, omnia omnium dicta—in me conferri—Ep. fam. 7. 32. it. 9. 16.

[*d*] Liber iſte, quem mihi miſiſti, quantum habet declarationem amoris tui? primum, quod tibi

having taken a fancy to collect the *Apophthegms*, or memorable ſayings of eminent men, gave ſtrict orders to all his friends, who uſed to frequent CICERO, *to bring him every thing of that ſort, which happened to drop from him in their company* [e]. But TIRO, CICERO's Freedman, who ſerved him chiefly in his ſtudies and litterary affairs, publiſhed after his death, the moſt perfect collection *of his ſayings in three books*: where QUINTILIAN however wiſhes, *that he had been more ſparing in the number, and judicious in the choice of them* [f]. None of theſe books are now remaining, nor any other ſpecimen of the jeſts, but what are incidentally ſcattered in different parts of his own and other people's writings; which, as the ſame judicious Critic obſerves, through *the change of taſt* in different ages, and the want of *that action or geſture*, which gave the chief ſpirit to many of them, *could never be explaned to advantage, though ſeveral had attempted it.* How much more cold then, and inſipid muſt they needs appear to us, who are unacquainted with the particular characters and ſtories, to which they relate, as well as the peculiar faſhions, humor and taſt of wit in that age? Yet even in theſe, as QUINTILIAN alſo tells us, as well as in his other compoſitions, people would ſooner find *what they might reject, than what they could add to them* [g].

HE had a great number of fine Houſes, in different parts of *Italy*; ſome writers reckon up *eighteen*; which, except-

tibi facetum videtur quicquid ego dixi, quod aliis fortaſſe non item: deinde, quod illa, ſive faceta ſunt, ſive ſic fiunt, narrante te, venuſtiſſima.—Ep. fam. 15. 21.

[e] Audio Cæſarem, cum volumina jam confecerit ἀποφθεγμάτων, ſi quod afferatur pro meo, quod meum non ſit, rejicere ſolere—— hæc ad illum cum reliquis actis perferuntur; ita enim ipſe mandavit. Ep. fam. 9. 16.

[f] Utinam libertus ejus Tiro, aut alius quiſquis fuit, qui tres hac de re libros edidit, parcius dictorum numero indulſiſſet—& plus judicii in eligendis, quam in congerendis ſtudii adhibuiſſet.—Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.

[g] Qui tamen nunc quoque, ut in omni ejus ingenio, facilius quid rejici, quam quid adjici poſſit, invenient. ibid. vid. etiam Macrob. Sat. 2. 1.

excepting the family ſeat at *Arpinum*, ſeem to have been all purchaſed or built by himſelf. They were ſituated generally near to the ſea, and placed at proper diſtances along the lower coaſt, between *Rome*, and *Pompeii*, which was about four leagues beyond *Naples*; and, for the elegance of ſtructure and the delights of their ſituation, are called by him *the eyes*, or *the beauties of Italy* [*b*]. Thoſe, in which he took the moſt pleaſure, and uſually ſpent ſome part of every year, were his *Tuſculum*, *Antium*, *Aſtura*, *Arpinum*; *his Formian*, *Cuman*, *Puteolan and Pompeian Villa's*; all of them large enough for the reception, not onely of his own family, but of his friends and numerous gueſts; many of whom of the firſt quality uſed to paſs ſeveral days with him in their excurſions from *Rome*. But beſides theſe, that may properly be reckoned ſeats, with large plantations and gardens around them, he had ſeveral *little Inns*, as he calls them, or baiting places on the road, built for his accomodation in paſſing from one Houſe to another [*i*].

His *Tuſculan* Houſe had been SYLLA's *the Dictator*; and in one of it's apartments had *a painting of his memorable victory near Nola, in the Marſic war*, in which CICERO had ſerved under him as a Volunteer [*k*]: it was about four leagues from *Rome*, on the top of a beautifull Hill, covered with the Villa's of the nobility, and affording an agreeable proſpect of the City, and the country around it; with plenty of water, flowing through his grounds, in a large ſtream, or canal, for which he paid a rent

[*b*] Quodque temporis in prædiolis noſtris, & belle ædificatis, & ſatis amœnis conſumi potuit, in peregrinatione conſumimus— [ad Att. 16. 3.] cur ocellos Italiæ, villulas meas non video? ib. 6.

[*i*] Ego accepi in Diverſoriolo Sinueſſano, tuas litteras. Ad. Att. 14. 8.

[*k*] Idque etiam in Villa ſua Tuſculana, quæ poſtea fuit CICERONIS, Sylla pinxit. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. 22. 6.

a rent to the Corporation of *Tuſculum* [*l*]. It's neighbourhood to *Rome* gave him the opportunity of a retreat at any hour, from the fatigues of the bar, or the Senate, to breath a little freſh air, and divert himſelf with his friends or family: ſo that this was the place, in which he took the moſt delight, and ſpent the greateſt ſhare of his leiſure; and for that reaſon improved and adorned it beyond all his other houſes [*m*].

When a greater ſatiety of the City, or a longer vacation in the Forum diſpoſed him to ſeek a calmer ſcene, and more undiſturbed retirement, he uſed to remove to *Antium*, or *Aſtura*. At *Antium*, he placed his beſt collection of books, and as it was not above thirty miles from *Rome*, he could have dayly intelligence there of every thing that paſſed in the City. *Aſtura* was a *little Iſland*, at the mouth of a river of the ſame name; about two leagues farther towards the South, between the promontaries of *Antium* and *Circæum*, and in the view of them both; a place peculiarly adapted to the purpoſes of ſolitude, and a ſevere retreat; covered with a thick wood, cut out into ſhady walks, in which he uſed to ſpend the gloomy and ſplenetic moments of his life.

In the heigth of Summer, the Manſion Houſe at *Arpinum*, and the little Iſland adjoining, by the advantage of

[*l*] Ego Tuſculanis pro Aqua Crabra vectigal pendam, quia a Municipio fundum accepi. —Con. Rull. 3. 2.

[*m*] Quæ mihi antea ſigna miſiſti,—ea omnia in Tuſculanum deportabo. —[Ad Att. 1. 4.] Nos ex omnibus laboribus & moleſtiis uno illo in loco conquieſcimus. [ib. 5.] Nos Tuſculano ita delectamur, ut nobiſmet ipſis tum denique, cum illo venimus, placeamus. ib. 6.

The ſituation of this *Tuſculan* Houſe, which had been built perhaps by Sylla, confirms what Seneca has obſerved of the *Villas* of all the other great Captains of *Rome*, Marius, Pompey, Cæsar; that they were placed always on hills, or the higheſt ground that they could find; it being thought more military, to command the view of the country beneath them, and that houſes ſo ſituated had the appearance of a camp, rather than a Villa— [Senec. Epiſt. 51.] But this delightfull ſpot is now poſſeſſed by a Convent of Monks, called *Grotta Ferrata*, where they ſtill ſhew the remains of Cicero's columns and fine buildings, and the ducts of water that flowed through his gardens.

of it's groves and caſcades, afforded the beſt defence againſt the inconvenience of the heats; where in the greateſt, that he had ever remembered, we find him refreſhing himſelf, as he writes to his Brother, with the utmoſt pleaſure, in the cool ſtream of his *Fibrenus* [*n*].

His other Villa's were ſituated in the more public parts of *Italy*, where all the beſt company of *Rome* had their Houſes of pleaſure. He had two at *Formiæ*, a lower and upper Villa; the one near to the port of *Cajeta*, the other upon the mountains adjoining: he had a third on the ſhore of *Baiæ*, between the *Lake Avernus and Puteoli*, which he calls his *Puteolan*; a fourth on the hills of old *Cumæ*, called his *Cuman* Villa; and a fifth at *Pompeii*, four leagues beyond *Naples*; in a country famed for the purity of it's air, fertility of it's ſoil, and delicacy of it's fruits. His *Puteolan* Houſe was built after the plan of the *Academy at Athens*, and called by that name; being adorned with a *Portico and a grove*, for the ſame uſe of Philoſophical conferences. Some time after his death it fell into the hands of ANTISTIUS VETUS, who repaired and improved it; when a ſpring of warm water, which happened to burſt out in one part of it, gave occaſion to the following Epigram, made by LAUREA TULLIUS, one of CICERO's Freed men.

Quo tua Romanæ vindex clariſſime linguæ
Sylva loco melius ſurgere juſſa viret,
Atque Academiæ celebratam nomine villam
Nunc reparat cultu ſub potiore Vetus,
Hic etiam apparent lymphæ non ante repertæ,
Languida quæ infuſo lumina rore levant.

Nimirum

[*n*] Ego ex magnis caloribus, non enim meminimus majores, in Arpinati, ſumma cum amœnitate fluminis, me refeci ludorum diebus. Ad Quint. 3. 1.

Nimirum locus ipſe ſui CICERONIS *honori*
Hoc dedit, hac fontes cum patefecit ope.
Ut quoniam totum legitur ſine fine per orbem,
Sint plures, oculis quæ medeantur, aquæ [o].

Where groves, once thine, now with freſh verdure bloom,
Great Parent of the Eloquence of Rome,
And where thy Academy, favorite ſeat,
Now to ANTISTIUS *yields it's ſweet retreat,*
A guſhing ſtream burſts out, of wondrous power,
To heal the eyes, and weaken'd ſight reſtore.
The place, which all it's pride from CICERO *drew,*
Repays this honor to his memory due,
That ſince his works throughout the world are ſpread,
And with ſuch eagerneſs by all are read,
New ſprings of healing quality ſhould riſe,
To eaſe the encreaſe of labor to the eyes.

THE Furniture of his Houſes was ſuitable to the elegance of his taſt, and the magnificence of his buildings; his Galleries were adorned with ſtatues and paintings of the beſt Grecian Maſters; and his veſſels and moveables were of the beſt work and choiceſt materials. There was *a Cedar table* of his remaining in PLINY's time; ſaid to

[o] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 31. 2.
THIS Villa was afterwards an Imperial Palace; poſſeſſed by the Emperor HADRIAN, who died and was buried in it; where he is ſuppoſed to have breathed out that laſt and celebrated adieu to his *little pallid, frightened, fluttering Soul* [1]; which would have left him with leſs regret, if, from CICERO's habitation on earth, it had known the way to thoſe regions above, where CICERO probably ſtill lives, in the fruition of endleſs happineſs [2].

[1] Animula vagula, blandula,
Hoſpes, Comeſque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Nec, ut ſoles, dabis jocos.
Ælii Spartian. Vit. Hadr. 25.

[2] Ubi nunc agat anima CICERONIS, fortaſſe non eſt humani judicii pronuntiare: me certe non admodum adverſum habituri ſint in ferendis calculis, qui ſperant illum apud Superos quietam vitam agere — Eraſm. Procem. in Tuſc. Quæſt. ad Joh. Ulatten.

to be *the firſt*, which was ever ſeen in *Rome*, and to have coſt him *eighty pounds* [*p*]. He thought it the part of an eminent Citizen, to preſerve an uniformity of character in every article of his conduct, and to illuſtrate his dignity by the ſplendor of his life. This was the reaſon of the great variety of his houſes, and of their ſituation in the moſt conſpicuous parts of *Italy*, along the courſe of the *Appian* road; that they might occur at every ſtage to the obſervation of travellers, and lie commodious for the reception and entertainment of his friends.

THE reader perhaps, when he reflects on what the old writers have ſaid, of the mediocrity of his paternal eſtate, will be at a loſs to conceive, whence all his revenues flowed, that enabled him to ſuſtain the vaſt expence of building and maintaining ſuch a number of noble houſes: but the ſolution will be eaſy, when we recollect the great opportunities, that he had of improving his original fortunes. The two principal funds of wealth to the leading men of *Rome*, were; firſt, the public Magiſtracies, and Provincial Commands; ſecondly, the preſents of Kings, Princes, and foreign ſtates, whom they had obliged by their ſervices and protection: and though no man was more moderate in the uſe of theſe advantages than CICERO, yet to one of his prudence, œconomy, and contempt of vicious pleaſures, theſe were abundantly ſufficient to anſwer all his expences [*q*]: for in his Province of *Cilicia*, after all the memorable inſtances of his generoſity, by which he ſaved to the public a full million ſterling, which all other Governors had applied to their

[*p*] Extat hodie M. CICERONIS, in illa paupertate, & quod magis mirum eſt, illo ævo empta H. S. X. — [Plin. Hiſt. N. 13. 15.] nullius ante CICERONIANAM vetuſtior memoria eſt. ib. 16.

[*q*] Parva ſunt, quæ deſunt noſtris quidem moribus, & ea ſunt ad explicandum expeditiſſima, modo valeamus. Ad. Quint. 2. 15.

private uſe, yet at the expiration of his year, he left in the hands of *the Publicans in Aſia, near twenty thouſand pounds*, reſerved from the ſtrict dues of his Government, and remitted to him afterwards at *Rome* [*r*]. But there was another way of acquiring money, eſteemed the moſt reputable of any, which brought large and frequent ſupplies to him, *the legacies of deceaſed friends*. It was the peculiar cuſtom of *Rome*, for the Clients and dependents of families, to bequeath at their death to their Patrons ſome conſiderable part of their eſtates, as the moſt effectual teſtimony of their reſpect and gratitude; and the more a man received in this way, the more it redounded to his credit. Thus CICERO mentions it to the honor of LUCULLUS, that, while he governed *Aſia* as Proconſul, *many great eſtates were left to him by will* [*s*]: and NEPOS tells us, in praiſe of ATTICUS, *that he ſucceeded to many inheritances* of the ſame kind, bequeathed to him on no other account, than of his friendly and amiable temper [*t*]. CICERO had his full ſhare of theſe teſtamentary donations; as we ſee from the many inſtances of them mentioned in his Letters [*u*]; and when he was falſely reproached by ANTONY, with being neglected on theſe occaſions, he declared in his reply, that he had gained from this ſingle article *about two hundred thouſand pounds, by the free and voluntary gifts of dying friends; not the forged wills of perſons unknown to him*; with which he charged ANTONY [*x*].

His

[*r*] Ego in ciſtophoro in Aſia habeo ad H S. bis & vicies, hujus pecuniæ permutatione fidem noſtram facile tuebere. Ad. Att. xi. 1.

[*s*] Maximas audio tibi, L. LUCULLE, pro tua eximia liberalitate, maximiſque beneficiis in tuos, veniſſe hereditates. pr. Flacc. 34.

[*t*] Multas enim hereditates nulla alia re, quam bonitate eſt conſecutus. Vit. Attic. 21.

[*u*] Ad Att. 2. 20. xi. 2. pr. Mil. 18.

[*x*] Hereditates mihi negaſti venire — ego enim amplius H. S. ducenties acceptum hereditatibus retuli — me nemo, niſi amicus, fecit heredem—te is, quem tu vidiſti nunquam. —Phil. 2. 16.

His moral character was never blemiſhed by the ſtain of any habitual vice; but was a ſhining pattern of virtue to an age, of all others the moſt licentious and profligate [*y*]. His mind was ſuperior to all the ſordid paſſions, which engroſs little ſouls; avarice, envy, malice, luſt. If we ſift his familiar letters, we cannot diſcover in them the leaſt hint of any thing baſe, immodeſt, ſpitefull or perfidious; but an uniform principle of benevolence, juſtice, love of his friends and country, flowing through the whole, and inſpiring all his thoughts and actions. Though no man ever felt the effects of other people's envy more ſeverely than he, yet no man was ever more free from it: this is allowed to him by all the old writers, and is evident indeed from his works; where we find him perpetually praiſing and recommending whatever was laudable, even in a rival or an adverſary; celebrating merit, where-ever it was found; whether in the ancients or his contemporaries; whether in *Greeks* or *Romans*; and verifying a maxim, which he had declared in a ſpeech to the Senate, *that no man could be envious of another's virtue, who was conſcious of his own* [*z*].

His ſprightly wit would naturally have recommended him to the favor of the Ladies; whoſe company he uſed to frequent when young, and with many of whom of the firſt quality, he was oft engaged in his riper years, to confer about the intereſts of their huſbands, brothers, or relations, who were abſent from *Rome*: yet we meet with no trace of any criminal gallantry, or intrigue with any of them. In a letter to Pætus, towards the end of his life, he gives a jocoſe account of his ſupping with their friend Volum-

[*y*] Cum vita fuerit integra, nec integra ſolum ſed etiam caſta. Eraſm. Epiſt. ad Jo. Ulatten.

[*z*] Declaraſti verum eſſe id, quod ego ſemper ſenſi, *neminem alterius, qui ſuæ confideret, virtuti invidere.* Phil. x. 1. vid. Plutar.

NIUS, an Epicurean wit of the firſt claſs, when the famed Courteſan, CYTHERIS, who had been VOLUMNIUS's ſlave, and was then his miſtreſs, made one of the company at table: where after ſeveral jokes on that incident, he ſays, *that he never ſuſpected, that ſhe would have been of the party; and though he was always a lover of chearfull entertainments, yet nothing of that ſort had ever pleaſed him when young, much leſs now, when he was old* [*a*]. There was one Lady however, called CÆRELLIA, with whom he kept up a particular familiarity and correſpondence of letters; on which DIO, as it has been already hinted, abſurdly grounds ſome little ſcandal, though he owns her to have been *ſeventy years old*. She is frequently mentioned in CICERO's Letters, as a lover of books and philoſophy; and on that account, as fond of his company and writings: but while, out of complaiſance to her ſex, and a regard to her uncommon talents, he treated her always with reſpect; yet by the hints, which he drops of her to ATTICUS, it appears, that ſhe had no ſhare of his affections, or any real authority with him [*b*].

HIS failings were as few, as were ever found in any eminent genius; ſuch as flowed from his conſtitution, not his will; and were chargeable rather to the condition of his humanity, than to the fault of the man. He was thought to *be too ſanguin in proſperity, too deſponding in adverſity*; and apt to perſuade himſelf in each fortune, *that it would never have an end* [*c*]. This is POLLIO's account

[*a*] Me vero nihil iſtorum ne juvenem quidem movit unquam, ne nunc ſenem. Ep. fam. 9. 26.

[*b*] Mirifice Cærellia, ſtudio videlicet philoſophiæ flagrans, deſcribit a tuis: iſtos ipſos de finibus habet—[ad Att. 13. 21.] Cærelliæ facile ſatisfeci; nec valde laborare viſa eſt: & ſi illa, ego certe non laborarem—ib. 15. 1. it. 12. 51. 14. 19. Fam. 13. 72. Quintil. 6. 3. Dio. 303.

[*c*] Utinam moderatius ſecundas res, & fortius adverſas ferre potuiſſet! namque utræque cum venerant ei, mutari eas non poſſe rebatur. Aſin. Poll. apud Sen. Suaſor. 6.

account of him; which ſeems in general to be true: BRUTUS touches the firſt part of it in one of his letters to him; and when things were going proſperouſly againſt ANTONY, puts him gently in mind, *that he ſeemed to truſt too much to his hopes* [*d*]: and he himſelf allows the ſecond, and ſays, that *if any one was timorous in great and dangerous events, apprehending always the worſt, rather than hoping the beſt, he was the man; and if that was a fault,* confeſſes himſelf *not to be free from it* [*e*]: yet in explaning afterwards the nature of this timidity, it was ſuch, he tells us, as ſhewed itſelf rather *in foreſeeing dangers, than in encountring them:* an explication, which the latter part of his life fully confirmed, and above all his death, which no man could ſuſtain with greater courage and reſolution [*f*].

BUT the moſt conſpicuous and glaring paſſion of his ſoul was, the *love of glory and thirſt of praiſe:* a paſſion, that he not onely avowed, but freely indulged; and ſometimes, as he himſelf confeſſes, *to a degree even of vanity* [*g*]. This often gave his enemies a plauſible handle of ridiculing his pride and arrogance [*h*]; while the forwardneſs, that he ſhewed, to celebrate his own merits in all his public ſpeeches, ſeemed to juſtify their cenſures: and ſince this is generally conſidered as the grand foible of his life, and has

[*d*] Qua in re, Cicero, vir optime ac fortiſſime, mihique merito & meo nomine & Reipub. cariſſime, nimis credere videris ſpei tuæ— Brut. ad Cic. 4.

[*e*] Nam ſi quiſquam eſt timidus in magnis periculoſiſque rebus, ſemperque magis adverſos rerum exitus metuens, quam ſperans ſecundos, is ego ſum: & ſi hoc vitium eſt, eo me non carere confiteor. Ep. fam. 6. 14.

[*f*] Parum fortis videbatur quibuſdam: quibus optime reſpondit ipſe, non ſe timidum in ſuſcipiendis, ſed in providendis periculis: quod probavit morte quoque ipſa, quam præſtantiſſimo ſuſcepit animo. Quintil. l. 12. 1.

[*g*] Nunc quoniam laudis avidiſſimi ſemper fuimus. [Ad Att. 1. 15.] Quin etiam quod eſt ſubinane in nobis, & non ἀφιλόδοξον, bellum eſt enim ſua vitia noſſe. [ib. 2. 17.] Sum etiam avidior etiam, quam ſatis eſt, gloriæ. Ep. fam. 9. 14.

[*h*] Et quoniam hoc reprehendis, quod ſolere me dicas de me ipſo glorioſius prædicare— Pro Dom. 35.

has been handed down implicitely from age to age, without ever being fairly examined, or rightly underſtood, it will be proper to lay open the ſource, from which the paſſion itſelf flowed, and explane the nature of that *glory*, of which he profeſſes himſelf ſo fond.

TRUE glory then, according to his own definition of it, is *a wide and illuſtrious fame of many and great benefits, conferred upon our friends, our country, or the whole race of mankind* [*i*]: it is not, he ſays, *the empty blaſt of popular favor, or the applauſe of a giddy multitude*, which all wiſe men had evet deſpiſed, and none more than himſelf, but *the conſenting praiſe of all honeſt men, and the incorrupt teſtimony of thoſe, who can judge of excellent merit; which reſounds always to virtue, as the eccho to the voice*; and ſince it is the general companion of good actions, ought not to be rejected by good men. That thoſe, who aſpired to this glory, were not to expect *eaſe or pleaſure or tranquillity of life for their pains; but muſt give up their own peace, to ſecure the peace of others; muſt expoſe themſelves to ſtorms and dangers for the public good; ſuſtain many battels with the audacious and the wicked, and ſome even with the powerfull:* in ſhort, muſt behave themſelves ſo, *as to give their citizens cauſe to rejoice, that they had ever been born* [*k*]. This is the notion that he inculcates every where

[*i*] Si quidem gloria eſt illuſtris ac pervagata multorum & magnorum vel in ſuos, vel in patriam, vel in omne genus hominum fama meritorum.—Pro Marcel. 8.

Qui autem bonam famam bonorum, quæ ſola vera gloria nominari poteſt, expetunt, aliis otium quærere debent & voluptates, non ſibi. Sudandum eſt his pro communibus commodis, adeundæ inimicitiæ, ſubeundæ ſæpe pro Repub. tempeſtates. Cum multis audacibus, improbis, nonnunquam etiam potentibus, dimicandum. Pro Sext. 66.

[*k*] Si quiſquam fuit unquam remotus & natura, & magis etiam, ut mihi quidem ſentire videor, ratione atque doctrina, ab inani laude & ſermonibus vulgi, ego profecto is ſum.—— Ep. fam. 15. 4.

Eſt enim gloria—conſentiens laus bonorum; incorrupta vox bene judicantium de excellente virtute: ea virtuti reſonat tanquam imago: quæ quia recte factorum plerumque comes eſt, non eſt bonis viris repudianda. Tuſc. quæſt. 3. 2.

Carum eſſe civem, bene de Repub. mereri, laudari, coli, diligi, glorioſum eſt—quare ita guberna Rempub. ut natum eſſe te cives tui gaudeant: ſine quo nec beatus, nec clarus quiſquam eſſe poteſt. Phil. 1. 14.

where of *true glory*: which is ſurely one of the nobleſt principles, that can inſpire a human breaſt; implanted by God in our nature, to dignify and exalt it; and always found the ſtrongeſt in the beſt and moſt elevated minds; and to which we owe every thing great and laudable, that Hiſtory has to offer to us, through all the ages of the Heathen world. There is not an inſtance, ſays CICERO, of a man's exerting himſelf ever *with praiſe and virtue in the dangers of his country, who was not drawn to it by the hopes of glory, and a regard to poſterity* [*l*]. *Give me a boy*, ſays QUINTILIAN, whom *praiſe excites, whom glory warms*: for ſuch a ſcholar was ſure to anſwer all his hopes, and do credit to his diſcipline [*m*]. *Whether poſterity will have any reſpect for me*, ſays PLINY, *I know not; but am ſure, that I have deſerved ſome from it: I will not ſay by my wit, for that would be arrogant; but by the zeal, by the pains, by the reverence, which I have always paid to it* [*n*].

IT will not ſeem ſtrange, to obſerve the wiſeſt of the ancients puſhing this principle to ſo great a length, and conſidering glory, as the ampleſt reward of a well ſpent life [*o*]; when we reflect, that the greateſt part of them had no notion of any other reward or futurity; and even thoſe, who believed a ſtate of happineſs to the good, yet entertained it with ſo much diffidence, that they indulged it rather as a wiſh, than a well grounded hope; and were glad therefore to lay hold on that, which ſeemed to be within

[*l*] Neque quiſquam noſtrum in Reipub. periculis, cum laude ac virtute verſatur, quin ſpe poſteritatis, fructuque ducatur. Pro C. Rabir. x.

[*m*] Mihi detur ille puer, quem laus excitet, quem gloria juvet. Hic erit alendus ambitu—in hoc deſidiam nunquam verebor. Quintil. 1. 3.

[*n*]—Poſteris an aliqua cura noſtri, neſcio. Nos certe meremur, ut ſit aliqua: non dico, ingenio; id enim ſuperbum; ſed ſtudio, ſed labore, ſed reverentia poſterum. Plin. Ep.

[*o*] Sed tamen ex omnibus præmiis virtutis, ſi eſſet habenda ratio præmiorum, ampliſſimum eſſe præmium gloriam. Eſſe hanc unam, quæ brevitatem vitæ poſteritatis memoria conſolaretur.—Pro Mil. 35.

within their reach, a futurity of their own creating; an immortality of fame and glory from the applauſe of poſterity. This, by a pleaſing fiction, they looked upon as a propagation of life, and an eternity of exiſtence; and had no ſmall comfort in imagining, that, though the ſenſe of it ſhould not reach to themſelves, it would extend at leaſt to others; and that they ſhould be doing good ſtill when dead, by leaving the example of their virtues to the imitation of mankind. Thus CICERO, as he often declares, never looked upon that to be his life, which was confined to this narrow circle on earth, but conſidered his acts, as ſeeds ſown in the immenſe field of the univerſe, to raiſe up the fruit of glory and immortality to him through a ſucceſſion of infinite ages: nor has he been fruſtrated of his hope, or diſappointed of his end; but as long as the name of *Rome* ſubſiſts, or as long as learning, virtue and liberty preſerve any credit in the world, he will be great and glorious in the memory of all poſterity.

As to the other part of the charge, or the proof of his vanity, drawn from *his boaſting ſo frequently of himſelf* in his ſpeeches both to the Senate and the People, though it may appear to a common reader to be abundantly confirmed by his writings; yet if we attend to the circumſtances of the times, and the part which he acted in them, we ſhall find it not onely excuſable, but in ſome degree even neceſſary. The fate of *Rome* was now brought to a criſis; and the contending parties were making their laſt efforts, either to oppreſs or preſerve it: CICERO was the head of thoſe, who ſtood up for it's liberty; which intirely depended on the influence of his counſils: he had many years therefore been the common mark of the rage and malice of all, who were aiming at illegal powers, or a

tyranny

tyranny in the ſtate; and while theſe were generally ſupported by the military power of the Empire, he had no other arms or means of defeating them, but his authority with the Senate and People, grounded on the experience of his ſervices, and the perſuaſion of his integrity: ſo that, to obviate the perpetual calumnies of the factious, he was obliged to inculcate the merit and good effects of his counſils; in order to confirm people in their union and adherence to them, againſt the intrigues of thoſe, who were employing all arts to ſubvert them. *The frequent commemoration of his acts*, ſays QUINTILIAN, *was not made ſo much for glory, as for defence; to repell calumny, and vindicate his meaſures, when they were attacked* [p]: and this is what CICERO himſelf declared in all his ſpeeches; "that no man ever heard him ſpeak of himſelf, but when "he was forced to it: that when he was urged with fic-"titious crimes, it was his cuſtom to anſwer them with "his real ſervices: and if ever he ſaid any thing glorious "of himſelf, it was not through a fondneſs of praiſe, but "to repell an accuſation [q]: that no man, who had been "converſant in great affairs, and treated with particular "envy, could refute the contumely of an enemy, with-"out touching upon his own praiſes; and, after all his "labors for the common ſafety, if a juſt indignation had "drawn from him at any time, what might ſeem to be "vain-glorious, it might reaſonably be forgiven to him [r]:

[p] Vigeſimus annus eſt, cum omnes ſcelerati me unum petunt. Phil. 12. x. 6. 6.

At plerumque illud quoque non ſine aliqua ratione fecit.—Ut illorum, quæ egerat in Conſulatu frequens commemoratio, poſſit videri non gloriæ magis quam defenſioni data—plerumque contra inimicos atque obtrectatores plus vendicat ſibi; erant enim tuenda, cum objicerentur. Quintil. xi. 1.

[q] Quis unquam audivit, cum ego de me niſi coactus ac neceſſario dicerem?—dicendum igitur eſt id, quod non dicerem niſi coactus: nihil enim unquam de me dixi ſublatius aſciſcendæ laudis cauſa potius, quam criminis depellendi—pro Dom. 35, 36.

[r] Poteſt quiſquam vir in rebus magnis cum invidia verſatus, ſatis graviter contra inimici contumeliam, ſine ſua laude reſpondere?—

Quan-

" that when others were ſilent about him, if he could not " then forbear to ſpeak of himſelf, that indeed would be " ſhamefull; but when he was injured, accuſed, expoſed " to popular odium, he muſt certainly be allowed to aſſert " his liberty, if they would not ſuffer him to retain his " dignity [s]." This then was the true ſtate of the caſe, as it is evident from the facts of his hiſtory: he had an ardent love of glory, and an eager thirſt of praiſe: was pleaſed, when living, to hear his acts applauded; yet more ſtill with imagining, that they would ever be celebrated, when he was dead: a paſſion, which for the reaſons already hinted, had always the greateſt force on the greateſt ſouls: but it muſt needs raiſe our contempt and indignation, to ſee every conceited pedant, and trifling declamer, who know little of CICERO's real character, and leſs ſtill of their own, preſuming to call him *the vaineſt of mortals.*

BUT there is no point of light, in which we can view him with more advantage or ſatisfaction to ourſelves, than in the contemplation of his learning, and the ſurprizing extent of his knowledge. This ſhines ſo conſpicuous in all the monuments, which remain of him, that it even leſſens the dignity of his general character; while the idea of the ſcholar abſorbes that of the Senator; and by conſidering him as the greateſt writer, we are apt to forget, that he was the greateſt Magiſtrate alſo of *Rome.* We learn our *Latin* from him at ſchool; our ſtile and ſentiments at the College: here the generality take their leave of him,

Quanquam ſi me tantis laboribus pro communi ſalute perfunctum efferret aliquando ad gloriam in refutandis maledictis improborum hominum animi quidam dolor, quis non ignoſceret?—de Haruſ. reſp. 8.

[s] Si, cum cæteri de nobis ſilent, non etiam noſmet ipſi tacemus, grave. Sed ſi lædimur, ſi accuſamur, ſi in invidiam vocamur, profecto concedetis, ut nobis libertatem retinere liceat, ſi minus liceat dignitatem. Pro Syll. 29.

him; and ſeldom think of him more, but as of an Orator, a Moraliſt, or Philoſopher of Antiquity. But it is with characters as with pictures; we cannot judge well of a ſingle part, without ſurveying the whole; ſince the perfection of each depends on it's proportion and relation to the reſt; while in viewing them all together, they mutually reflect an additional grace upon each other. His learning, conſidered ſeparately, will appear admirable; yet much more ſo, when it is found in the poſſeſſion of the firſt Stateſman of a mighty Empire: his abilities as a Stateſman are glorious; yet ſurprize us ſtill more, when they are obſerved in the ableſt Scholar and Philoſopher of his age: but an union of both theſe characters exhibits that ſublime ſpecimen of perfection, to which the beſt parts with the beſt culture can exalt human nature [*t*].

No man, whoſe life had been wholly ſpent in ſtudy, ever left more numerous or more valuable fruits of his learning, in every branch of ſcience, and the politer arts; *in Oratory*, *Poetry*, *Philoſophy*, *Law*, *Hiſtory*, *Criticiſm*, *Politics*, *Ethics*; in each of which, he equalled the greateſt maſters of his time; in ſome of them, excelled all men of all times [*u*]. His remaining works, as voluminous as they appear, are but a ſmall part of what he really publiſhed; and though many of theſe are come down to us maimed by time, and the barbarity of the intermediate ages, yet they are juſtly eſteemed the moſt precious remains of all antiquity; and like *the Sibylline books*, if more of

[*t*] Cum ad naturam eximiam atque illuſtrem acceſſerit ratio quædam, conformatioque doctrinæ, tum illud neſcio quid præclarum ac ſingulare ſolere exſiſtere. Pro Arch. 7.

[*u*] M. Cicero in libro, qui inſcriptus eſt de Jure civili in artem redigendo, verba hæc poſuit—[A. Gell. 1. 22.] M. Tullius non modo inter agendum nunquam eſt deſtitutus ſcientia juris, ſed etiam componere aliqua de eo cœperat. [Quintil. 12. 3.] At M. Tullium, non illum habemus Euphranorem, circa plurium artium ſpecies præſtantem, ſed in omnibus, quæ in quoque laudantur, eminentiſſimum. Ib. c. x.

them had periſhed, would have been equal ſtill to any price.

His induſtry was incredible, beyond the example, or even conception of our days: this was the ſecret, by which he performed ſuch wonders, and reconciled perpetual ſtudy, with perpetual affairs. He ſuffered no part of his leiſure to be idle, or the leaſt interval of it to be loſt; but what other people gave to *the public ſhews, to pleaſures, to feaſts*, nay even *to ſleep and the ordinary refreſhments of nature*, he generally gave to *his books*, and the enlargement of his knowledge [*x*]. On days of buſineſs, when he had any thing particular to compoſe, he had no other time for meditating, but when he was taking *a few turns in his walks*, where he uſed to dictate his thoughts *to his Scribes*, who attended him [*y*]. We find many of his letters dated before *day light*; ſome from *the Senate*; others from *his meals*, and the croud of *his morning levee* [*z*].

No compoſitions afford more pleaſure than *the Epiſtles* of great men: they touch the heart of the reader, by laying open that of the writer. The Letters of eminent wits, eminent ſcholars, eminent ſtateſmen, are all eſteemed in their ſeveral kinds; but there never was a collection, that excelled

[*x*] Quantum cæteris ad ſuas res obeundas, quantum ad feſtos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, & ipſam requiem animi & corporis conceditur temporum: quantum alii tribuunt tempeſtivis conviviis: quantum denique aleæ, quantum pilæ, tantum mihi egomet ad hæc ſtudia recolenda ſumſero—pro Arch. 6.

Cui fuerit ne otium quidem unquam otioſum. Nam quas tu commemoras legere te ſolere orationes, cum otioſus ſis, has ego ſcripſi ludis & feriis, ne omnino unquam eſſem otioſus. Pro Planc. 27.

[*y*] Ita quicquid conficio aut cogito, in ambulationis fere tempus confero. [Ad Quint. 3. 3.] Nam cum vacui temporis nihil haberem, & cum recreandæ voculæ cauſa mihi neceſſe eſſet ambulare, hæc dictavi ambulans. Ad Att. 2. 23.

[*z*] Cum hæc ſcribebam ante lucem. [Ad Quint. 3. 2. 7.] Ante lucem cum ſcriberem contra Epicureos, de eodem oleo & opera exaravi neſcio quid ad te, & ante lucem dedi. Deinde cum, ſomno repetito, ſimul cum ſole experrectus eſſem.—Ad Att. 13. 38. Hæc ad te ſcripſi appoſita ſecunda menſa. [ib. 14. 6. 21. 15. 13.] Hoc paullulum exaravi ipſa in turba matutinæ ſalutationis. Ad Brut. l. 2. 4.

excelled ſo much in every kind, as CICERO's; for the purity of ſtile, the importance of the matter, or the dignity of the perſons concerned in them. We have about *a thouſand* ſtill remaining, all written after he was *forty* years old; which are but a ſmall part, not onely of what he wrote, but of what were actually publiſhed after his death by his ſervant TIRO. For we ſee many volumes of them quoted by the Ancients, which are utterly loſt; as *the firſt book* of his Letters to LICINIUS CALVUS; *the firſt* alſo to Q. AXIUS; *a ſecond book* to his ſon; *a ſecond* alſo to CORN. NEPOS; *a third book* to J. CÆSAR; *a third* to OCTAVIUS; and *a third alſo* to PANSA; *an eighth book* to M. BRUTUS; and *a ninth* to A. HIRTIUS. Of all which, excepting a few to J. CÆSAR and BRUTUS, we have nothing more left, than ſome ſcattered phraſes and ſentences, gathered from the citations of the old Critics and Grammarians [*a*]. What makes theſe letters ſtill more eſtimable is, that he had never deſigned them for the public, nor kept any copies of them; for the year before his death, when ATTICUS was making ſome inquiry about them, he ſent him word, *that he had made no collection; and that* TIRO *had preſerved onely about ſeventy* [*b*]. Here then we may expect to ſee the genuin man, without diſguiſe or affectation; eſpecially in his letters to ATTICUS; to whom he talked with the ſame frankneſs as to himſelf; opened the riſe and progreſs of each thought; and never entered into any affair without his particular advice: ſo that theſe may be conſidered, *as the memoirs of his times*; containing the moſt authentic materials for the Hiſtory of that age, and laying open the grounds and motives of all the

[*a*] See the fragments of his Letters in the Editions of his works.

[*b*] Mearum Epiſtolarum nulla eſt συναγωγή. Sed habet Tiro inſtar ſeptuaginta. Ad Att. 16. 5.

the great events that happened in it [c]: and it is the want of attention to them, that makes the generality of writers on theſe times ſo ſuperficial, as well as erroneous; while they chuſe to tranſcribe the dry and imperfect relations of the later *Greek Hiſtorians*, rather than take the pains, to extract the original account of facts from one, who was a principal actor in them.

In his familiar Letters, he affected no particular elegance or choice of words, but took the firſt that occurred from *common uſe and the language of converſation* [d]. Whenever he was diſpoſed to joke, his wit was eaſy and natural; flowing always from the ſubject, and throwing out *what came uppermoſt*; nor diſdaining even a pun, when it ſerved to make his friends laugh [e]. In Letters of compliment, ſome of which were addreſſed to the greateſt men, who ever lived, his inclination to pleaſe is expreſſed in a manner agreeable to nature and reaſon; with the utmoſt delicacy both of ſentiment and diction; yet without any of thoſe pompous titles and lofty epithets, which modern cuſtom has introduced into our commerce with the great, and falſely ſtamped with the name of politeneſs; though they are the real offspring of barbariſm, and the effect of our degeneracy, both in taſt and manners. In his political Letters, all his maxims are drawn from an intimate knowledge of men and things: he always touches the point, on which the affair turns; foreſees the danger and foretells the miſchief; which never failed to follow upon

[c] Quæ qui legat non multum deſideret hiſtoriam contextam eorum temporum; ſic enim omnia de ſtudiis principum, vitiis ducum, ac mutationibus Reipub. perſcripta ſunt, ut nihil in his non appareat. Corn. Nep. vit. Att. 16.

[d] Epiſtolas vero quotidianis verbis texere ſolemus. Ep. Fam. 9. 21.

[e] Quicquid in buccam venerit. Ad Att. 7. x. 14. 7. In reproaching ANTONY for publiſhing one of his Letters to him, *How many jeſts*, ſays he, *are often found in private Letters, which, if made public, might be thought fooliſh and impertinent?* Phil. 2. 4.

upon the neglect of his counſils; of which there were ſo many inſtances, that, as an eminent writer of his own time obſerved of him, *his prudence ſeemed to be a kind of divination, which foretold every thing that afterwards happened, with the veracity of a Prophet* [*f*]. But none of his Letters do him more credit than thoſe of the *recommendatory* kind: the others ſhew his wit and his parts; theſe his benevolence and his probity: he ſollicits the intereſt of his friends with all the warmth and force of words, of which he was maſter; and alledges generally ſome perſonal reaſon for his peculiar zeal in the cauſe, and that his own honor was concerned in the ſucceſs of it [*g*].

BUT his Letters are not more valuable on any account, than for their being the onely monuments of that ſort, which remain to us from *free Rome*. They breath the laſt words of expiring liberty; a great part of them having been written in the very criſis of it's ruin, to rouſe up all the virtue, that was left in the honeſt and the brave,

[*f*] Ut facile exiſtimari poſſit prudentiam quodammodo eſſe divinationem. Non enim CICERO ea ſolum, quæ vivo ſe acciderunt, futura prædixit, ſed etiam, quæ nunc uſu veniunt, cecinit, ut Vates. Corn. Nep. 16.

[*g*] AN objection may poſſibly be made to my character of theſe Letters, from a certain paſſage in one of them, addreſſed to a *Proconſul of Afric*, wherein he intimates, that there was *a private mark* agreed upon between them, which, when affixed to his Letters, would ſignify, what real ſtreſs he himſelf laid upon them, and what degree of influence he deſired them to have with his friend. [Ep. fam. 13. 6.] But that ſeems to relate onely to the particular caſe of one man, who having great affairs in *Afric*, was likely to be particularly troubleſome both to CICERO *and the Proconſul*; whoſe general concerns however he recommends in that Letter with the utmoſt warmth and affection. But if he had uſed the ſame method with all the other Proconſuls and foreign Commanders, it ſeems not onely reaſonable, but neceſſary, that a man of his character and authority, whoſe favor was perpetually ſollicited by perſons of all ranks, ſhould make ſome diſtinction between his real friends, whom he recommended for their own ſake, and thoſe, whoſe recommendations were extorted from him by the importunity of others; which was frequently the caſe, as he himſelf declares in theſe very Letters. *Your regard for me*, ſays he, *is ſo publicly known, that I am importuned by many for recommendations to you. But though I give them ſometimes to men of no conſequence, yet for the moſt part, it is to my real friends.* Again, *Our friendſhip, and your affection to me is ſo illuſtrious, that I am under a neceſſity of recommending many people to You: but though it is my duty to wiſh well to all, whom I recommend; yet I do not live upon the ſame foot of friendſhip with them all*, &c. Ep. fam. 13. 70, 71.

brave, to the defenſe of their country. The advantage, which they derive from this circumſtance, will eaſily be obſerved by comparing them with the Epiſtles of the beſt and greateſt, who floriſhed afterwards in *Imperial Rome*. PLINY's Letters are juſtly admired by men of taſt: they ſhew the ſcholar, the wit, the fine Gentleman: yet we cannot but obſerve a poverty and barrenneſs through the whole, that betrays the awe of a maſter. All his ſtories and reflections terminate in private life; there is nothing important in politics; no great affairs explaned; no account of the motives of public counſils: he had born all the ſame offices with CICERO, whom in all points he affected to emulate [*b*]; yet his honors were in effect but nominal; conferred by a ſuperior power, and adminiſtered by a ſuperior will; and with the old titles of Conſul and Proconſul, we want ſtill the Stateſman, the Politician and the Magiſtrate. In his Provincial command, where CICERO governed all things with a ſupreme authority, and had Kings attendant on his orders; PLINY durſt not venture *to repair a Bath*; *or puniſh a fugitive ſlave*; *or incorporate a company of Maſons*; till he had firſt conſulted and obtained the leave of TRAJAN [*i*].

HIS Hiſtorical works are all loſt: *the Commentaries of his Conſulſhip in Greek*; *the Hiſtory of his own affairs*, to his return from exil, *in Latin verſe*; *and his Anecdotes*; as well as the pieces, that he publiſhed on *Natural Hiſtory*; of which PLINY quotes one, upon *the wonders of Nature*; and another *on perfumes* [*k*]. He was meditating

[*b*] Lætaris, quod honoribus ejus inſiſtam, quem æmulari in ſtudiis cupio. Plin. Ep. 4. 8.

[*i*] Pruſenſes, Domine, balneum habent & ſordidum & vetus. id itaque indulgentia tua reſtituere deſiderant. Ep. l. x. 34.

Quorum ego ſupplicium diſtuli, ut te conditorem diſciplinæ militaris, firmatoremque, conſulerem de modo pœnæ. ib. 38.

Tu, Domine, deſpice an inſtituendum putes collegium Fabrorum, duntaxat hominum CL. ib. 42.

[*k*] CICERO in Admirandis poſuit, &c.

meditating likewiſe a general *Hiſtory of Rome*, to which he was frequently urged by his friends, as the onely man capable of adding that glory alſo to his country, of excelling the Greeks in a ſpecies of writing, which, of all others, was at that time the leaſt cultivated by the *Romans* [*l*]. But he never found leiſure to execute ſo great a taſk; yet has ſketched out a plan of it, which, ſhort as it is, ſeems to be the beſt, that can be formed, for the deſign of a perfect Hiſtory.

" He declares it to be the firſt and fundamental law " of Hiſtory, that it ſhould neither dare to ſay any " thing that was falſe, or fear to ſay any thing that was " true; nor give any juſt ſuſpicion either of favor or " diſaffection: that in the relation of things, the writer " ſhould obſerve the order of time, and add alſo the de- " ſcription of places: that in all great and memorable " tranſactions, he ſhould firſt explane the counſils, then " the acts, laſtly the events: that in the counſils, he " ſhould interpoſe his own judgement on the merit of " them: in the acts, ſhould relate not onely what was " done, but how it was done: in the events, ſhould " ſhew, what ſhare chance or raſhneſs or prudence had " in them: that in regard to perſons, he ſhould deſcribe, " not onely their particular actions, but the lives and " characters of all thoſe, who bear an eminent part in " the ſtory: that he ſhould illuſtrate the whole in a " clear, eaſy, natural ſtile; flowing with a perpetual " ſmoothneſs, and equability; free from the affectation

Plin. Hiſt. N. 31. 2. Quod Admirandis ſuis inſeruit M. CICERO. ibid. c. 4. In monumentis M. CICERONIS invenitur; Unguenta gratiora eſſe, quæ terram, quam quæ crocum ſapiant. Hiſt. N. 13. 3. 17. 5.

[*l*] Poſtulatur a te jamdiu, vel flagitatur potius Hiſtoria: ſic enim putant, te illam tractante, effici poſſe, ut in hoc etiam genere Græciæ nihil cedamus—abeſt enim hiſtoria litteris noſtris—de Leg. 1, 2, 3.

" of points and ſentences, or the roughneſs of judicial " pleadings [*m*]."

We have no remains likewiſe of his Poetry, except ſome fragments occaſionally interſperſed through his other writings; yet theſe, as I have before obſerved, are ſufficient to convince us, that his *poetical genius*, if it had been cultivated with the ſame care, would not have been inferior to his *Oratorial*. The two arts are ſo nearly allied, that an excellency in the one ſeems to imply a capacity for the other; the ſame qualities being eſſential to them both; a ſprightly fancy, fertile invention, flowing and numerous diction. It was in Cicero's time, that the old ruſticity of the Latin muſe firſt began to be poliſhed by the ornaments of dreſs, and the harmony of numbers; but the heigth of perfection, to which it was carried after his death by the ſucceding generation, as it left no room for *a mediocrity in Poetry*, ſo it quite eclipſed the fame of Cicero. For the world always judges of things by compariſon, and becauſe he was not ſo great a Poet, as Virgil and Horace, he was decried as none at all: eſpecially in the Courts of Antony and Auguſtus; where it was a compliment to the Soverein, and a faſhion conſequently among their flatterers [*n*], to make his character ridiculous, where-ever it lay open to them: hence flowed that perpetual raillery, which ſubſiſts to this day, on his famous verſes;

Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ.
O fortunatam natam me Conſule Romam.

and

[*m*] De Orator. 2. 15.

[*n*] Poſtea vero quam Triumvirali proſcriptione conſumptus eſt, paſſim qui oderant, qui invidebant, qui æmulabantur, adulatores etiam præſentis potentiæ, non reſponſurum invaſerunt. Quintil. 12. x.

and two bad lines picked out by the malice of enemies, and tranſmitted to poſterity, as a ſpecimen of the reſt, have ſerved to damn many thouſands of good ones. For PLUTARCH reckons him among *the moſt eminent of the Roman Poets*; and PLINY the younger was proud of emulating him in his poetic character [*o*]; and QUINTILIAN ſeems to charge the cavils of his cenſurers to *a principle of malignity* [*p*]. But his own verſes carry the ſureſt proof of their merit; being written in the beſt manner of that age, in which he lived, and in the ſtile of LUCRETIUS; whoſe Poem he is ſaid to have *reviſed and corrected*, for it's publication, after LUCRETIUS's death [*q*]. This however is certain, that he was the conſtant friend and generous patron of all the celebrated Poets of his time [*r*]; of ACCIUS; ARCHIAS; CHILIUS; LUCRETIUS; CATULLUS; who pays his thanks to him in the following lines, for ſome favor, that he had received from him.

TULLY, *moſt eloquent by far*
Of all, who have been or who are,
Or who in ages ſtill to come
Shall riſe of all the Sons of Rome,
To Thee CATULLUS *gratefull ſends*
His warmeſt thanks, and recommends
His humble muſe, as much below
All other Poets he, as Thou
All other Patrons doſt excell,
In power of words and ſpeaking well [*s*].

[*o*] Sed ego verear, ne me non ſatis deceat, quod decuit M. TULLIUM—Ep. l. 5. 3.

[*p*] In carminibus utinam peperciſſet, quæ non defierunt carpere maligni. Quintil. xi. 1.

[*q*] Euſeb. Chronic.

[*r*] Adjicis M. TULLIUM mira benignitate Poetarum ingenia foviſſe. Plin. Ep. 3. 15. Ut ex familiari ejus L. Accio Poeta audire ſum ſolitus. [Brut. 197.] LUCRETII poemata, ut ſcribis, lita ſunt multis luminibus ingenii, multæ tamen artis. Ad Quint. 2. xi. Vid. ad Att. 1. 9, 16.

[*s*] Diſertiſſime ROMULI nepotum,
Quot ſunt, quotque fuere, MARCE TULLI,
Quotque

But Poetry was the amuſement onely, and relief of his other ſtudies: *Eloquence* was his diſtinguiſhing talent, his ſoverein attribute: to this he devoted all the faculties of his ſoul, and attained to a degree of perfection in it, that no mortal ever ſurpaſſed: ſo that as a polite Hiſtorian obſerves, *Rome had but few Orators before him, whom it could praiſe; none whom it could admire* [t]. Demosthenes was the pattern, by which he formed himſelf; whom he emulated with ſuch ſucceſs, as to merit, what *St. Jerom* calls *that beautifull eloge*; Demosthenes *has ſnatched from thee the glory of being the firſt; thou from* Demosthenes, *that of being the onely Orator* [u]. The genius, the capacity, the ſtile and manner of them both were much the ſame; their eloquence of that great, ſublime and comprehenſive kind, which dignified every ſubject, and gave it all the force and beauty of which it was capable: it was that *roundneſs of ſpeaking*, as the ancients call it, where there was nothing either redundant or deficient; nothing either to be added or retrenched: their perfections were in all points ſo tranſcendent, and yet ſo ſimilar, that the Critics are not agreed, on which ſide to give the preference: Quintilian indeed, the moſt judicious of them, has given it on the whole to Cicero: but if, as others have thought, Cicero had not all the nerves, the energy, or, as he himſelf calls it, *the thunder of* Demosthenes; he excelled him in the copiouſ-

Quotque poſt aliis erunt in annis;
Gratias tibi maximas Catullus
Agit, peſſimus omnium poeta,
Tanto peſſimus omnium poeta
Quanto tn optimus omnium patronus.
Catull. 47.

[t] At oratio—ita univerſa ſub principe operis ſui erupit Tullio; ut delectari ante eum pauciſſimis, mirari vero neminem poſſis—Vell. Pat. 1. 17.

[u] Demosthenem igitur imitemur. O Dii boni! quid quaſi nos aliud agimus, aut quid aliud optamus?—Brut. 417.

M. Tullius, in quem pulcherrimum illud elogium eſt; Demosthenes tibi præripuit, ne eſſes primus Orator; tu illi, ne ſolus. Ad Nepotian. de vita Clericor. Tom. 4. Edit. Bened.—

copiouſneſs, and elegance of his diction; the variety of his ſentiments; and above all, *in the vivacity of his wit, and ſmartneſs of his raillery:* DEMOSTHENES had nothing *jocoſe or facetious* in him; yet by attempting ſometimes to jeſt, ſhewed, *that the thing itſelf did not diſpleaſe, but did not belong to him:* for as LONGINUS ſays, *whenever he affected to be pleaſant, he made himſelf ridiculous; and if he happened to raiſe a laugh, it was chiefly upon himſelf.* Whereas CICERO, from a perpetual fund of wit and ridicule, had the power always to pleaſe, when he found himſelf unable to convince; and could put his Judges into good humor, when he had cauſe to be afraid of their ſeverity; ſo that *by the opportunity of a well timed joke,* he is ſaid to have *preſerved many of his Clients from manifeſt ruin* [*x*].

YET in all this heigth and fame of his eloquence, there was another ſet of Orators at the ſame time in *Rome*; men of parts and learning, and of the firſt quality; who, while they acknowledged the ſuperiority of his genius, yet cenſured his diction, as not truely *Attic or claſſical*; ſome calling it *looſe and languid*; others *tumid and exuberant* [*y*]. Theſe men affected a minute and faſtidious correctneſs; *pointed ſentences, ſhort and conciſe periods,* without a ſyllable to ſpare in them; as if the perfection of Oratory conſiſted *in a frugality of words,* and in crouding our ſentiments into the narroweſt compaſs [*z*]. The

[*x*] Huic diverſa virtus, quæ riſum judicis movendo—plerique DEMOSTHENI facultatem hujus rei defuiſſe credunt, CICERONI modum —nec videri poteſt noluiſſe DEMOSTHENES, cujus pauca admodum dicta——oſtendunt non diſplicuiſſe illi jocos, ſed non contigiſſe—mihi vero—mira quædam videtur in CICERONE fuiſſe urbanitas—[Quintil. l. 6. 3. ib. x. 1. Longin. de Sublim. c. 34.] Ut pro L. FLACCO, quem repetundarum reum joci oportunitate de manifeſtiſſimis criminibus exemit—&c. Macrob. Sat. 2. 1.

[*y*] Conſtat nec CICERONI quidem obtrectatores defuiſſe, quibus inflatus & tumens, nec ſatis preſſus, ſupra modum exultans, & ſuperfluens, & parum ATTICUS videretur, &c. Tacit. Dialog. 18. Vid. Quintil. 12. 1.

[*z*] Mihi falli multum videntur, qui ſolos eſſe ATTICOS credunt, tenues & lucidos & ſignificantes, ſed quadam eloquentiæ frugalitate contentos, ac manum ſemper intra pallium continentes. Quintil. xii. c. x.

The chief Patrons of this taſt were, M. BRUTUS, LICINIUS CALVUS, ASINIUS POLLIO, and SALLUST; whom SENECA ſeems to treat, as the author of *the obſcure, abrupt, and ſententious ſtile* [*a*]. CICERO often ridicules theſe pretenders to *Attic* elegance; as judging of eloquence, *not by the force of the art, but their own weakneſs*; and reſolving to decry, what they could not attain; and to admire nothing, but what they could imitate [*b*]: and though their way of ſpeaking, he ſays, might pleaſe *the ear of a critic or a ſcholar*, yet it was not of that *ſublime and ſonorous* kind, whoſe end was not onely *to inſtruct, but to move* an audience: an eloquence, born for the multitude; whoſe merit was always ſhewn by it's effects, of *exciting admiration, and extorting ſhouts of applauſe*; and on which there never was *any difference of judgement between the learned and the populace* [*c*].

THIS was the genuin eloquence, that prevailed in *Rome* as long as CICERO lived: his were the onely ſpeeches that were reliſhed or admired by the City; while thoſe *Attic* orators, as they called themſelves, were generally deſpiſed, and frequently *deſerted by the audience* in the midſt of their harangues [*d*]. But after CICERO's death and the ruin of the Republic, the *Roman* oratory ſunk of courſe with it's liberty, and a falſe ſpecies univerſally prevailed: when inſtead of that elate, copious, and flowing eloquence, which launched

[*a*] Sic SALLUSTIO vigente, amputatæ ſententiæ, & verba ante expectatum cadentia, & obſcura brevitas, fuere pro cultu. L. Sen. Epiſt. 114.

[*b*] Itaque nobis monendi ſunt ii,—qui aut dici ſe deſiderant ATTICOS, aut ipſi ATTICE volunt dicere, ut mirentur DEMOSTHENEM maxime—eloquentiamque ipſius viribus, non imbecillitate ſua, metiantur. Nunc enim tantum quiſque laudat, quantum ſe poſſe ſperat imitari. Orator. 248. vid. Tuſc. Quæſt. 2. 1.

[*c*] Sed ad Calvum revertamur: qui—metuens ne vitioſum colligeret, etiam verum ſanguinem deperdebat. Itaque ejus oratio nimia religione attenuata, doctis & attente audientibus erat illuſtris; a multitudine autem & a foro, cui nata eloquentia eſt, devorabatur. Brut. 410.

Itaque nunquam de bono Oratore & non bono doctis hominibus cum populo diſſenſio fuit—&c. ibid. 297.

[*d*] At cum iſti Attici dicant, non modo a corona, quod eſt ipſum miſerabile, ſed etiam ab Advocatis relinquuntur. Ib. 417.

launched out freely into every ſubject, there ſucceded a guarded, dry, ſententious kind; full of labored turns and ſtudied points; and proper onely for the occaſion on which it was employed; the making panegyrics, and ſervile compliments to their Tyrants. This change of ſtile may be obſerved in all their writers from CICERO's time, to the younger PLINY; who carried it to it's utmoſt perfection in his celebrated *Panegyric* on the Emperor TRAJAN: which, as it is juſtly admired for the elegance of diction, the beauty of ſentiments, and the delicacy of it's compliments, ſo is become in a manner the ſtandard of fine ſpeaking to modern times: where it is common to hear the pretenders to Criticiſm deſcanting on the tedious length and ſpiritleſs exuberance of the *Ciceronian* periods. But the ſuperiority of CICERO's eloquence, as it was acknowledged by the politeſt age of *free Rome*; ſo it has received the moſt authentic confirmation, that the nature of things can admit, from the concurrent ſenſe of nations; which, neglecting the productions of his rivals and contemporaries, have preſerved to us his ineſtimable remains, as a ſpecimen of the moſt perfect manner of ſpeaking, to which the language of mortals can be exalted: ſo that, as QUINTILIAN declared of him even in that early age, he has acquired ſuch fame with poſterity, that CICERO is not reckoned ſo much *the name of a man, as of eloquence itſelf* [*e*].

BUT we have hitherto been conſidering chiefly the exterior part of CICERO's character, and ſhall now attempt to penetrate the receſſes of his mind, and diſcover the real ſource and principle of his actions, from a view of that Philoſophy, which he profeſſed to follow, as the general rule

[*e*]—Apud poſteros vero id conſecutus, ut CICERO jam non hominis, ſed eloquentiæ nomen habeatur. Quintil. x. 1.

rule of his life. This, as he often declares, was drawn from *the Academic ſect*; which derived it's origin from SOCRATES, and it's name from a celebrated *Gymnaſium*, or place of exerciſe in the ſuburbs of *Athens*, called *the Academy*; where the Profeſſors of that ſchool uſed to hold their lectures and philoſophical diſputations [*f*]. SOCRATES was the firſt, who baniſhed *Phyſics out of Philoſophy*, which till his time had been the ſole object of it; and drew it off from the obſcure and intricate inquiries into nature, and the conſtitution of the heavenly bodies, to queſtions of morality; of more immediate uſe and importance to the happineſs of man; concerning the true notions *of virtue and vice, and the natural difference of good and ill* [*g*]: and as he found the world generally prepoſſeſſed with falſe notions on thoſe ſubjects, ſo his method was, *not to aſſert any opinion of his own, but to refute the opinions of others*, and attack the errors in vogue; as the firſt ſtep towards preparing men for the reception of truth, or what came the neareſt to it, probability [*h*]. While he himſelf therefore profeſſed to *know nothing*, he uſed to ſift out the ſeveral doctrines of all the pretenders to ſcience; and then teize them with a ſeries of queſtions ſo contrived, as to reduce them,

[*f*] Illi autem, qui Platonis inſtituto in Academia, quod eſt alterum gymnaſium, cœtus erant & ſermones habere ſoliti, e loci vocabulo nomen habuerunt. Academ. 1. 4.

N. B. This celebrated place, which SERV. SULPICIUS calls, *the nobleſt Gymnaſium of the world*, took it's name from one ECADEMUS, an ancient Hero, who poſſeſſed it in the time of the Tyndaridæ. But famous as it was, it was purchaſed afterwards for about *one hundred pounds*, and dedicated to the public, for the convenience of walks and exerciſes for the Citizens of *Athens*; and was gradually improved and adorned by the rich, who had received benefit or pleaſure from it, with plantations of groves, ſtately portico's, and commodious apartments, for the particular uſe of the Profeſſors or Maſters of the Academic School; where ſeveral of them are ſaid to have ſpent their lives, and to have reſided ſo ſtrictly, as ſcarce ever to have come within the City. Ep. fam. 4. 12. Plut. in Theſeo. 15. Diog. Laert. in Plato. §. 7. Plutar. de Exil. 603.

[*g*] Socrates—id quod conſtat inter omnes, primus a rebus occultis, & ab ipſa natura involutis—avocaviſſe philoſophiam & ad vitam communem adduxiſſe, ut de virtutibus & vitiis, omninoque de bonis rebus & malis quæreret, &c. ibid. vid. it. Tuſc. Quæſt. 5. 4.

[*h*] E quibus nos id potiſſimum conſecuti ſumus, quo Socratem uſum arbitrabamur; ut noſtram ipſi ſententiam tegeremus, errore alios levaremus; & in omni diſputatione, quid eſſet ſimillumum veri quæreremus, Tuſc. Quæſt. 5. 4. it. 1. 4.

them, by the courſe of their anſwers, to an evident abſurdity, and the impoſſibility of defending, what they had at firſt affirmed [*i*].

BUT PLATO did not ſtrictly adhere to the method of his maſter SOCRATES; and his followers wholly deſerted it: for inſtead of the *Socratic* modeſty of affirming nothing, and examining every thing, they turned *Philoſophy, as it were, into an art*; and formed a ſyſtem of opinions, which they delivered to their diſciples, as the peculiar tenets of their ſect [*k*]. PLATO's Nephew, SPEUSIPPUS, who was left the heir of his ſchool, continued his lectures, as his ſucceſſors alſo did, in the *Academy*, and preſerved the name of *Academics*; whilſt ARISTOTLE, the moſt eminent of PLATO's ſcholars, retired to another *Gymnaſium*, called the *Lyceum*; where from a cuſtom, which he and his followers obſerved, of teaching and diſputing, as they *walked* in the Portico's of the place, they obtained the name of *Peripatetics*, or the walking Philoſophers. Theſe two ſects, though differing in name, agreed generally in things, or in all the principal points of their philoſophy: they placed the chief happineſs of man *in virtue, with a competency of external goods*; taught *the exiſtence of a God, a Providence, the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments* [*l*].

THIS was the ſtate of the Academic ſchool under five ſucceſſive maſters, who governed it after PLATO; SPEUSIPPUS, XENOCRATES, POLEMO, CRATES, CRANTOR; till ARCESILAS, the ſixth, diſcarded at once all the ſyſtems of

[*i*] Socrates enim percunctando atque interrogando elicere ſolebat opiniones eorum, quibuſcum diſſerebat——de Fin. 2. 1.

[*k*] Illam autem Socraticam dubitationem de omnibus rebus, & nulla adfirmatione adhibita conſuetudinem diſſerendi reliquerunt. Ita facta eſt, quod minime Socrates probabat, ars quædam Philoſophiæ, & rerum ordo & deſcriptio diſciplinæ—Academ. 1. 4.

[*l*] Sed idem fons erat utriſque, & eadem rerum expetendarum, fugiendarumque partitio. [Acad. 1. 4, 6, 8.] Peripateticos & Academicos, nominibus differentes, re congruentes, Ib. 2. 5.

his Predeceſſors, and revived the *Socratic* way *of affirming nothing, doubting of all things*, and expoſing the vanity of the reigning opinions [*m*]. He alledged the neceſſity of making this reformation, from *that obſcurity of things*, which had reduced SOCRATES, *and all the Ancients before him, to a confeſſion of their ignorance*: he obſerved, as they had all likewiſe done, *that the ſenſes were narrow; reaſon infirm; life ſhort; truth immerſed in the deep; opinion and cuſtom every where predominant; and all things involved in darkneſs* [*n*]. He taught therefore, "That "there was no certain knowledge, or perception of any "thing in nature; nor any infallible criterion of truth "and falſhood; that nothing was ſo deteſtable as raſh-"neſs; nothing ſo ſcandalous to a Philoſopher, as to "profeſs, what was either falſe, or unknown to him; "that we ought to aſſert nothing dogmatically; but in "all caſes to ſuſpend our aſſent; and inſtead of pretend-"ing to certainty, content ourſelves with opinion, ground-"ed on probability; which was all that a rational mind "had to acquieſce in." This was called *the New Academy*, in diſtinction from *the Platonic*, or *the Old*: which maintained it's credit down to CICERO's time, by a ſucceſſion of able Maſters; the chief of whom was CARNEADES, the fourth from ARCESILAS; who carried it to it's utmoſt heigth of glory, and is greatly celebrated by antiquity for the vivacity of his wit and force of his eloquence [*o*].

WE

[*m*] Arceſilas primum, ex variis Platonis libris, ſermonibuſque Socraticis hoc maxime arripuit, nihil eſſe certi, quod aut ſenſibus aut animo percipi poſſit—de Orat. 3. 18.

[*n*] Non pertinacia ſed earum rerum obſcuritate, quæ ad confeſſionem ignorantiæ adduxerant Socratem, &—omnes pæne veteres; qui nihil cognoſci, nihil percipi, nihil ſciri poſſe dixerunt; anguſtos ſenſus; imbecillos animos; brevia curricula vitæ; in profundo veritatem demerſam; opinionibus & inſtitutis omnia teneri; nihil veritati relinqui: deinceps omnia tenebris circumfuſa eſſe dixerunt. Acad. 1. 13.

[*o*] Hanc Academiam novam appellant;—quæ uſque ad Carneadem perducta, qui quartus ab Arceſila fuit, in eadem Arceſilæ ratione permanſit.—[Academ. 1. 13.] Ut hæc in philoſophia ratio contra omnia diſſerendi, nullamque rem aperte judicandi, profecta a Socrate, repetita ab Arceſila, confirmata a Carneade, uſque ad noſtram viguit ætatem. [de Nat. Deor. 1. 5.] Hinc hæc recentior Academia emanavit, in qua exſtitit divina quadam celeritate ingenii, dicendique copia Carneades—De Orat. 3. 18.

We muſt not however imagine, that theſe *Academics* continued doubting and fluctuating all their lives in ſcepticiſm and irreſolution, without any preciſe opinions, or ſettled principle of judging and acting [*p*]: no; their rule was as certain and conſiſtent, as that of any other ſect; as it is frequently explaned by CICERO in many parts of his works. "We are not of that ſort, ſays he, whoſe mind "is perpetually wandering in error, without any particular "end, or object of it's purſuit: for what would ſuch a "mind, or ſuch a life indeed be worth, which had no "determinate rule or method of thinking and acting? "But the difference between us and the reſt is, that, "whereas they call ſome things *certain* and others *uncer-* "*tain*; we call the one *probable*, the other *improbable*. "For what reaſon then ſhould not I purſue *the probable*, "reject the contrary, and declining the arrogance of af- "firming, avoid the imputation of raſhneſs; which of "all things is the fartheſt removed from wiſdom [*q*]? "Again; we do not pretend to ſay, that there is no "ſuch thing as truth; but that all truths have ſome falſ- "hoods annexed to them, of ſo near a reſemblance and "ſimilitude, as to afford no certain note of diſtinction, "whereby to determine our judgement and aſſent: whence "it follows alſo of courſe, that there are many things "*probable*; which, though not perfectly comprehended, "yet on account of their attractive and ſpecious appear- "ance, are ſufficient to govern the life of a wiſe man [*r*]. "In another place, there is no difference, ſays he, between "us and thoſe, who pretend to know things; but that "they never doubt of the truth of what they maintain;

[*p*] Neque enim Academici, cum in utramque differunt partem, non ſecundum alteram vivunt. Quintil. l. 12. 1.

[*q*] De Offic. 2. 2.

[*r*] De Nat. Deor. 1. 5.

" whereas we have many *probabilities*, which we readily
" embrace, but dare not affirm. By this we preſerve our
" judgement free and unprejudiced, and are under no ne-
" ceſſity of defending, what is preſcribed and injoined to
" us: whereas in the other ſects, men are tied down to
" certain doctrines, before they are capable of judging
" what is the beſt; and in the moſt infirm part of life,
" drawn either by the authority of a friend, or charmed
" with the firſt maſter, whom they happen to hear, they
" form a judgement of things unknown to them; and to
" whatever ſchool they chance to be driven by the tide,
" cleave to it as faſt as the Oyſter to the rock [*s*]."

THUS *the Academy* held the proper medium between the rigor of the Stoic, and the indifference of the Sceptic: the Stoics embraced all their doctrines, as ſo many *fixt and immutable truths*, from which it was infamous to depart; and by making this their point of honor, held all their diſciples in an inviolable attachment to them. The Sceptics on the other hand, obſerved a perfect neutrality towards all opinions; maintaining all of them to be equally uncertain; and that we could not affirm of any thing, *that it*

[*s*] Academ. 2. 3.

N. B. THIS ſketch of the principles of the Academy, may enable us to decide that famous conteſt among the Critics, about the reading of the following paſſage in CICERO's treatiſe *on the nature of the Gods*. [l. 1. 1.] *De qua tam variæ ſunt doctiſſimorum hominum, tamque diſcrepantes ſententiæ, ut magno argumento eſſe debeat, cauſam, id eſt, principium philoſophiæ eſſe*, ſcientiam; [Inſcientiam;] *prudenterque Academicos a rebus incertis aſſenſionem cohibuiſſe*. The queſtion is, whether we ſhould read *ſcientiam*, or *inſcientiam*: the greateſt part of the editions and MSS give us the firſt; but ALDUS MANUTIUS and Dr. DAVIES prefer the ſecond; which I take to be the true reading. For CICERO's meaning in this place is, from the diſſenſions of the learned on a ſubject of ſo great importance, to illuſtrate a fundamental maxim of his ſect, that *the natural obſcurity of things, and man's conſciouſneſs of his ignorance was the firſt cauſe or incitement to the ſtudy of Philoſophy*. PLATO had expreſſed the ſame ſentiment before him, where he ſays, *that to wonder at things was the common affection of a Philoſopher, and what alone gave riſe, or a beginning to Philoſophy itſelf*: [in Theætet. p. 155. Edit. Serr.] whence CICERO draws this inference, which he frequently inculcates in other parts of his works, that the *Academy therefore acted prudently, in with-holding it's aſſent*, and maintaining, that there was no ſuch thing as *Science, or abſolute certainty* within the reach of man. If this then be the ſenſe of the paſſage, as it appears evidently to be, it neceſſarily requires *inſcientiam* to make it conſiſtent.—*See the tranſlation of* L'ABBE D'OLIVET, *and his notes on the place and Edit. Davis. Cantab.*

it was this, or that; ſince there was *as much reaſon to take it for the one, as for the other, or for neither of them*; and wholly indifferent, which of them we thought it to be: thus they lived without ever engaging themſelves on any ſide of a queſtion; directing their lives in the mean time by natural affections, and the laws and cuſtoms of their country [*t*]. But the *Academics*, by adopting *the probable* inſtead of *the certain*, kept the balance in an equal poiſe between the two extremes; making it their general principle, to obſerve a moderation in all their opinions; and, as PLUTARCH, who was one of them, tells us, paying a great regard always to that old maxin;

Μηδὲν ἄγαν; *ne quid nimis* [*u*].

As this ſchool then was in no particular oppoſition to any, but an equal adverſary to all, or rather to dogmatical Philoſophy in general, ſo every other ſect, next to itſelf, readily gave it the preference to the reſt: which univerſal conceſſion of the ſecond place is commonly thought to infer a right to the firſt [*x*]: and if we reflect on the ſtate of the Heathen world, and what they themſelves ſo often complain of, the darkneſs that ſurrounded them, and *the infinite diſſenſions* of the beſt and wiſeſt on the fundamental queſtions of religion and morality [*y*]; we muſt neceſſarily allow, that the *Academic* manner of philoſophizing was of all others the moſt rational and modeſt, and the beſt adapted to the diſcovery of truth: whoſe peculiar character it was, to encourage inquiry; to ſift every

[*t*] Vid. Sext. Empirici, Pyrrhon. Hypotyp. A. Gell. xi. 5.

[*u*]—μίλλων εἰς πάντα, τιμήσειν τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν, ἐν Ακαδημίᾳ γενόμενος; εἶπον. in lib. de EI apud Delph. 387. it. lib. de primo frigido. fin.

[*x*] Academico Sapienti ab omnibus cæterarum Sectarum—ſecundæ partes dantur—ex quo poteſt probabiliter confici, eum recte primum eſſe ſuo judicio, qui omnium cæterorum judicio ſit ſecundus. Fragment. Academ. ex Auguſtin.

[*y*] De Nat. Deor. 1. 1. 3. Academ. 2. 3. 1. 13.

every queſtion to the bottom; to try the force of every argument, till it had found it's real moment, or the preciſe quantity of it's weight [z]. This it was, that induced CICERO, in his advanced life and ripened judgement, to deſert *the old Academy*, and declare for *the new*; when from a long experience of the vanity of thoſe ſects, who called themſelves the proprietors of truth, and the ſole guides of life, and through a deſpair of finding *any thing certain*, he was glad, after all his pains, to take up with *the probable* [a]. But the genius and general character of *both the Academys* was in ſome meaſure ſtill the ſame: for *the old*, though it profeſſed to teach a peculiar ſyſtem of doctrines, yet was ever diffident and cautious of affirming; and *the new* onely the more ſcrupulous and ſceptical of the two: this appears from the writings of PLATO, the firſt Maſter ofthe old; in which, as CICERO obſerves, *nothing is abſolutely affirmed, nothing delivered for certain*, but all things freely inquired into, and both ſides of the queſtion impartially diſcuſſed [b]. Yet there was another reaſon, that recommended this Philoſophy in a peculiar manner to CICERO; it's being, of all others, the beſt ſuited to the profeſſion of an Orator: ſince by it's practice of diſputing *for, and againſt* every opinion of the other ſects, it gave him the beſt opportunity of perfecting his oratorial faculty, and acquiring a habit of ſpeaking readily upon all ſubjects. He calls it therefore, *the parent of elegance and copiouſneſs*,

[z] Neque noſtræ diſputationes quicquam aliud agunt, niſi ut, in utramque partem diſſerendo, eliciant & tanquam exprimant aliquid, quod aut verum ſit, aut ad id quam proxime accedat. Academ. 2. 3.

[a] Relictam a te, inquit, veterem jam, tractari autem novam—[ib. 4.] Ultra enim quo progrediar, quam ut veriſimilia videam, non habeo: certa dicent hi, qui & percipi ea poſſe dicunt, & ſe ſapientes profitentur. [Tuſc. Quæſt. 1. 9.] Sed ne in maximis quidem rebus, quidquam adhuc inveni firmius, quod tenerem, aut quo judicium meum dirigerem, quam id, quodcumque mihi ſimillimum veri videretur, cum ipſum illud verum in occulto lateret. Orator. fin.

[b] Cujus in libris nihil affirmatur, & in utramque partem multa diſſeruntur, de omnibus quæritur, nihil certi dicitur. Academ. 1. 13.

copiouſneſs; and declares, *that he owed all the fame of his eloquence, not to the mechanic rules of the Rhetoricians, but to the enlarged and generous principles of the Academy* [c].

THIS ſchool however was almoſt deſerted in *Greece*, and had but few diſciples at *Rome*, when CICERO undertook it's patronage, and endeavoured to revive it's drooping credit. The reaſon is obvious: it impoſed a hard taſk upon it's ſcholars, of diſputing againſt every ſect, and on every queſtion in Philoſophy; and *if it was difficult, as* CICERO ſays, *to be maſter of any one, how much more of them all?* which was incumbent on thoſe, who profeſſed themſelves *Academics* [d]. No wonder then, that it loſt ground every where, in proportion as eaſe and luxury prevailed; which naturally diſpoſed people to the doctrine of *Epicurus*; in relation to which, there is a ſmart ſaying recorded of ARCESILAS; who being aſked, *why ſo many of all ſects went over to the* Epicureans, *but none ever came back from them*, replied, *that men might be made Eunuchs, but Eunuchs could never become men again* [e].

THIS

[c] Itaque mihi ſemper Academiæ conſuetudo, de omnibus rebus in contrarias partes differendi, non ob eam cauſam ſolum placuit, quod aliter non poſſet quid in quaque re veriſimile ſit inveniri, ſed etiam quod eſſet ea maxima dicendi exercitatio—[Tuſc. Quæſt. 2. 3. vid. Quintil. 12. 2.] Ego autem fateor; me oratorem, ſi modo ſim, aut etiam quicumque ſim, non ex Rhetorum officinis, ſed ex Academiæ ſpatiis extitiſſe. [Orator. ſub. init.] Nos ea philoſophia plus utimur, quæ peperit dicendi copiam. Procem. Paradox.

[d] Quam nunc propemodum orbam eſſe in Græcia intelligo—nam ſi ſingulas diſciplinas percipere magnum eſt, quanto majus omnes? quod facere iis neceſſe eſt, quibus propoſitum eſt, veri reperiendi cauſa, & contra omnes philoſophos, & pro omnibus dicere.—De Nat. Deor. 1. 5.

[e] Diog. Laert. de Arceſila.—

DIOGENES LAERTIUS, and ſome later writers, ſpeak of a third or *middle Academy* between *the Old and the New*, in which they are commonly followed by the moderns, who make PLATO *the Founder of the old*; ARCESILAS *of the middle*; CARNEADES *of the New*. [See STANLEY's Lives of Philoph. in Carneades.] But there was no real ground for ſuch a diſtinction: ſince CICERO never mentions any other, but *the old and the new*; and expreſsly declares the laſt to have ſubſiſted under that denomination, *down to his own days*, as well under CARNEADES, as ARCESILAS: and ſo far from ſplitting them into *three Academies*, CICERO's maſter PHILO maintained conſtantly in his books, that there never was in reality *any more than one*; grounding his argument on what I have obſerved above; the ſimilar nature and genius of *the two*. Acad. 1. 4. Perturbatricem autem harum omnium rerum Academiam, *hanc ab Arceſila & Carneade recentem*, exoremus ut ſileat. De Leg. 1. 13.

THIS general view of CICERO's Philoſophy will help us, to account in ſome meaſure for that difficulty, which people frequently complain of, in diſcovering his real ſentiments; as well as for the miſtakes, which they are apt to fall into in that ſearch: ſince it was the diſtinguiſhing principle of *the Academy, to refute the opinions of others, rather than declare any of their own.* Yet the chief difficulty does not lie here: for CICERO was not ſcrupulous on that head; nor affected any obſcurity in the delivery of his thoughts, when it was his buſineſs to explane them: but it is the variety and different character of his ſeveral writings, that perplexes the generality of his readers: for where-ever they dip into his works, they are apt to fancy themſelves poſſeſſed of his ſentiments, and to quote them indifferently as ſuch, whether from *his Orations, his Dialogues, or his Letters,* without attending to the peculiar nature of the work, or the different perſon that he aſſumes in it.

HIS orations are generally of the judicial kind; or the pleadings of an Advocate, whoſe buſineſs it was to make the beſt of his cauſe; and to deliver, not ſo much what was true, as what was uſefull to his Client; the patronage of truth belonging in ſuch caſes to the Judge, and not to the pleader [*f*]. It would be abſurd therefore, to require a ſcrupulous veracity, or ſtrict declaration of his ſentiments in them: the thing does not admit of it; and he himſelf forbids us to expect it; and in one of thoſe orations frankly declares the true nature of them all---- "that man, ſays he, "is much miſtaken, who thinks, that in theſe judicial "pleadings, he has an authentic ſpecimen of our opini-"ons: they are the ſpeeches of the cauſes and the times;

[*f*] Judicis eſt ſemper in cauſis verum ſequi; Patroni, nonnunquam veriſimile, etiam ſi minus ſit verum, defendere: quod ſcribere, præſertim cum de Philoſophia ſcriberem, non auderem, niſi idem placeret graviſſimo Stoicorum Panætio. De Offic. 2. 14.

" not of the men or the advocates: if the cauſes could " ſpeak for themſelves, no body would employ an orator; " but we are employed to ſpeak, not what we would un- " dertake to affirm upon our authority, but what is ſug- " geſted by the cauſe and the thing itſelf [*g*]." Agreeably to this notion, QUINTILIAN tells us, " that thoſe, who " are truly wiſe, and have ſpent their time in public " affairs, and not in idle diſputes, though they have " reſolved with themſelves to be ſtrictly honeſt in all their " actions, yet will not ſcruple to uſe every argument, that " can be of ſervice to the cauſe, which they have under- " taken to defend [*h*]." In his orations therefore, where we often meet with the ſentences and maxims of philoſophy, we cannot always take them for his own, but as topics applied to move his audience, or to add an air of gravity and probability to his ſpeech [*i*].

HIS Letters indeed to familiar friends, and eſpecially thoſe to ATTICUS, place the real man before us, and lay open his very heart: yet in theſe ſome diſtinction muſt neceſſarily be obſerved; for in Letters of compliment, condolence, or recommendation, or where he is ſolliciting any point of importance, he adapts his arguments to the occaſion; and uſes ſuch, as would induce his friend the moſt readily, to grant what he deſired. But as his Letters in general ſeldom touch upon any queſtions of philoſophy, except ſlightly and incidentally, ſo they will afford very little help to us in the diſcovery of his *Philo-*

[*g*] Sed errat vehementer, ſi quis in orationibus noſtris, quas in judiciis habuimus, auctoritates noſtras conſignatas ſe habere, arbitratur. Pro A. Cluent. 50.

[*h*] Quintil. l. xi. 1.

[*i*] Though his Orations are not always the proper vouchers of his opinions, yet they are the beſt teſtimonies that can be alledged for the truth of facts: eſpecially thoſe, which were ſpoken to the Senate or the People; where he refers to the acts and characters of perſons then living, before an audience, that was generally as well acquainted with them as himſelf; and it is in ſuch caſes chiefly, that I lay any great ſtreſs upon them.

ſophical opinions, which are the ſubject of the preſent inquiry, and for which we muſt wholly recur to his philoſophical works.

Now the general purpoſe of theſe works was, to give *a hiſtory rather of the ancient Philoſophy*, than any account of his own; and to explane to his fellow Citizens in their own language, whatever the philoſophers of all ſects, and in all ages, had taught on every important queſtion, in order to enlarge their minds, and reform their morals; and to employ himſelf the moſt uſefully to his country, at a time, when arms and a ſuperior force had deprived him of the power of ſerving it in any other way [*k*]. This he declares in his treatiſe called *de Finibus*, or on *the chief good or ill of man*; in that upon *the Nature of the Gods*; in his *Tuſculan Diſputations*; and in his book on *the Academic Philoſophy*: in all which he ſometimes takes upon himſelf the part of *a Stoic*; ſometimes of *an Epicurean*; ſometimes of *the Peripatetic*; for the ſake of explaning with more authority the different doctrines of each ſect: and as he aſſumes the perſon of the one, to confute the other, ſo in his proper character of *an Academic*, he ſometimes diſputes againſt them all: while the unwary reader, not reflecting on the nature of dialogues, takes CICERO ſtill for the perpetual ſpeaker; and under that miſtake, often quotes a ſentiment for his, that was delivered by him onely in order to be confuted. But in theſe dialogues, as in all his other works, where-ever he treats any ſubject profeſſedly, or gives a judgement upon it deliberately, either

[*k*] Nam cum otio langueremus, & is eſſet Reipub. ſtatus, ut eam unius conſilio atque cura gubernari neceſſe eſſet, primum ipſius Reipub. cauſa philoſophiam noſtris hominibus explicandam putavi; magni exiſtimans intereſſe ad decus & ad laudem civitatis, res tam graves, tamque præclaras latinis etiam litteris contineri. De Nat. Deor. 1. 4. it. Acad. 1. 5. Tuſc. Quæſt. 1. 1. De Finib. 1. 3, 4.

either in his own perſon, or that of *an Academic*, there he delivers his own opinions: and where he himſelf does not appear in the ſcene, he takes care uſually to inform us, to which of the characters he has aſſigned the patronage of his own ſentiments; who was generally the principal ſpeaker of the Dialogue; as CRASSUS, in his treatiſe *on the Orator*; SCIPIO, in that on *the Republic*; CATO, in his piece on *old age*. This key will let us into his real thoughts; and enable us, to trace his genuin notions through every part of his writings; from which I ſhall now procede to give a ſhort abſtract of them.

As to *Phyſics*, or natural Philoſophy, he ſeems to have had the ſame notion with SOCRATES, that a minute and particular attention to it, and the making it the ſole end and object of our inquiries, was a ſtudy rather curious, than profitable, and contributing but little to the improvement of human life [*l*]. For though he was perfectly acquainted with the various ſyſtems of all the Philoſophers of any name, from the earlieſt Antiquity, and has explaned them all in his works; yet he did not think it worth while, either to form any diſtinct opinions of his own, or at leaſt to declare them. From his account however of thoſe ſyſtems we may obſerve, that ſeveral of the fundamental principles of the modern philoſophy, which paſs for the original diſcoveries of theſe later times, are the revival rather of ancient notions, maintained by ſome of the firſt Philoſophers, of whom we have any notice in Hiſtory; as *the motion of the earth*; *the Antipodes*; *a Vacuum*; *and an univerſal gravitation, or attractive quality of matter*; which holds the world in it's preſent form and order [*m*].

[*l*] Ut enim modo dixi, omnibus fere in rebus, & maxime in Phyſicis, quid non ſit, citius, quam quid ſit, dixerim. De Nat. Deor. 1. 21. Acad. 2. 39.

[*m*] De Nat. Deor. 2. 45. Acad. 2. 38, 39.

BUT in all the great points of religion and morality, which are of more immediate relation to the happineſs of man, *the Being of a God*; *a Providence*; *the immortality of the ſoul*; *a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments*; *and the eternal difference of good and ill*; he has largely and clearly declared his mind in many parts of his writings. He maintained, that there was *one God, or ſupreme Being*; *incorporeal, eternal, ſelf-exiſtent*; *who created the world by his power, and ſuſtained it by his providence.* This he inferred from *the conſent of all nations*; *the order and beauty of the heavenly bodies*; *the evident marks of counſil, wiſdom, and a fitneſs to certain ends, obſervable in the whole, and in every part of the viſible world*; and declares that perſon *unworthy of the name of man, who can believe all this to have been made by chance*; *when with the utmoſt ſtretch of human wiſdom, we cannot penetrate the depth of that wiſdom, which contrived it* [*n*].

HE believed alſo a *Divine Providence*, conſtantly preſiding over the whole ſyſtem, and extending it's care to all the principal members of it; with a peculiar attention *to the conduct and actions of men*; but leaving *the minute and inferior parts*, to the courſe of his general laws. This he collected from the nature and attributes of the Deity; *his*

[*n*] Nec Deus ipſe—alio modo intelligi poteſt, niſi mens ſoluta quædam & libera, ſegregata ab omni concretione mortali, omnia ſentiens & movens, ipſaque prædita motu ſempiterno. [Tuſc. Quæſt. 1. 27.] Sed omnes gentes, una lex & ſempiterna & immortalis continebit, unuſque erit quaſi Magiſter, & Imperator omnium Deus—Fragm. lib. 3. de Repub.—

Ut porro firmiſſimum hoc adferri videtur, cur Deos eſſe credamus, quod nulla gens tam fera,—cujus mentem non imbuerit Deorum opinio—omni autem in re conſenſio omnium gentium lex naturæ putanda eſt—[Tuſc. quæſt. 1. 14.] Hæc igitur & talia innumerabilia cum cernimus; poſſumuſne dubitare, quin his præſit aliquis vel effector, (ſi hæc nata ſunt, ut Platoni videtur,) vel, (ſi ſemper fuerunt, ut Ariſtoteli placet) moderator tanti operis & muneris. [ib. 28.] Id eſt primum, quod inter omnes, niſi admodum impios, convenit, mihi quidem ex animo exuri non poteſt, eſſe Deos. [Nat. Deor. 3. 3.] Eſſe præſtantem aliquam, æternamque naturam, & eam ſuſpiciendam, admirandamque hominum generi, pulchritudo mundi, ordoque rerum cœleſtium cogit confiteri. [de Divin. 2. 72.] Quæ quanto conſilio gerantur, nullo conſilio aſſequi poſſumus. De Nat. Deor. 2. 38.

his omniſcience, omnipreſence, and infinite goodneſs; that could never deſert or neglect, what he had once produced into being: and declares, that without this belief there could be no ſuch thing *as piety or religion in the world* [*o*].

He held likewiſe *the immortality of the ſoul, and it's ſeparate exiſtence after death, in a ſtate of happineſs or miſery.* This he inferred from *that ardent thirſt of immortality*, which was always the moſt conſpicuous in the beſt and moſt exalted minds; from which the trueſt ſpecimen of their nature muſt needs be drawn: from *it's unmixt and indiviſible eſſence*; which had nothing ſeparable or periſhable in it: from it's wonderfull powers and faculties; *it's principle of ſelf-motion*; *it's memory, invention, wit, comprehenſion*; *which were all incompatible with ſluggiſh matter* [*p*].

The *Stoics* fancied, that *the ſoul was a ſubtilized, fiery ſubſtance*, which ſurvived the body after death, and ſubſiſted a long time, yet not eternally; but was to periſh at laſt in the general conflagration. In which they allowed, as Cicero ſays, *the onely thing, that was hard to conceive*; *it's ſeparate exiſtence from the body*; *yet denied what was not onely eaſy to imagine, but a conſequence of the*

[*o*] De maxima autem re, eodem modo; divina mente atque natura mundum univerſum atque maximas ejus partes adminiſtrari—[de Fin. 4. 5.] Quam vim animum eſſe dicunt mundi, eandemque eſſe mentem ſapientiamque perfectam; quem Deum appellant, omniumque rerum, quæ ſunt ei ſubjectæ, quaſi prudentiam quandam, procurantem cœleſtia maxime, deinde in terris ea, quæ pertinent ad homines. Academ. 1. 8. vid. Nat. Deor. 3, 2, 44. 2. 66. 3. 36.

[*p*] Quod quidem ni ita ſe haberet, ut animi immortales eſſent, haud optimi cujuſque animus maxime ad immortalitatem niteretur. [Cato. 23.] Num dubitas, quin ſpecimen naturæ capi debeat ex optima quaque natura?—[Tuſc. quæſt. 1. 14.] Sic mihi perſuaſi, ſic ſentio, cum tanta celeritas animorum ſit, tanta memoria præteritorum, futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tot ſcientiæ, tot inventa, non poſſe eam naturam, quæ res eas contineat, eſſe mortalem: cumque ſemper agitetur animus, &c. Cato. 21. Tuſc. Quæſt. 1, 23, 25, 26, &c. de Amicit. 4.

the other; it's eternal duration [q]. ARISTOTLE taught, that, beſides *the four elements of the material world*, whence all other things were ſuppoſed to draw their being, there was *a fifth eſſence or nature, peculiar to God and the ſoul*, which had nothing in it, that was common to any of the reſt [r]. This opinion CICERO followed; and illuſtrated with his uſual perſpicuity in the following paſſage.

"THE origin of the human ſoul, ſays he, is not to be "found any where on earth. There is nothing mixt, "concrete, or earthly; nothing of water, air, or fire in "it. For theſe natures are not ſuſceptible of memory, "intelligence, or thought; have nothing that can retain "the paſt, foreſee the future, lay hold on the preſent; "which faculties are purely divine, and could not poſ-"ſibly be derived to man, except from God. The nature "of the ſoul therefore is of a ſingular kind; diſtinct from "theſe known and obvious natures: and whatever it be, "that feels and taſts, that lives and moves in us, it muſt "be heavenly and divine, and for that reaſon eternal. "Nor is God indeed himſelf, whoſe exiſtence we clearly "diſcover, to be comprehended by us in any other man-"ner, but as a free and pure mind, clear from all mortal "concretion; obſerving and moving all things; and in-"dued with an eternal principle of ſelf-motion: of this "kind, and of the ſame nature, is the human ſoul [s]."

As to *a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments*, he conſidered it as a conſequence of the ſoul's immortality; deducible from the *attributes of God, and the condition*

of

[q] Zenoni Stoico animus ignis videtur. [Tuſc. Quæſt. 1. 9.] Stoici autem uſuram nobis largiuntur, tanquam cornicibus; diu manſuros aiunt animos, ſemper negant—qui, quod in tota hac cauſa difficillimum eſt, ſuſcipiunt, poſſe animum manere corpore vacantem: illud autem, quod non modo facile ad credendum eſt, ſed, eo conceſſo quod volunt, conſequens idcirco, non dant, ut cum diu permanſerit ne intereat. Ib. 1. 31, 32.

[r] Ib. x.

[s] Ib. 27.

of man's life on earth; and thought it ſo highly probable, *that we could hardly doubt of it*, he ſays, *unleſs it ſhould happen to our minds, when they look into themſelves, as it does to our eyes, when they look too intenſely at the ſun, that finding their ſight dazzled, they give over looking at all* [*t*]. In this opinion he followed SOCRATES and PLATO, for whoſe judgement he profeſſes ſo great a reverence, that *if they had given no reaſons, where yet they had given many, he ſhould have been perſuaded*, he ſays, *by their ſole authority* [*u*]. SOCRATES therefore, as he tells us, declared in his dying ſpeech, "that there were two "ways appointed to human ſouls, at their departure from "the body: that thoſe, who had been immerſed in ſen-"ſual pleaſures and luſts, and had polluted themſelves "with private vices or public crimes againſt their coun-"try, took an obſcure and devious road, remote from "the ſeat and aſſembly of the Gods; whilſt thoſe, who "had preſerved their integrity, and received little or no "contagion from the body, from which they had con-"ſtantly abſtracted themſelves, and in the bodies of men "imitated the life of the Gods, had an eaſy aſcent lying "open before them to thoſe Gods, from whom they de-"rived their being [*x*].

FROM what has already been ſaid, the reader will eaſily imagine, what CICERO's opinion muſt have been concerning *the Religion of his Country*: for a mind, enlightened by the noble principles juſt ſtated, could not poſſibly harbour a thought of the truth or divinity of ſo abſurd a worſhip: and the liberty, which not onely he, but all the old

[*t*] Nec vero de hoc quiſquam dubitare poſſet, niſi idem nobis accideret diligenter de animo cogitantibus, quod his ſæpe uſu venit, qui acriter oculis deficientem ſolem intuerentur, ut aſpectum omnino amitterent, &c. Tuſc. Quæſt. 1. 30.

[*u*] Ib. 21. de Amicit. 4.

[*x*] Ibid. 30.

old writers take, in ridiculing the characters of their Gods, and the fictions of their *infernal torments* [*y*], ſhews, that there was not a man of liberal education, who did not conſider it as an engine of ſtate, or political ſyſtem; contrived for the uſes of government, and to keep the people in order: in this light, CICERO always commends it, as a wiſe inſtitution; ſingularly adapted to the genius of *Rome*; and conſtantly inculcates *an adherence to it's rites*, as the duty of all good Citizens [*z*].

THEIR Religion conſiſted of two principal branches; *the obſervation of the Auſpices, and the worſhip of the Gods*: the firſt was inſtituted by ROMULUS; the ſecond by his ſucceſſor, NUMA; who drew up a ritual, or order of ceremonies to be obſerved in the different ſacrifices of their ſeveral Deities: to theſe a third part was afterwards added; relating to *divine admonitions* from *portents*; *monſtrous births*; *the entrails of beaſts in ſacrifice*; *and the prophecies of the Sibyls* [*a*]. *The College of Augurs* preſided over *the Auſpices*, as *the ſupreme interpreters of the*

[*y*] Dic, quæſo, num te illa terrent? triceps apud inferos Cerberus? Coçyti fremitus? tranſvectio Acherontis?——adeone me delirare cenſes ut iſta credam?—[ib. 1. 5, 6, 21.] Quæ anus tam excors inveniri poteſt, quæ illa, quæ quondam credebantur, apud inferos portenta extimeſcat? De Nat. Deor. 2. 2.

[*z*] Ordiar ab Haruſpicina, quam ego Reipub. cauſa, communiſque religionis, colendam cenſeo. [De Divin. 2. 12.] Nam & majorum inſtituta tueri ſacris cæremoniiſque retinendis ſapientis eſt. Ib. 72. De Leg. 2. 12, 13.—

N. B. There is a reflection in POLYBIUS, exactly conformable to CICERO's ſentiments on this ſubject. *The greateſt advantage*, ſays he, *which the Roman Government ſeems to have over other ſtates, is in the opinion publicly entertained by them about the Gods; and that very thing, which is ſo generally decried by other mortals, ſuſtained the Republic of Rome; I mean, Superſtition. For this was carried by them to ſuch a heigth, and introduced ſo effectually both into the private lives of the Citizens, and the public affairs of the City, that one cannot help being ſurprized at it. But I take it all to have been contrived for the ſake of the populace. For if a ſociety could be formed of wiſe men onely, ſuch a ſcheme would not be neceſſary: but ſince the multitude is always giddy, and agitated by illicit deſires, wild reſentments, violent paſſions; there was no way left of reſtraining them, but by the help of ſuch ſecret terrors and tragical fictions. It was not therefore, without great prudence and foreſight, that the ancients took care to inſtill into them theſe notions of the Gods and infernal puniſhments, which the moderns, on the other hand, are now raſhly and abſurdly endeavouring to extirpate.* Polyb. l. 6. p. 497.

[*a*] Cum omnis Populi Romani religio in Sacra & in Auſpicia diviſa ſit, tertium adjunctum ſit, ſi quid prædictionis cauſa ex portentis & monſtris Sibyllæ interpretes, Haruſpicesve monuerunt. De Nat. Deor. 3, 2.

the will of Jove; and determined what ſigns were propitious, and what not: *the other Prieſts* were the Judges of all the other caſes relating to Religion; as well of what concerned the public worſhip, as that of private families [*b*].

Now the Prieſts of all denominations were of the firſt nobility of *Rome*; and the Augurs eſpecially were commonly Senators of Conſular rank, who had paſſed through all the dignities of the Republic, and, by their power over *the Auſpices*, could put an immediate ſtop to all proceedings, and diſſolve at once all the aſſemblies of the people convened for public buſineſs. The interpretation of *the Sibyl's prophecies* was veſted in the *Decemviri*, or guardians of *the Sibylline books*; ten perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank, choſen uſually from the Prieſts: and the province of interpreting prodigies, and inſpecting the entrails, belonged to *the Haruſpices*; who were the ſervants of the public, hired to attend the Magiſtrates in all their ſacrifices; and who never failed to accommodate their anſwers to the views of thoſe, who employed them, and to whoſe protection they owed their credit and their livelyhood.

THIS conſtitution of a Religion, among a people naturally ſuperſtitious, neceſſarily threw the chief influence in affairs into the hands of the Senate, and the better ſort; who by this advantage frequently checked the violences of the populace, and the factious attempts of the Tribuns [*c*]: ſo that it is perpetually applauded by CI-

[*b*] — Cur Sacris Pontifices, cur auſpiciis Augures præſunt? [ib. 1. 44.] Eſt autem boni Auguris, meminiſſe maximis Reipub. temporibus præſto eſſe debere, Jovique optimo maximo ſe conſiliarium atque adminiſtrum datum—de Leg. 3. 19.

[*c*] Omnibus Magiſtratibus auſpicia—dantur, ut multos inutiles comitiatus, probabiles impedirent moræ: ſæpe enim populi impetum injuſtum auſpiciis Dii immortales repreſſerunt, De Leg. 3. 12.

CERO, as the main bulwark of the Republic; though conſidered all the while by men of ſenſe, as merely political, and of human invention. The onely part, that admitted any diſpute concerning it's origin, was *Augury*, or their method of divining by *Auſpices*. The Stoics held, that God, out of his goodneſs to man, had imprinted on the nature of things *certain marks or notices of future events*; as on *the entrails of beaſts, the flight of birds, thunder, and other cœleſtial ſigns*, which, by long obſervation and the experience of ages, were reduced to an art, by which the meaning of each ſign might be determined and applied to the event, that was ſignified by it. This they called *artificial Divination*, in diſtinction from *the Natural*; which they ſuppoſed to flow from an *inſtinct, or native power*, implanted in the Soul, which it exerted always with the greateſt efficacy, when it was the moſt free and diſengaged from the body, as *in dreams, and madneſs* [*d*]. But this notion was generally ridiculed by the other Philoſophers; and of all the College of Augurs, there was but one at this time, who maintained it, APPIUS CLAUDIUS; who was laughed at for his pains by the reſt, and called the *Piſidian* [*e*]: it occaſioned however a ſmart controverſy between him and his Collegue, MARCELLUS, who ſeverally publiſhed books on each ſide of the queſtion; wherein MARCELLUS aſſerted the whole affair, *to be the contrivance of Stateſmen*; APPIUS, on the contrary, *that there was a real art and*

[*d*] Duo ſunt enim divinandi genera, quorum alterum artis eſt, alterum naturæ—eſt enim vis & natura quædam, quæ cum obſervatis longo tempore ſignificationibus, tum aliquo inſtinctu, inflatuque divino futura prænunciat.—De Div. 1. 6. Vid. it. ib. 18.

[*e*] Quem irridebant Collegæ tui, eumque tum Piſidam, tum Soranum Augurum eſſe dicebant. ib. 47.

THE *Piſidians* were a barbarous people of the leſſer *Aſia*; famous for their ſuperſtitious obſervation *of the Auſpices*, or their divination *by the flight of birds*. De Divin. 1. 41, 42.

and power of divining; ſubſiſting in the Augural diſcipline, and taught by the Augural books [*f*]. APPIUS dedicated this treatiſe to CICERO [*g*]: who, though he preferred MARCELLUS's notion, yet did not wholly agree with either, but believed, *that Augury might probably be inſtituted at firſt upon a perſuaſion of it's divinity; and when, by the improvement of arts and learning, that opinion was exploded in ſucceding ages, yet the thing itſelf was wiſely retained for the ſake of it's uſe to the Republic* [*h*].

BUT whatever was the origin of the Religion of *Rome*, CICERO's Religion was undoubtedly of *heavenly extraction*; built, as we have ſeen, on the foundation *of a God; a Providence; an immortality.* He conſidered this ſhort period of our life on earth, as a ſtate of trial, or a kind of ſchool; in which we were to improve and prepare our ſelves for that eternity of exiſtence, which was provided for us hereafter: that we were placed therefore here by the Creator, not ſo much *to inhabit the earth, as to contemplate the heavens*; on which were imprinted in legible characters all the duties of that nature, which was given to us. He obſerved, *that this ſpectacle belonged to no other Animal but man*; to whom God, for that reaſon, had given *an erect and upright form; with eyes not prone or fixed upon the ground*, like thoſe of other animals, but placed *on high and ſublime*; in a ſituation the moſt proper for *this cœleſtial contemplation*;

[*f*] Sed eſt in Collegio veſtro inter MARCELLUM & APPIUM, optimos Augures, magna diſſenſio: — cum alteri placeat, auſpicia iſta ad utilitatem Reipub. compoſita; alteri diſciplina veſtra quaſi divinare prorſus poſſe videatur. De Leg. 2. 13.

[*g*] Illo libro Augurali, quem ad me amantiſſime ſcriptum, ſuaviſſimum miſiſti. Ep. fam. 3. 4.

[*h*] Non enim ſumus ii nos Augures, qui avium, reliquorumque ſignorum obſervatione futura dicamus: et tamen credo ROMULUM, qui urbem auſpicato condidit, habuiſſe opinionem, eſſe in providendis rebus augurandi ſcientiam. Errabat multis in rebus Antiquitas, &c. De Divin. 2. 33.

to remind him perpetually of his taſk, and to acquaint him with the place from which he ſprung, and for which he was finally deſigned [*i*]. He took the ſyſtem of the world, or the viſible works of God, to be *the promulgation of God's law*, or the declaration of his will to mankind; whence, as we might collect his being, nature, and attributes, ſo we could trace the reaſons alſo and motives of his acting; *till by obſerving what he had done, we might learn what we ought to do, and, by the operations of the divine reaſon, be inſtructed how to perfect our own*; ſince the perfection of man conſiſted in the imitation of God.

From this ſource he deduced the origin of all duty, or moral obligation; from *the will of God, manifeſted in his works*; or from that *eternal reaſon, fitneſs and relation of things*, which is diſplayed in every part of the creation. This he calls the *original, immutable law*; *the criterion of good and ill; of juſt and unjuſt*; imprinted on the nature of things, as the rule, by which all human laws are to be formed; which, whenever they deviate from this pattern, ought, he ſays, to be called any thing rather than *laws*; and are in effect nothing but *acts of force, violence, and tyranny*: that to imagine *the diſtinction of good and ill, not to be founded in nature, but in cuſtom, opinion, or human inſtitution, is mere folly and madneſs*; which would overthrow all ſociety, and confound all right and juſtice amongſt men [*k*]: that this was the conſtant opinion of the

[*i*] Sed credo Deos ſparſiſſe animos in corpora humana, ut eſſent qui terras tuerentur, quique cœleſtium ordinem contemplantes, imitarentur eum vitæ modo & conſtantia, &c. [Cato. 21.] Nam cum cæteras animantes abjeciſſet ad paſtum, ſolum hominem erexit, ad cœlique quaſi cognationis, domiciliique priſtini conſpectum excitavit. [de Leg. 1. 9.] Ipſe autem homo ortus eſt ad mundum contemplandum & imitandum, nullo modo perfectus, ſed eſt quædam particula perfecti. Nat. Deor. 2. 14, 56.

[*k*] Sed etiam modeſtiam quandam cognitio rerum cœleſtium adfert iis, qui videant, quanta ſit etiam apud Deos moderatio, quantus ordo; & magnitudinem animi, Deorum opera & facta cernen-

the wiſeſt of all ages; who held, *that the mind of God, governing all things by eternal reaſon, was the principal and ſoverein law; whoſe ſubſtitute on earth was the reaſon or mind of the wiſe:* to which purpoſe, there are many ſtrong and beautifull paſſages, ſcattered occaſionally through every part of his works [*l*].

" The true law, ſays he, is right reaſon, conformable " to the nature of things; conſtant, eternal, diffuſed " through all; which calls us to duty by commanding, " deterrs us from ſin by forbidding; which never loſes " it's influence with the good; nor ever preſerves it with " the wicked. This cannot poſſibly be over-ruled by " any other law; nor abrogated in the whole or in part: " nor can we be abſolved from it either by the Senate or " the people: nor are we to ſeek any other comment or " interpreter of it, but itſelf: nor can there be one law " at *Rome*, another at *Athens*; one now, another here- " after; but the ſame eternal, immutable law, compre- " hends all nations, at all times, under one common " Maſter and Governor of all, God. He is the inventor, " propounder, enactor of this law: and whoſoever will " not obey it, muſt firſt renounce himſelf, and throw " off the nature of man: by doing which, he will ſuffer " the

cernentibus; juſtitiam etiam, cum cognitum habeas, quid ſit ſummi Rectoris & Domini numen, quod conſilium, quæ voluntas; cujus ad naturam apta ratio vera illa & ſumma lex a Philoſophis dicitur.—De Fin. 4, 5.

Nos legem bonam a mala, nulla alia niſi naturæ norma dividere poſſumus. Nec ſolum jus & injuria natura dijudicantur, ſed omnino omnia honeſta ac turpia; nam & communis intelligentia nobis notas res efficit, eaſque in animis noſtris inchoat, ut honeſta in virtute ponantur, in vitiis turpia. Ea autem in opinione exiſtimare, non in natura poſita, dementis eſt. [De Leg. 1. 16.] Erat enim ratio profecta a rerum natura; & ad recte faciendum impellens, & a delicto avocans; quæ non tum demum incipit lex eſſe, cum ſcripta eſt, ſed tum, cum orta eſt: orta autem ſimul eſt cum mente divina: quamobrem lex vera, atque princeps, apta ad jubendum & ad vetandum, recta eſt ratio ſummi Jovis, &c. De Leg. 2. 4, 5, &c.

[*l*] Hanc igitur video ſapientiſſimorum fuiſſe ſententiam, legem neque hominum ingeniis excogitatam, nec Scitum aliquod eſſe populorum, ſed æternum quiddam, quod univerſum mundum regeret, imperandi, prohibendique ſapientia, &c. ib. &c.

"the greateſt puniſhment, though he ſhould eſcape all "the other torments, which are commonly believed to be "prepared for the wicked [*m*]."

In another place he tells us, that the ſtudy of this law was the onely thing, which could teach us that moſt important of all leſſons, ſaid to be preſcribed by *the Pythian Oracle, to know ourſelves*; that is, to know our true nature and rank in the univerſal ſyſtem; the relation that we bear to all other beings; and the purpoſes for which we were ſent into the world. "When a man, ſays he, has "attentively ſurveyed the heavens, the earth, the ſea, "and all things in them; obſerved whence they ſprung, "and whither they all tend; when and how they are to "end; what part is mortal and periſhable, what divine "and eternal: when he has almoſt reached and touched, "as it were, the governor and ruler of them all, and "diſcovered himſelf not to be confined to the walls of any "certain place, but a citizen of the world, as of one "common City; in this magnificent view of things; in "this enlarged proſpect and knowledge of nature; good "Gods, how will he learn *to know himſelf?* How will "he contemn, deſpiſe, and ſet at nought all thoſe things, "which the vulgar eſteem the moſt ſplendid and glo-"rious [*n*]?"

These were the principles, on which Cicero built his religion and morality; which ſhine indeed through all his writings, but were largely and explicitely illuſtrated by him in his treatiſes on Government, and on laws; to which he added afterwards his book of Offices, to make the ſcheme complete: Volumes, which, as the *Elder* Pliny ſays to the

[*m*] Fragment. lib. 3. de Repub. ex Lactantio.

[*n*] De Legib. 1. 23.

the Emperor TITUS, ought not onely *to be read, but to be got by heart* [o]. The firſt and greateſt of theſe works is loſt, excepting a few fragments, in which he had delivered his real thoughts ſo profeſſedly, that, in a Letter to ATTICUS, he calls *thoſe ſix books on the Republic, ſo many pledges given to his country*, for the integrity of his life; from which, if ever he ſwerved, he could never have the face *to look into them again* [p]. In his *book of laws*, he purſued the ſame argument, and deduced the origin of law from *the will of the Supreme God*. Theſe two pieces therefore contain his belief, and *the book of Offices his practice:* where he has traced out all the duties of man, or a rule of life, conformable to the divine principles, which he had eſtabliſhed in the other two; to which he often refers, as to the foundation of his whole ſyſtem [q]. This work was one of the laſt that he finiſhed, for the uſe of his ſon, to whom he addreſſed it; being deſirous, in the decline of a glorious life, to explane to him the maxims, by which he had governed it; and teach him the way of paſſing through the world with innocence, virtue, and true glory, to an immortality of happineſs: where the ſtrictneſs of his morals, adapted to all the various caſes and circumſtances of human life, will ſerve, if not to inſtruct, yet to reproach the practice of moſt Chriſtians. This was that law, which is mentioned by St. PAUL, to be taught *by nature, and written on the hearts of the* Gentiles, to guide them through that ſtate of ignorance and darkneſs, of which they themſelves complained, till they ſhould

[o] Quæ volumina ejus ediſcenda non modo in manibus habenda quotidie, noſti. Præf. ad Hiſt. Nat.

[p] Præſertim cum ſex libris, tanquam prædibus, meipſum obſtrinxerim; quos tibi tam valde probari gaudeo. [ad Att. 6. 1.] Ego audebo legere unquam, aut attingere eos libros, quos tu dilaudas, ſi tale quid fecero? ibid. 2.

[q] Offic. 3. 5, 6, 17.

ſhould be bleſſed with a more perfect revelation of the divine will: and this ſcheme of it profeſſed by CICERO was certainly the moſt complete, that the *Gentile* world had ever been acquainted with; the utmoſt effort, that human nature could make, towards attaining it's proper end; or that ſupreme good, for which the Creator had deſigned it: upon the contemplation of which ſublime truths, as delivered by a Heathen, ERASMUS could not help perſuading himſelf, *that the breaſt, from which they flowed, muſt needs have been inſpired by the Deity* [r].

BUT after all theſe glorious ſentiments, that we have been aſcribing to CICERO, and collecting from his writings, ſome have been apt to conſider them, as the floriſhes rather of his eloquence, than the concluſions of his reaſon; ſince in other parts of his works, he ſeems to intimate not onely a diffidence, but a diſbelief *of the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments*; and eſpecially in his Letters, where he is ſuppoſed to declare his mind with the greateſt frankneſs [s]. But in all the

[r] Quid aliis accidat neſcio; me legentem ſic afficere ſolet M. Tullius, præſertim ubi de bene vivendo diſſerit, ut dubitare non poſſim, quin illud pectus, unde iſta prodierunt, aliqua divinitas occuparit. Eraſm. Ep. ad Joh. Ulattenum.

[s] Sæpiſſime & legi & audivi, nihil mali eſſe in morte; in qua ſi reſideat ſenſus, immortalitas illa potius, quam mors ducenda eſt: ſin ſit amiſſus, nulla videri miſeria debeat, quæ non ſentiatur. [Ep. fam. 5. 16.] Ut hoc ſaltem in maximis malis boni conſequamur, ut mortem, quam etiam beati contemnere debeamus, propterea quod nullum ſenſum eſſet habitura, nunc ſic affecti, non modo contemnere debeamus, ſed etiam optare. [Ib. 21.] Sed hæc conſolatio levis; illa gravior, qua te uti ſpero, ego certe utor: nec enim dum ero, angar ulla re, cum omni vacem culpa; et ſi non ero, ſenſu omnino carebo. [ib. 6. 3.] Deinde—ſi jam vocer ad exitum vitæ, non ab ea Rep. avellar, qua carendum eſſe doleam, præſertim cum id ſine ullo ſenſu futurum ſit. [ib. 4.] Una ratio videtur, quicquid evenerit, ferre moderate, præſertim cum omnium rerum mors ſit extremum. [ib. 21.] Sed de illa—fors viderit, aut ſi quis eſt, qui curet Deus. Ad Att. 4. x.

N. B. BY this illuſtration of CICERO's moral principles we learn the force of that rule, which he frequently preſcribes, of *following Nature, as the ſure and unerring guide of life*: [De Legib. 1. 6. de Senect. 2. de Amic. 5.] by which he means that law or will of God, diſplayed in the nature of things; not, as ſome are apt to interpret him, the dictates of our unruly paſſions, which are falſely called natural; being the motions onely of vitiated appetites, and the creatures of habit not of nature; the gratification of which, as he tells us, is *more contrary to nature*, and conſequently more to be avoided, than *poverty, pain, or even death itſelf*. [Offic. 3. 5, 6.]

the paſſages brought to ſupport this objection, where he is imagined to ſpeak of *death, as the end of all things to man*, as they are addreſſed to friends in diſtreſs by way of conſolation, ſo ſome Commentators take them to mean nothing more, than that death *is the end of all things here below, and without any farther ſenſe of what is done upon earth:* yet ſhould they be underſtood to relate, as perhaps they may, *to an utter extinction of our being*; it muſt be obſerved, that he was writing in all probability to *Epicureans* [*t*], and accommodating his arguments to the men; by offering ſuch topics of comfort to them from their own philoſophy, as they themſelves held to be the moſt effectual. But if this alſo ſhould ſeem precarious, we muſt remember always, *that* CICERO *was an Academic*; and though he believed *a future ſtate*, was fond of the opinion, and declares himſelf reſolved *never to part with it*; yet he believed it as *probable* onely, not as *certain* [*u*]: and as probability implies ſome mixture of doubt, and admits the degrees of more and leſs, ſo it admits alſo ſome variety in the ſtability of our perſuaſion: thus in a melancholy hour, when his ſpirits were depreſſed, the ſame argument would not appear to him with the ſame force; but doubts and difficulties get the aſcendant, and what humored his preſent chagrin, find the readieſt admiſſion. The paſſages alledged were all of this kind; written in the ſeaſon of his dejection, when all things were going wrong with him,

[*t*] THIS will appear to be a very probable ſuppoſition, when we recollect, that the generality of the *Roman* Nobility, and of CICERO's friends were of the *Epicurean ſect*; and particularly the family of TORQUATUS, to whom two of theſe very Letters are addreſſed.—Accurate quondam a L. Torquato, homine omni doctrina erudito, defenſa eſt Epicuri ſententia de voluptate, a meque ei reſponſum. De Fin. 1. 5.

[*u*] Quod ſi in hoc erro, quod animos hominum immortales eſſe credam, lubenter erro. Nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo. Cato. 23. Geram tibi morem, & ea, quæ vis, ut potero, explicabo: nec tamen quaſi Pythius Apollo, certa ut ſint & fixa quæ dixero: ſed ut homunculus unus e multis, probabilia conjectura ſequens. Tuſc. Quæſt. 1. 9.

in the heigth of CÆSAR's power; and though we allow them to have all the force, that they can poſſibly bear, and to expreſs what CICERO really meant at that time, yet they prove at laſt nothing more, than that, agreeably to the character and principles of *the Academy*, he ſometimes doubted, of what he generally believed. But after all, whatever be the ſenſe of them, it cannot ſurely be thought reaſonable, to oppoſe a few ſcattered hints, accidentally thrown out, when he was not conſidering the ſubject, to the volumes that he had deliberately written on the other ſide of the queſtion [*x*].

As to his political conduct, no man was ever a more determined patriot, or a warmer lover of his country, than he: his whole character, natural temper, choice of life and principles, made it's true intereſt inſeparable from his own. His general view therefore was always one and the ſame; to ſupport the peace and liberty of the Republic in that form and conſtitution of it, which their anceſtors had delivered down to them [*y*]. He looked upon that as the onely foundation on which it could be ſupported; and uſed to quote a verſe of old ENNIUS, as the dictate of an Oracle,

[*x*] FROM this general view of CICERO's *religion*, one cannot help obſerving, that the moſt exalted ſtate of human reaſon is ſo far from ſuperſeding the uſe, that it demonſtrates the benefit of a *more explicit revelation*: for though the *natural law*, in the perfection, to which it was carried by CICERO, might ſerve for a ſufficient guide to the few, ſuch as himſelf, of enlarged minds and happy diſpoſitions, yet it had been ſo long depraved and adulterated by the prevailing errors and vices of mankind, that it was not diſcoverable even to thoſe few, without great pains and ſtudy; and could not produce in them at laſt any thing more than a hope, never a full perſuaſion; whilſt the greateſt part of mankind, even of the virtuous and inquiſitive, lived *without the knowledge of a God, or the expectation of a futurity*; and the multitude in every country was left to the groſs idolatry of the popular worſhip. When we reflect on all this, we muſt needs ſee abundant reaſon to be thankfull to God, *for the divine light of his Goſpel*; which *has revealed at laſt to babes, what was hidden from the wiſe*; and without the pains of ſearching, or danger of miſtaking, has given us not onely the hope, but the aſſurance of happineſs; and made us not onely the believers, but *the heirs of immortality*.

[*y*] Sic tibi, mi Pæte, perſuade, me dies & noctes nihil aliud agere, nihil curare, niſi ut mei cives ſalvi liberique ſint. Ep. fam. 1. 24.

Oracle, which derived all the glory of *Rome* from an adherence to it's ancient manners and diſcipline.

Moribus antiquis ſtat Res Romana viriſque [*z*].

It is one of his maxims, which he inculcates in his writings, *that as the end of a Pilot is a proſperous voyage; of a Phyſician, the health of his patient; of a General, victory; ſo that of a ſtateſman is, to make his Citizens happy; to make them firm in power, rich in wealth, ſplendid in glory, eminent in virtue: which he declares to be the greateſt and beſt of all works among men* [*a*]: and as this cannot be effected, but *by the concord and harmony* of the conſtituent members of a City [*b*]; ſo it was his conſtant aim to unite the different orders of the ſtate into one common intereſt, and to inſpire them with a mutual confidence in each other; ſo as to balance the ſupremacy of the people, by the authority of the Senate; that the one *ſhould enact*, but the other *adviſe*; the one have *the laſt reſort*, the other *the chief influence* [*c*]. This was the old conſtitution of *Rome*, by which it had raiſed itſelf to all it's grandor; whilſt all it's misfortunes were owing to the contrary principle, of diſtruſt and diſſenſion between theſe two rival powers: it was the great object therefore of his policy, to throw *the aſcendant in all affairs into the hands of the Senate and the Magiſtrates*, as far as it was conſiſtent with the rights and liberties of the people: which

[*z*] Quem quidem ille verſum vel brevitate vel veritate, tanquam ex Oraculo mihi quodam effatus videtur, &c. vid. Fragm. de Repub. l. 5.

[*a*] Ut gubernatori curſus ſecundus—ſic huic moderatori Reip. beata civium vita propoſita eſt, &c. vid. ibid.—

[*b*] Quæ harmonia a Muſicis dicitur in cantu, ea eſt in civitate concordia, arctiſſimum atque optimum omni in Repub. vinculum incolumitatis, &c. ibid. l. 2.

[*c*] Nam—ſi Senatus dominus ſit publici conſilii—poſſit, ex temperatione juris, cum poteſtas in populo, auctoritas in Senatu ſit, teneri ille moderatus & concors civitatis ſtatus. De Leg. 3. 12. it. ib. 17.

will always be the general view of the wiſe and honeſt in all popular governments.

THIS was the principle, which he eſpouſed from the beginning, and purſued to the end of his life: and though in ſome paſſages of his hiſtory, he may be thought perhaps to have deviated from it, yet upon an impartial review of the caſe, we ſhall find, that his end was always the ſame, though he had changed his meaſures of purſuing it; when compelled to it by the violence of the times, and an overruling force, and a neceſſary regard to his own ſafety: ſo that he might ſay with great truth, what an *Athenian Orator* once ſaid, in excuſe of his inconſtancy; *that he had acted indeed on ſome occaſions contrary to himſelf, but never to the Republic* [d]: and here alſo his *Academic philoſophy* ſeems to have ſhewed it's ſuperior uſe in practical, as well as in ſpeculative life; by indulging that liberty of acting, which nature and reaſon require; and when the times and things themſelves are changed, allowing a change of conduct, and a recourſe to new means, for the attainment of the ſame end.

THE *three ſects*, which at this time chiefly engroſſed the philoſophical part of *Rome*, were, *the Stoic, the Epicurean, and the Academic*; and the chief ornaments of each were, CATO, ATTICUS and CICERO; who lived together in ſtrict friendſhip, and a mutual eſteem of each other's virtue: but the different behaviour of *theſe three*, will ſhew by fact and example, the different merit of their ſeveral principles, and which of them was the beſt adapted to promote the good of ſociety.

THE Stoics were *the bigots or enthuſiaſts* in philoſophy; who held none to be truly wiſe or good but themſelves; placed *perfect happineſs in virtue, though ſtript of every other*

[d] Plut. de Demade. in vit. Demoſt. p. 851. Edit. Par.

other good; affirmed *all ſins to be equal*; *all deviations from right equally wicked*; *to kill a dunghill cock without reaſon, the ſame crime as to kill a parent*; that a wiſe man could never *forgive*; *never be moved by anger, favor, or pity*; *never be deceived*; *never repent*; *never change his mind* [*d*]. With theſe principles CATO entered into public life; and acted in it, as CICERO ſays, as if he had lived *in the polity of* PLATO, *not in the dregs of* ROMULUS [*e*]. He made no diſtinction of times or things; no allowance for the weakneſs of the Republic, and the power of thoſe who oppreſſed it: it was his maxim, to combat all power, not built upon the laws; or to defy it at leaſt, if he could not controul it: he knew no way to his end, but the direct; and whatever obſtructions he met with, reſolved ſtill to ruſh on; and either to ſurmount them, or periſh in the attempt; taking it for a baſeneſs and confeſſion of being conquered, to decline a tittle from the true road. In an age therefore of the utmoſt libertiniſm, when the public diſcipline was loſt, and the government itſelf tottering, he ſtruggled with the ſame zeal againſt all corruption, and waged a perpetual war with a ſuperior force; whilſt the rigor of his principles tended rather to alienate friends, than reconcile enemies; and by provoking the power, that he could not ſubdue, helped to haſten that ruin, which he was ſtriving to avert [*f*]: ſo that after a perpetual courſe of diſappointments and repulſes, finding himſelf unable to purſue his old way any farther, inſtead of taking a new one, he was driven by his philoſophy to put an end to his life.

BUT

[*e*] Sapientem gratia nunquam moveri, nunquam cujuſquam delicto ignoſcere: neminem miſericordem eſſe, niſi ſtultum; viri non eſſe, neque exorari, neque placari; omnia peccata eſſe paria—nec minus delinquere eum, qui gallum gallinaceum, cum opus non fuerit, quam eum, qui patrem ſuffocaverit: ſapientem nihil opinari, nullius rei pœnitere, nulla in re falli, ſententiam mutare nunquam. Pro Muræn. 29.

[*f*] Dicit enim tanquam in Platonis πολιτείᾳ, non tanquam in Romuli fæce, ſententiam. Ad Att. 2. 1. p. 178.

[*g*] Pompeium & Cæſarem, quorum nemo alterum offendere audebat, niſi ut alterum demereretur, [Cato] ſimul provocavit. Sen. Ep. 104.

But as the Stoics exalted human nature too high, ſo the Epicureans depreſſed it too low; as thoſe raiſed it to the Heroic, theſe debaſed it to the brutal ſtate: they held *pleaſure to be the chief good of man*; *death the extinction of his being*; and placed their happineſs conſequently in the ſecure enjoyment of a pleaſurable life: eſteeming virtue on no other account, than as it was a handmaid to pleaſure; and helped to enſure the poſſeſſion of it, by preſerving health and conciliating friends. Their wiſe man therefore had no other duty, but to provide for his own eaſe; to decline all ſtruggles; to retire from public affairs; and to imitate *the life of their Gods*; by paſſing his days in a calm, contemplative, undiſturbed repoſe; in the midſt of rural ſhades and pleaſant gardens. This was the ſcheme, that ATTICUS followed: he had all the talents that could qualify a man to be uſefull to ſociety; great parts, learning, judgement, candor, benevolence, generoſity; *the ſame love of his country, and the ſame ſentiments in politics with* CICERO [*g*]; whom he was always adviſing and urging to act, yet determined never to act himſelf; or never at leaſt ſo far, as to diſturb his eaſe, or endanger his ſafety. For though he was ſo ſtrictly united with CICERO, and valued him above all men, yet he managed an intereſt all the while with the oppoſite faction, and a friendſhip even with his mortal enemies, CLODIUS and ANTONY; that he might ſecure againſt all events the grand point, which he had in view, the peace and tranquillity of his life. Thus two excellent men, by their miſtaken notions of virtue, drawn from the principles of their philoſophy, were made uſeleſs in a manner to their country;

[*b*] In Repub. ita eſt verſatus, ut ſemper optimarum partium & eſſet, & exiſtimaretur; neque tamen ſe civilibus fluctibus committeret.—Corn. Nep. vit. Att. 6.

country; each in a different extreme of life; the one always acting and expoſing himſelf to dangers, without the proſpect of doing good; the other, without attempting to do any, reſolving never to act at all.

CICERO choſe the middle way between the obſtinacy of CATO, and the indolence of ATTICUS: he preferred always the readieſt road to what was right, if it lay open to him; if not, took the next, that ſeemed likely to bring him to the ſame end; and in politics, as in morality, when he could not arrive at the true, contented himſelf with the probable. He oft compares *the Stateſman to the Pilot*; whoſe art conſiſts, *in managing every turn of the winds*, and applying even the moſt perverſe to the progreſs of his voyage; ſo as *by changing his courſe, and enlarging his circuit of ſailing, to arrive with ſafety, though later, at his deſtined port* [*h*]. He mentions likewiſe an obſervation, which long experience had confirmed to him, that *none of the popular and ambitious, who aſpired to extraordinary commands, and to be leaders in the Republic, ever choſe to obtain their ends from the people, till they had firſt been repulſed by the Senate* [*i*]. This was verified by all their civil diſſenſions, from *the Gracchi*, down to CÆSAR: ſo that when he ſaw men of this ſpirit at the head of the government; who, by the ſplendor of their lives and actions, had acquired an aſcendant over the populace; it was his conſtant advice to the Senate, to gain them by gentle compli-

[*i*] Nunquam enim præſtantibus in Repub. gubernanda viris laudata eſt in una ſententia perpetua permanſio: ſed ut in navigando tempeſtati obſequi artis eſt, etiamſi portum tenere non queas: cum vero id poſſis mutata velificatione aſſequi, ſtultum eſt eum tenere curſum cum periculo quem ceperis, potius quam, eo commutato, quo velis tandem pervenire, &c. Ep. Fam. 1. 9.

[*k*] Neminem unquam eſt hic ordo amplexus honoribus & beneficiis ſuis, qui ullam dignitatem præſtabiliorem ea, quam per vos eſſet adeptus, putarit. Nemo unquam hic potuit eſſe princeps, qui maluerit eſſe popularis. De Provin. Conſular. 16. it. Phil. 5. 18.

pliances, and to gratify their thirſt of power by voluntary grants of it, as the beſt way to moderate their ambition, and reclame them from deſperate counſils. He declared *contention to be no longer prudent, than while it either did ſervice, or at leaſt no hurt*; but when faction was grown too ſtrong to be withſtood, that it was time to give over fighting; and nothing left but *to extract ſome good out of the ill*, by mitigating that power by patience, which they could not reduce by force, and conciliating it, if poſſible, to the intereſts of the ſtate [*k*]. This was what he adviſed, and what he practiſed: and it will account in a great meaſure for thoſe parts of his conduct, which are the moſt liable to exception, on the account of that complaiſance, which he is ſuppoſed to have paid at different times to the ſeveral uſurpers of illegal power.

He made a juſt diſtinction, between *bearing what we cannot help, and approving what we ought to condemn* [*l*]; and ſubmitted therefore, yet never conſented to thoſe uſurpations; and when he was forced to comply with them, did it always with a reluctance, that he expreſſes very keenly in his letters to his friends. But whenever that force was removed, and he was at liberty to purſue his principles, and act without controul, as in his *Conſulſhip*, in his *Province*, and after Cæsar's *death*; the onely periods of his life, in which he was truly Maſter of himſelf; there we ſee him ſhining out in his genuin character, of an excellent Citizen; a great Magiſtrate; a glo-

[*l*] Sed contentio tamdiu ſapiens eſt, quamdiu aut proficit aliquid, aut ſi non proficit, non obeſt civitati: voluimus quædam, contendimus, experti ſumus, non obtenta ſunt. Pro Corn. Balbo. 27.

Sic ab hominibus doctis accepimus, non ſolum ex malis eligere minima oportere; ſed etiam excerpere ex his ipſis ſi quid ineſſet boni. De Off. 1. 1.

[*m*] Non enim eſt idem, ferre ſi quid ferendum eſt, & probare ſi quid probandum non eſt. Ep. fam. 9. 6,

a glorious Patriot: there we ſee the man, who could declare of himſelf with truth, in an appeal to ATTICUS, as to the beſt witneſs of his conſcience, *that he had always done the greateſt ſervices to his country, when it was in his power; or when it was not, had never harboured a thought of it, but what was divine* [*m*]. If we muſt needs compare him therefore with CATO, as ſome writers affect to do; it is certain, that if CATO's virtue ſeem more ſplendid in theory, CICERO's will be found ſuperior in practice: the one was romantic, the other rational; the one drawn from the refinements of the ſchools, the other from nature, and ſocial life; the one always unſucceſsfull, often hurtfull; the other always beneficial, often ſalutary to the Republic.

To conclude; CICERO's death, though violent, cannot be called untimely; but was the proper end of ſuch a life; which muſt have been rendered leſs glorious, if it had owed it's preſervation to ANTONY. It was therefore what he not onely expected, but in the circumſtances, to which he was reduced, what he ſeems even to have wiſhed [*n*]. For he, who before had been *timid in dangers, and deſponding in diſtreſs*, yet from the time of CÆSAR's death, rouſed *by the deſperate ſtate of the Republic* [*o*], aſſumed the fortitude of a Hero; diſcarded all fear; deſpiſed all danger; and when he could not free his country from a Tyranny, provoked the Tyrants to take that life, which he no longer cared to preſerve. Thus like a great Actor on the Stage, he re-

[*m*] Præclara igitur conſcientia ſuſtentor, cum cogito me de Repub. aut meruiſſe optime cum potuerim; aut certe nunquam niſi divine cogitaſſe. Ad Att. x. 4.

[*n*] Nullum locum prætermitto monendi, agendi, providendi; hoc denique animo ſum, ut ſi in hac cura atque adminiſtratione, vita mihi ponenda ſit, præclare actum mecum putem. Ep. fam. 9. 24.

[*o*] Sed plane animus, qui dubiis rebus forſitan fuerit infirmior, deſperatis, confirmatus eſt multum. Ep. fam. 5. 21.

ſerved himſelf as it were for the laſt act; and after he had played his part with dignity, reſolved to finiſh it with glory.

The character of his Son Marcus has been delivered down to us in a very diſadvantageous light: for he is repreſented generally, both by the Ancients and Moderns, as ſtupid and vicious, and a proverb even of degeneracy [p]: yet when we come to inquire into the real ſtate of the fact; we ſhall find but little ground for ſo ſcandalous a tradition.

In his early youth, while he continued under the eye and diſcipline of his Father, he gave all imaginable proofs both of an excellent temper and genius; was modeſt, tractable, dutifull; diligent in his ſtudies, and expert in his exerciſes: ſo that in the *Pharſalic* war, at the age of ſeventeen, he acquired a great reputation in Pompey's camp, by his dexterity *of riding, throwing the javelin, and all the other accompliſhments of a young ſoldier* [q]. Not long after Pompey's death, he was ſent to *Athens*; to ſpend a few years in the ſtudy of Philoſophy and polite letters, under Cratippus, the moſt celebrated Philoſopher of that time; for whom Cicero afterwards procured *the freedom of Rome* [r]. Here indeed, upon his firſt ſally into the world, he was guilty of ſome irregularity of conduct, and extravagance of expence, that made his Father uneaſy; into which he was ſuppoſed to have been drawn by Gorgias, *his Maſter of Rhetoric*; a lover of wine and pleaſure; whom Cicero for that reaſon expoſtulated with ſeverely by letter, and diſcharged

[p] Ciceronem filium quæ res Conſulem fecit, niſi pater? Senec. de Benef. 4. 30. *Nam virtutes omnes aberant; Stupor & vitia aderant. Lipſii Not. ad locum.*

[q] Quo in bello cum te, Pompeius alæ alteri præfeciſſet, magnam laudem & a ſummo viro, & ab exercitu conſequebare, equitando, jaculando, omni militari labore tolerando.—Offic. 2. 13.

[r] Plutar. in vit. Cicer.

ed from his attendance upon him. But the young man was ſoon made ſenſible of his folly, and recalled to his duty by the remonſtrances of his friends, and particularly of ATTICUS: ſo that his Father readily paid his debts, and enlarged his allowance; which ſeems to have been about ſeven hundred pounds *per annum* [s].

FROM this time, all the accounts of him from the principal men of the place, as well as his Roman friends, who had occaſion to viſit *Athens*, are conſtant and uniform in their praiſes of him; and in terms ſo particular and explicit, that they could not procede from mere compliment, or a deſire of flattering CICERO; as he often ſignifies with pleaſure to ATTICUS [t]. Thus TREBONIUS, as he was paſſing into *Aſia*, writes to him from *Athens*; "I came hither on the twenty firſt of *May*, where I "ſaw your ſon; and ſaw him, to my great joy, pur-"ſuing every thing that was good, and in the higheſt "credit for the modeſty of his behaviour—do not ima-"gine, my CICERO, that I ſay this to flatter you: for "nothing can be more beloved, than your young man "is, by all who are at *Athens*; nor more ſtudious of all "thoſe arts, which you yourſelf delight in, that is, the "beſt. I congratulate with you therefore very heartily, "which I can do with great truth, and not leſs alſo with "my ſelf; that he, whom we were obliged to love, of "what temper ſoever he had happened to be, proves to "be ſuch an one, as we ſhould chuſe to love [u]."

[s] — Ad CICERONEM ita ſcripſiſti, ulli ut neque ſeverius, neque temperatius ſcribi potuerit, nec magis quam quemadmodum ego maxime vellem. Ad Att. 13. 1. it. ib. 16. 1, 15. Plutar. in Cic.

[t] Cæteri præclara ſcribunt. LEONIDAS tamen retinet illud ſuum *adhuc*, ſummis vero laudibus HERODES—[Ad Att. 15. 16.] Gratiſſimum, quod polliceris CICERONI nihil defuturum; de quo mirabilia Meſſala. ib. 17.

[u] Ep. Fam. 12. 16. vid. it. 14.

But the Son's own letters gave the moſt ſolid comfort to his Father; as they were written not onely with great duty and affection, but with ſuch elegance alſo and propriety, *that they were fit*, he ſays, *to be read to a learned audience*; *and though in other points he might poſſibly be deceived, yet in theſe, he ſaw a real improvement both of his taſt, and learning* [x]. None of theſe letters are now extant, nor any other monument of young Cicero's talents, but *two Letters to* Tiro; one of which I have choſen to tranſcribe, as the ſureſt ſpecimen both of his parts and temper; written, as we may imagine, to one of Tiro's rank, without any particular care, and in the utmoſt familiarity, from his reſidence at *Athens*, when he was about *nineteen* years old.

Cicero the Son to Tiro.

"While I was expecting every day with impatience "your meſſengers from *Rome*, they came at laſt on the "forty ſixth day after they left you. Their arrival was "extremely agreeable to me: for my Father's moſt in-"dulgent and affectionate letter gave me an exceding "joy; which was ſtill highly encreaſed by the receipt "alſo of yours: ſo that inſtead of being ſorry for "my late omiſſion of writing, I was rather pleaſed, "that my ſilence had afforded me ſo particular a proof "of your humanity. It is a great pleaſure there-"fore to me, that you accepted my excuſe ſo readily. I "do not doubt, my deareſt Tiro, but that the reports, "which are now brought of me, give you a real ſatiſ-"faction.

[x] A Cicerone mihi Litteræ ſane πεπιτωμέναι, & bene longæ. Cætera autem vel fingi poſſunt: πῖνος litterarum ſignificat doctiorem. [Ad Att. 14. 7.] Mehercule ipſius litteræ ſic & φιλοσόργως, & εὐπιτῶς ſcriptæ, ut eas vel in acroaſi audeam legere: quo magis illi indulgendum puto. ib. 15. 17. vid. ib. 16.

" faction. It ſhall be my care and endeavour, that this
" growing fame of me, ſhall every day come more and
" more confirmed to you: and ſince you promiſe to be
" the Trumpeter of my praiſes, you may venture to do
" it with aſſurance: for the paſt errors of my youth
" have mortified me ſo ſenſibly, that my mind does not
" onely abhor the facts themſelves, but my ears cannot
" even endure the mention of them. I am perfectly aſ-
" ſured, that in all this regret and ſollicitude, you have
" born no ſmall ſhare with me: nor is it to be won-
" dered at; for though you wiſh me all ſucceſs for my
" ſake, you are engaged alſo to do it for your own:
" ſince it was always my reſolution, to make you the
" partner of every good, that may befall me. As I have
" before therefore been the occaſion of ſorrow to you,
" ſo it ſhall now be my buſineſs, to double your joy on
" my account. You muſt know, that I live in the ut-
" moſt intimacy with CRATIPPUS; and like a Son, rather
" than a Scholar: for I not onely hear his lectures with
" pleaſure, but am infinitely delighted with his conver-
" ſation. I ſpend whole days with him, and frequent-
" ly alſo a part of the night: for I prevail with him, as
" often as I can, to ſup with me; and in our familiar
" chat, as we ſit at table, the night ſteals upon us, with-
" out thinking of it, whilſt he lays aſide the ſeverity of
" his philoſophy, and jokes amongſt us with all the good
" humor imaginable. Contrive therefore to come to us
" as ſoon as poſſible, and ſee this agreeable and excel-
" lent man. For what need I tell you of BRUTTIUS?
" whom I never part with out of my ſight. His life is
" regular and exemplary, and his company the moſt en-
" tertaining: he has the art of introducing queſtions

" of

" of litterature into converſation, and ſeaſoning philoſo-
" phy with mirth. I have hired a lodging for him in
" the next houſe to me; and ſupport his poverty, as well
" as I am able, out of my narrow income. I have be-
" gun alſo to declame in Greek under CASSIUS; but
" chuſe to exerciſe myſelf in Latin with BRUTTIUS. I
" live likewiſe in great familiarity, and the perpetual
" company of thoſe, whom CRATIPPUS brought with
" him from *Mitylene*; who are men of learning, and
" highly eſteemed by him. EPICRATES alſo, the lead-
" ing man at *Athens*, and LEONIDAS, ſpend much of
" their time with me; and many others of the ſame
" rank. This is the manner of my life at preſent. As
" to what you write about GORGIAS, he was uſefull to
" me indeed in my dayly exerciſe of declaming; but I
" gave up all conſiderations, for the ſake of obeying my
" father; who wrote peremptorily, that I ſhould diſmiſs
" him inſtantly. I complied therefore without heſitati-
" on; leſt by ſhewing any reluctance, I might raiſe in
" him ſome ſuſpicion of me. Beſides, I reflected, that
" it would ſeem indecent in me, to deliberate upon the
" judgement of a father. Your zeal however and ad-
" vice upon it are very agreeable to me. I admit your
" excuſe of want of leiſure, for I know how much your
" time is commonly taken up. I am mightily pleaſed
" with your purchaſe of a farm, and heartily wiſh you
" joy of it. Do not wonder at my congratulating you
" in this part of my letter, for it was the ſame part of
" yours, in which you informed me of the purchaſe.
" You have now a place, where you may drop all the
" forms of the City, and are become a *Roman* of the old
" ruſtic ſtamp. I pleaſe myſelf with placing your fi-

" gure before my eyes, and imagining, that I ſee you bar-
" tering for your country wares, or conſulting with your
" bailiff, or carrying off from your table, in a corner of
" your veſt, the ſeeds of your fruits and melons for your
" garden. But to be ſerious; I am as much concerned
" as you are, that I happened to be out of the way, and
" could not aſſiſt you on that occaſion: but depend upon
" it, my TIRO, I will make you eaſy one time or other,
" if fortune does not diſappoint me: eſpecially, ſince I
" know, that you have bought this farm for the common
" uſe of us both. I am obliged to you for your care in
" executing my orders; but beg of you, that *a Libra-*
" *rian* may be ſent to me in all haſt, and eſpecially a
" *Greek* one: for I waſt much of my time in tranſcribing
" the lectures and books, that are of uſe to me. Above
" all things, take care of your health, that we may live
" to hold many learned conferences together. I recom-
" mend ANTHERUS to you. Adieu [*y*].

THIS was the ſituation of young CICERO, when BRUTUS arrived at *Athens*: who, as it has been already ſaid, was excedingly taken with his virtue and good principles; of which he ſent a high encomium to his Father; and entruſted him, though but *twenty years* old, with a principal command in his army: in which he acquitted himſelf, with a ſingular reputation both of courage and conduct; and in ſeveral expeditions, and encounters with the enemy, where he commanded in chief, always came off victorious. After the battel of PHILIPPI, and the death of BRUTUS, he eſcaped to POMPEY; who had taken poſſeſſion of *Sicily* with a great army, and fleet ſuperior to any in the Empire. This was the laſt refuge of the poor Republicans: where young CICERO

[*y*] Ep. fam. 16. 21.

CICERO was received again with particular honors; and continued fighting ſtill in the defence of his country's liberty; till POMPEY, by a treaty of peace with the Triumvirate, obtained, as one of the conditions of it, *the pardon and reſtoration of all the proſcribed and exiled* Romans, who were then in arms with him [z].

CICERO therefore took his leave of POMPEY, and returned to *Rome* with the reſt of his party: where he lived for ſome time in the condition of a private Nobleman; remote from affairs and the Court of the Emperor; partly through the envy of the times, averſe to his name and principles; partly through choice, and his old zeal for the Republican cauſe, which he retained ſtill to the laſt. In this uneaſy ſtate, where he had nothing to rouſe his virtue, or excite his ambition, it is not ſtrange, that he ſunk into a life of indolence and pleaſure, and *the intemperate love of wine*; which began to be the faſhionable vice of this age, from the example of ANTONY, who had lately publiſhed *a volume on the triumphs of his drinking*. Young CICERO is ſaid to have practiſed it likewiſe to great exceſs; and to have been famous for the quantity, that he uſed to ſwallow at a draught: *as if he had reſolved*, ſays PLINY, *to deprive* ANTONY, *the murtherer of his father, of the glory, of being the firſt drunkard of the Empire* [a].

AUGUSTUS however paid him the compliment in the mean while, to make him a *Prieſt or Augur* [b]; as well as one of thoſe Magiſtrates, who preſided over *the coinage of the public money*: in regard to which, there is a medal ſtill extant, with the name of CICERO on the one ſide, and

APPIUS

[z] Appian. p. 619. 713.

[a] Nimirum hanc gloriam auferre CICERO voluit interfectori patris ſui, Antonio. Is enim ante eum avidiſſime apprehenderat hanc palmam; edito etiam volumine de ſua ebrietate, Plin. Hiſt. Nat. 14. 22.

[b] Appian. p. 619.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS on the other; who was one of *his Collegues* in this office [*c*]. But upon the laſt breach with ANTONY, AUGUSTUS no ſooner became the ſole Maſter of *Rome*, than he took him for his partner in the Conſulſhip: ſo that his letters, which brought the news of the victory at *Actium*, and conqueſt of *Egypt*, were addreſſed *to* CICERO *the Conſul*; who had the pleaſure of publiſhing them to the Senate and People; as well as of making and executing that decree, which ordered *all the ſtatues and monuments of* ANTONY *to be demoliſhed, and that no perſon of his family ſhould ever after bear the name of* MARCUS. BY paying this honor to the ſon, AUGUSTUS made ſome atonement for his treachery to the Father; and by giving the family this opportunity of revenging his death upon ANTONY, fixed the blame of it alſo there; while the people looked upon it *as divine and providential, that the final overthrow of* ANTONY*'s name and fortunes* ſhould, by a ſtrange revolution of affairs, be reſerved for *the triumph of young* CICERO [*d*]. Some honors are mentioned likewiſe to have been decreed by CICERO, in *this Conſulſhip*, to his partner AUGUSTUS; particularly, an *Obſidional Crown*; which though made onely of *the common graſs, that happened to be found upon the ſcene of action*, yet, in the times of ancient diſcipline, was eſteemed the

[*c*] Vid. And. Morell. Theſaur. Numiſm. inter Numm. Conſul. Goltzii. Tab. 33. 4.

Theſe ſuperintendents of the public coinage were called *Treviri, or Triumviri Monetales*; and in Medals and old Inſcriptions are deſcribed thus; III. VIR. A. A. A. F. F. that is, *Auro, Argento, Ære Flando, Feriundo.* Their number had always been *three*, till J. CÆSAR, as it appears from ſeveral medals, enlarged it to *four:* whence in the coin of CICERO, juſt mentioned, we find him called, IIII. VIR. There was another Magiſtrate alſo of lower rank at *Rome*, called *Treviri Capitales*, who tried and judged all *capital* crimes among foreigners and ſlaves, or even Citizens of inferior condition: in alluſion to which, CICERO has a pleaſant joke, in one of his Letters to TREBATIUS, when he was attending CÆSAR in his wars againſt the *Treviri*, one of the moſt fierce and warlike nations of *Gaul: I admoniſh you*, ſays he, *to keep out of the way of thoſe Treviri: they are of the Capital kind, I hear: I wiſh rather, that they were the coiners of gold and ſilver.*— Ep. Fam. 7. 13.

[*d*] Plutar. in Cic. Dio. p. 456. Appian, p. 619. 672.

nobleſt reward of military glory; and never beſtowed but for *the deliverance of an army*, when reduced to the laſt diſtreſs [*e*]. *This Crown* therefore had not been given above *eight times* from the foundation of *Rome*: but with the oppreſſion of it's liberty, all it's honors were ſervilely proſtituted to the will of the reigning Monarch.

SOON after CICERO's Conſulſhip, he was made *Proconſul of* Aſia; or, as APPIAN ſays, of *Syria*; one of the moſt conſiderable Provinces of the Empire: from which time we find no farther mention of him in hiſtory. He died probably ſoon after; before a maturity of age and experience had given him the opportunity of retrieving the reproach of his intemperance, and diſtinguiſhing himſelf in the counſils of the ſtate: but from the honors already mentioned, it is evident, that his life, though blemiſhed by ſome ſcandal, yet was not void of dignity: and amidſt all the vices, with which he is charged, he is allowed to have retained *his father's wit and politeneſs* [*f*].

THERE are two ſtories related of him, which ſhew, that his natural courage and high ſpirit were far from being ſubdued by the ruin of his party and fortunes: for being in company with ſome friends, where he had drunk very hard; in the heat of wine and paſſion, *he threw a cup at the head of* Agrippa; who, next to AUGUSTUS, bore the chief ſway in *Rome* [*g*]. He was provoked to it, probably by ſome diſpute in politics, or inſult on the late champions, and vanquiſhed cauſe of the Republic. At another

[*e*] Corona quidem nulla fuit graminea nobilior—nunquam niſi in deſperatione ſuprema contigit ulli; niſi ab univerſo exercitu ſervato decreta—eadem vocatur Obſidionalis—dabatur hæc viridi e gramine, decerpto inde ubi obſeſſos ſervaſſet aliquis—Ipſum AUGUSTUM cum M. CICERONE Conſulem, idibus Septembribus Senatus Obſidionali donavit, &c. vid. Plin. Hiſt. N. 22. c. 3, 4, 5, 6.

[*f*] Qui nihil ex paterno ingenio habuit, præter urbanitatem. M. Senec. Suaſor. 6.

[*g*] Marcoque Agrippæ a temulento ſcyphum impactum. Plin. Hiſt. N. 14. 22.

another time, during his government of *Aſia*, one CESTIUS, who was afterwards Prætor, a flatterer of the times, and a reviler of his Father, having the aſſurance to come one day to his table, CICERO, after he had inquired his name, and underſtood, that *it was the man, who uſed to inſult the memory of his Father, and declare, that he knew nothing of polite letters*, ordered him to be taken away, and publicly whipt [*b*].

HIS nature ſeems to have been gay, frank, and generous; peculiarly turned to arms and martial glory; to which, by the unhappy fate of his country, he had been trained very young; and at an age, that is commonly dedicated to the arts of peace and ſtudies of learning, had ſerved with much honor to himſelf, in three ſucceſſive wars, the moſt conſiderable in all hiſtory; *of Pharſalia, Philippi, and Sicily.* If his life therefore did not correſpond with the ſplendor of his Father's, it ſeems chargeable to his misfortune, rather than his fault; and to the miſerable ſtate of the times, which allowed no room for the attainment of his Father's honors, or the imitation of his virtues: but if he had lived in better times, and a free Republic, though he would not have been ſo eminent a Scholar, or Orator, or Stateſman as his Father, yet he would have excelled him probably in that character, which conferred a more ſubſtantial power and dazzling glory, the fame of a brave and accompliſhed General.

THE Characters of Q. CICERO, the brother, of his Son QUINTUS, and of ATTICUS, have been ſo frequently touched in the courſe of this Hiſtory, that there is but little occaſion to add any thing more about them. The two firſt, as we have already ſaid, upon the news of their being proſcribed,

[*b*] M. Senec. Suaſor. 6.

took their leave of CICERO in his flight towards the ſea, and returned to *Rome*; in order to furniſh themſelves with money and other neceſſaries for a voyage to *Macedonia*. They hoped to have executed this, before the proſcription could take effect, or to lie concealed at leaſt for a ſhort time in the City, without the danger of a diſcovery: but the diligence of ANTONY's emiſſaries, and the particular inſtructions, that they had received to make ſure of the CICERO's, eluded all their caution and hopes of concealment. The ſon was found out the firſt; who is ſaid to have been more ſollicitous; for the preſervation of his father, than to provide for his own ſafety: upon his refuſal to diſcover, where his Father lay hid, he was put to the rack by the ſoldiers; till the Father, to reſcue his ſon from torture, came out from his hiding place, and voluntarily ſurrendered himſelf; making no other requeſt to his executioners, than *that they would diſpatch him the firſt of the two.* The ſon urged the ſame petition, *to ſpare him the miſery of being the ſpectator of his Father's murther*; ſo that the aſſaſſins, to ſatisfy them both, taking each of them apart, killed them by agreement at the ſame time [*i*].

AS to ATTICUS, the difficulty of the times, in which he lived, and the perpetual quiet, that he enjoyed in them, confirm what has already been obſerved of him, that he was a perfect Maſter of the principles of his ſect, and knew how to ſecure *that chief good of an Epicurean life*, his private eaſe and ſafety. One would naturally imagine, that his union with CICERO and BRUTUS, added to the fame of his wealth, would have involved him of courſe in the ruin of the proſcription: he himſelf was afraid of it, and kept himſelf concealed for ſome time; but without any

[*i*] Dio. p. 333. Appian. 601, Plutar. in Cic.

any great reaſon; for, as if he had foreſeen ſuch an event and turn of things, he had always paid a particular court to ANTONY; and, in the time even of his diſgrace, when he was driven out of *Italy*, and his affairs thought deſperate, did many eminent ſervices *to his friends at* Rome; and above all, *to his wife and children*; whom he aſſiſted, not onely with his advice, but *with his money alſo*, on all occaſions of their diſtreſs: ſo that when ANTONY came to *Rome*, in the midſt of the maſſacre, he made it his firſt care to find out ATTICUS; and no ſooner learnt where he was, *than he wrote him word with his own hand, to lay aſide all fears, and come to him immediately; and aſſigned him a guard, to protect him from any inſult or violence of the ſoldiers* [*k*].

IT muſt be imputed likewiſe to the ſame principle of ATTICUS's caution, and a regard to his ſafety, that after ſo long and intimate a correſpondence of letters with CICERO, on the moſt important tranſactions of that age, of which there are *ſixteen books of* CICERO's ſtill remaining, yet not *a ſingle Letter of* ATTICUS's was ever publiſhed: which can hardly be charged to any other cauſe, but his having withdrawn them from TIRO, after CICERO's death, and ſuppreſſed them with a ſingular care; leſt in that revolution of affairs, and extinction of the public liberty, they ſhould ever be produced to his hurt, or the diminution of his credit with their new Maſters.

BUT his intereſt with the reigning powers was ſoon eſtabliſhed on a more ſolid foundation, than that of his perſonal

[*k*] Atticus, cum Ciceronis intima familiaritate uteretur, amiciſſimus eſſe Bruto; non modo nihil iis indulſit ad Antonium violandum, ſed e contrario familiares ejus ex urbe profugientes, quantum potuit, texit—ipſi autem Fulviæ, cum litibus diſtineretur—ſponſor omnium rerum fuerit—itaque ad adventum Imperatorum de foro deceſſerat, timens proſcriptionem—Antonius autem—ei, cum requiſiſſet, ubinam eſſet, ſua manu ſcripſit, ne timeret, ſtatimque ad ſe veniret—ac ne quid periculum incideret—præſidium ei miſit. Corn. Nep. in vit. Attici. x.

ſonal merit, by the marriage of his onely daughter with M. AGRIPPA; which was firſt propoſed and brought about by ANTONY. This introduced him into the friendſhip and familiarity of AUGUSTUS, whoſe Miniſter and Favorite AGRIPPA was; and to whom he himſelf became afterwards nearly allied, by the marriage of his *Grandaughter with his ſucceſſor* TIBERIUS [*l*]. Thus he added dignity to his quiet; and lived to a good old age, in the very manner in which he wiſhed; happy and honorable; and remote from all trouble, or the apprehenſion of danger. But that he ſtill lives, in the fame and memory of ages, is intirely owing to the circumſtance, of his having been CICERO's *friend*: for this, after all, was the chief honor of his life: and, as SENECA truly obſerved, *it was the Epiſtles of* CICERO, *which preſerved him from oblivion; and neither his ſon* AGRIPPA, *nor Grandſon* TIBERIUS, *nor great Grandſon* DRUSUS, *would have been of any ſervice to him, if* CICERO's *name, by drawing* ATTICUS's *along with it, had not given him an immortality* [*m*].

[*l*] Atque harum nuptiarum, non enim eſt celandum, conciliator fuit Antonius. [ibid. 12.] Nata eſt autem Attico neptis ex Agrippa. Hanc Cæſar vix anniculam, Tiberio Claudio Neroni, Druſilla nato, privigno ſuo deſpondit. Quæ conjunctio neceſſitudinem eorum ſanxit. Ib. 19.

[*m*] Nomen Attici perire Ciceronis Epiſtolæ non ſinunt. Nihil illi profuiſſet gener Agrippa, & Tiberius progener, & Druſus pronepos: inter tam magna nomina taceretur, niſi Cicero illum applicuiſſet. Senec. Ep. 21.



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